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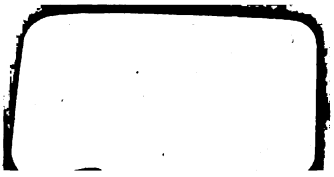
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THE

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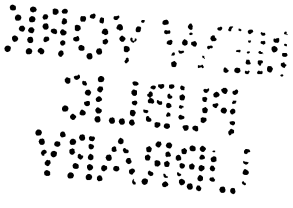
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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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SALUTATORY.

OUR REVIEW, as its name points out, is to be Catholic and American. Its aim, therefore, will be to explain and defend the Catholic theory of revealed Truth, moral and dogmatic, as it really is, as it has been left us by the Apostles and defined by the Church; and to let men see how different is the base counterfeit of the same, wickedly forged to our discredit by some, and received in good faith as our doctrine by many others outside of our communion. It shall be our endeavor also to show the practical development and working of Catholic principle in the history of the world, in the lives of great and good men, and in the destinies of nations. In the history of mankind before and after the establishment of God's Church on earth, we recognize no chaotic mass of events huddled together like Lucretian atoms by blind chance, or produced merely by the caprices and passions of men. We look upon it as a great book in which the true philosopher as well as the devout Christian may trace on every page the finger of Divine Providence. In it we find, as all must who study and reflect dispassionately, the perpetual presence and action of God, who moulds men and things at His will; calls into being, guides, preserves or destroys kingdoms and peoples for His own wise purposes; in a word, makes of nations, as well as of individuals, either trophies of his mercy, or standing memorials of His avenging justice.

In the days of old, when God was known only in Judah, and His name was not great outside of Israel, He abode quietly in Salem; and the Church of Sion was simply the depository of His revelation, the treasure-house in which were silently laid up the hopes of humanity. But the Church of the New Law has a more active mission; and hence in the history of the world, since the days of Christ, she is seen perpetually foremost as God's visible agent in bringing peoples to the knowledge of divine truth; in re-

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newing, or to speak more correctly, creating afresh their moral life; in educating and civilizing them, in improving and bettering their condition in all that concerns their intellectual and moral welfare. Whatever there yet remains of good and creditable in the civiliza tion of Europe is the work of her hands, the legacy she has bequeathed to ungrateful states and kingdoms. Even now, buffeted and persecuted as she is in Europe, stripped of all earthly influence and humbled to the very dust by infidel statesmen—it is simply the moral power of her presence that prevents European society from taking the final plunge into the anarchy and barbarism, for which three centuries have been striving to prepare it. And in spite of many, who may be disposed to deny or doubt or sneer at our conviction, we feel assured, and have no hesitation in saying that our own country—if it is to be saved from the deluge of irreligion and immorality that is gradually threatening to submerge people and government—can only be saved by the influence of Christianity, as it is preached by the True Church of Christ. No paltry sects, born of human caprice, and, true to their origin, bending with all the whims and changes of human opinion, can ever succeed in drawing back our people from the abyss to which they are hurrying. Nothing can save us but the true Christian Creed, the only one in the world which has the boldness to teach our countrymen, in word and deed, that we are freemen not in name only, but that the freedom given us by Christ is our inalienable heritage with which we must not part; that neither the State nor Public Opinion is our lord and master, nor has either a right to command us in the moral, any more than in the intellectual sphere; that it is as unlawful for them to usurp power not their own, as it was for George III. and his Parliament; in short, that neither the State nor Public Opinion is the God of the true Christian, but that if either sets itself up against God and His Christ—as every modern State and the Public Opinion of our day seems mostly disposed to do—it becomes simply an engine of Satan for the destruction of souls, and the ruin of the commonwealth.

Some portion of our pages will be devoted to philosophy and science. True philosophy is, in some sense, the creation of Christianity. Nothing else could have purified the old Greek philosophy of its dross, superstition and skepticism, and confirmed by a divine unerring standard the old truths that primitive tradition had transmitted more or less distinctly to successive ages. All right-minded men may see what philosophy has become, ever since it shook off the guardianship of True Religion. From Bacon and Descartes there has been a logical successsson of false teachers down to Kant, Fichte and Schelling, to whom we may add those bold-faced dogmatists, Büchner, Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, etc. The

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road is easy enough from mild skepticism down to Pantheism, Atheism and Nihilism.

Science has ever been, when not lifted out of its proper sphere, the willing handmaid of religion; and this for the simple, evident reason that truth being one can never contradict herself. Just before the outbreak of the so-called Reformation, the Catholic Church condemned the assertion that anything can be true in theology, which is false in philosophy. And to that teaching she still adheres. The sects may go down and perish before the advances of science "falsely so called." They have this much in common, that both are born of private judgment, the fallibility of which is made a boast of by sectarians. But the infallible Church of God, besides her consciousness of divine origin, knows too that her Author is the same who gave laws to nature—"*qui omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuit*" (Wisdom xi. 21), and that His undivided sway rules all worlds, material and spiritual. Hence she looks undismayed upon the pretended science, born of heresy, that, while scouting her claims, pretends likewise to dethrone her Divine Founder. She may well afford to laugh at their pretensions, when she remembers that whatever constitutes the foundation of European science is due to her own fostering care; and that to her children the world owes all the important discoveries that have been made, from the starry pathways of heaven down to that dread amalgam, in which "villainous saltpetre" holds no little part, and which forms one of the chief elements of our boasted modern civilization.

With politics, as they are commonly understood, and partisan contentions for place and power, the REVIEW has nothing to do. It little concerns us, who sits in the Presidential chair once hallowed by George Washington, or rules in the Cabinet, or has the dispensing of the patronage that outflows from the seat of government to enrich, not unfrequently to corrupt, our citizens. But we love our country, and we deprecate the sad contingency, that, while she improves in material prosperity, she should go backward in the path of honesty and equity, and give to the world the lamentable example of a commonwealth so changed and depraved by a hundred years' growth, that her founders, were they to return to earth, would not recognize her for the work of their hands. How could we be indifferent, nor give some expression to the shame and sorrow that we feel, in beholding daily more and more verified amongst our statesmen those terrible words of the prophet, "Thy princes are faithless, the companions of thieves; they all love bribes, they run after rewards." (Isaiah i. 23.)

Our REVIEW is not only Catholic, but American. Hence we shall endeavor to chronicle and illustrate whatever is worthy of

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preservation, whether it be matter of history or tradition, in the origin and progress of the Catholic Church in America. But it is also American in another sense. Whilst defending the creed of our Catholic countrymen before the world, and doing what we can to gather up for their love and veneration what yet remains unknown or only partially told of the apostles and founders of the faith in our land, we shall not forget the duty that we owe to our non-Catholic countrymen. There are among them some few, who, embittered by the wicked spirit of sectarianism, do not wish to know the truth, and who, like the Scribes and Pharisees with whom our Saviour had to deal, hated and detested the truth the more, in proportion as they felt its presence and power growing manifest before their eyes. To such men of course we cannot appeal for a hearing. But there is a large class of our non-Catholic countrymen, who are ignorant of Catholic doctrine through no fault of their own, but simply through the chances of birth and education. They have an inherent love of justice and truth, a spirit of religion, though misdirected by unhappy training. They dislike and condemn us, because they know us only, not as we are, but as we have been falsely presented to their view. If they knew us better, if they could but see the Catholic religion as it really came from the hand of its Author, the Church of Christ in her true colors, no longer disfigured by the hideous visage and distorted features, wherewith heresy has chosen to paint her for the last three centuries, her comely and venerable aspect would awaken in them love and admiration. With such we propose to follow the example of the great Augustine, who said in a similar case, "Sanari eos potius, si fieri potest, quam oppugnari, volo."

Our contributors have no common bond, other than that of loyalty to the Church and devotion to her cause, and that likewise of Catholic charity, which as the Apostle says (1 Cor. xiii. 3, 4) "*patiens est, benigna est, non agit perperam, non irritatur, non cogitat malum.*" Hence they are free to speak their own individual sentiments on all matters that do not infringe Catholic unity, according to the good old saying: "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas.*" But above all, they will ever bear in mind the closing words of the same maxim, "*In omnibus charitas.*"

We are not without misgivings, either as to the arduous nature, or the probable success of our undertaking. We wish that some consciousness of power might enable us to say with the Roman Orator, "*neque illud ipsum, quod est optimum, desperandum est; et in praæstantibus rebus magna sunt ea, quae sunt optimis proxima.*" But at least we may say with the Umbrian poet:

"*In magnis et voluisse sat est.*"

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ANTI-CATHOLIC PREJUDICE.

PREJUDICE, as popularly understood, may be said to be a habit of the mind, inclining it to judge favorably or unfavorably of men and things, without due, or at least full deliberation. It has its seat in our emotional nature, in the feelings, the will, not in the intellect. It is not evil in itself, but only in its culpable excess or misdirection. Inclining us to pre-judge, to judge hastily and without deliberation, as a matter of course, it very often makes us judge erroneously. All men are, more or less, under its influence, for all have feelings and passions. We are all naturally, and, we might say, necessarily prejudiced in favor of the good and the true, and against the bad and the false; but as hasty, inconsiderate or unenlightened judgments often lead us to mistake the one for the other, we, in point of fact, and in the concrete, not unfrequently reject what is true, believing it to be false, and accept what is false, believing it to be true.

Who has not felt the force of this habit? Who has not known its delusions? Who has not had cause to bewail them? It makes it very hard for us to judge impartially of whatever is near and dear to us. It often closes our eyes to the faults of our friends, and the virtues of our enemies. There is no object of our love or dislike, in regard to which it may not mislead us. But, of all kinds of prejudice, that inspired by religion, or, to speak correctly, by religious error, is the most blinding, the most deep-seated and the most lasting. In other matters prejudice gives to the mind a bias, more or less marked; in this, it can stimulate it to the most unreasoning fanaticism. And the reason is to be found, not alone in the paramount issues suggested by religious thought, but also in the delusions practiced upon us, in that sphere, by the enemy of souls.

Prejudice is popularly supposed to be stronger in the ignorant than in the educated. This, however, is a mistake. Unaided by divine grace, the most cultivated minds are as much under its influence, as the most illiterate. The educated, indeed, may be superior to many of the coarser prejudices of the vulgar, but they take up others quite as strong, and, often, more hurtful to themselves and to others.

But it is not our purpose here to attempt a psychological disquisition on the nature and effects of prejudice in general, but only to make some reflections on that particular phase of it manifested by non-Catholics against the Church. This anti-Catholic prejudice is, decidedly, one of the salient facts of the present and of past times, and as such, deserves the calmest investigation of all thinking men.

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We shall speak of it plainly, but, we hope, dispassionately, taking care to avoid, in our own case, what we shall have to blame in others.

No one needs to be told that there exists in this country, a wide spread feeling of opposition to the Catholic Church. Of this fact we are made but too painfully aware, every day of our lives. The merchant encounters it in his place of business, the mechanic in his workshop, even the servant girl in her kitchen. It is a fruitful source of misunderstanding and estrangement between Protestant and Catholic neighbors. It embitters their enmities, casts a shadow over their friendships. Most of us, no doubt, can number amongst our Protestant acquaintance, some one or more esteemed friends. But, we generally find, that no matter how sincere their friendship, it rarely diminishes their prejudice against our faith. They may esteem us, but they feel an inward shrinking from our creed. Regard for our feelings may make them avoid the discussion of religious topics, but not on that account are they the less convinced that Catholicity is a tissue of errors and superstitions, or that it is certain in the end to bring mental darkness and moral blight on the land that professes it.

Our literature is anti-Catholic. There is hardly a standard work on history, or popular science, or general literature, known to American readers, which, where it touches on Catholic subjects, does not purposely or unintentionally misrepresent us. The same is true of our books of travel, our poets, and our writers of romance. The majority of our magazines and reviews are bitterly hostile to us, and those that are not, are more or less unfriendly and unfair. The most we dare hope for from our political newspaper press, is that it let us alone; but we know full well it allows few occasions to pass of circulating slanders against us. And then, there is the Protestant religious press which sends forth annually hundreds of thousands and millions of papers and pamphlets and books, the great majority of which are designed to carry hatred and horror of Catholicity into every homestead in the land, and into every cabin on the remotest frontier.

In theory, our federal, and with, we believe, one exception, our state constitutions, favor no particular denomination. In theory our legislation is free and impartial, and place and political preferment are accessible to all, regardless of creed. But has not anti-Catholic prejudice frequently sought, and often obtained legislation adverse to our interests and insulting to our feelings? Where on this wide continent is the place in which a man's Catholicity would not be found to be a serious obstacle in the way of his political advancement? We all remember how, some years ago, the election to the Presidency of an otherwise most popular candidate was con-

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sidered impossible, till he permitted a denial of his faith to be made for him by his friends. The defeat of Mr. Kernan, in the election for governor in the State of New York three years ago; the opposition to Mr. Carroll, in Maryland, and to other Catholic candidates for office elsewhere during the last elections, are more recent cases in point.

In all the states of the Union, Protestant literary and charitable institutions received, in times past, generous support from our legislatures. We are not aware that appropriations thus given, were ever known to shock the public sentiment of Protestants, or to elicit complaint even from Catholics. But have not the few applications made for government aid by Catholic hospitals and orphan asylums, been so many signals for public outcries against us? As for Catholic colleges, they have never at any period of our history that we have heard of, thought it worth while even to ask for a single dollar of public money. In some instances they have found it very difficult to obtain even a charter.

Now, we consider this anti-Catholic prejudice one of the strangest, one of the most unaccountable facts in the history of human thought. Prejudice, indeed, in one form or other, has existed from the beginning, and will continue to the end of time. But never has a prejudice so opposed to truth, so devoid of justifiable motive, so utterly groundless, gained an influence over as many intelligent minds, and held that influence as long, as that felt by Protestants against the Church.

In the first place, Protestants, as a general rule, know little or nothing of our doctrines. They may, and no doubt do, understand the doctrines they hold in common with us; but the Catholic doctrines they controvert, against which they protest, they do not understand. We do not say that no Protestants understand them, but that the great mass of Protestants do not. Nay more, we assert that they misknow them, are grossly misinformed and misled in regard to them. Now, who are to be the judges in this matter? Who are to say whether or not Protestants are correctly informed in regard to our faith? Most assuredly we Catholics. The members of every religious society must be presumed to be the best witnesses to the faith they profess. Episcopalians very properly claim to understand and know the Thirty-nine Articles of their religion better than Presbyterians, and Presbyterians claim to know what is contained in their professions of faith better than Episcopalians. But what is our experience as to the knowledge Protestants have of our doctrines? Precisely that which we have stated. The vast majority of them know little or nothing about them, and are grossly misinformed concerning them. We hardly ever meet a Protestant who has ever read a Catholic book, or even a Catholic

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catechism. We hardly ever find a Catholic book, or a Catholic paper, in a Protestant house. We occasionally meet with a Protestant who has read the Book of Mormon, who can discourse learnedly and accurately of ancient and modern systems of philosophy, of Mohammedanism, or of Buddhism; but a Protestant who is correctly informed in regard to a single one of the Catholic dogmas against which he protests, we seldom or never meet. This is a *fact*, to which all Catholics can bear witness.

We never take up a Protestant book, or pamphlet, or newspaper, in which allusion is made to Catholicity, that we are not tempted to cast it from us as a libel on our faith. Thus, for instance, all Protestants who write or preach against the Church take it for granted that she sanctions superstition, that Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin, the saints, and even relics, an honor due only to God. Now, we know, and who should better know, that every Catholic child is taught to abhor superstition, in all its forms, and that Catholics would shrink from the very thought of paying the slightest act of divine honor to the Blessed Virgin, much less to the other saints, or to relics. Protestants tell us that the Catholic doctrine in regard to confession encourages the commission of sin. Were it what they immagine it to be, it would no doubt do so. Rightly understood, we know it to be eminently calculated to produce, and that in point of fact it does produce the directly contrary effect. They say our priests sell indulgences to commit sin. We can only reply that this is a monstrous untruth. They tell us Catholics are not allowed to read the Bible, though it is well known that a Bible is to be found in nearly every Catholic house. Nothing is plainer in history, than that the Church has been the most constant, the most zealous, and the most munificent friend and patron of education, the world has yet seen. Nevertheles, the great majority of non-Catholics are persuaded that a cardinal point in her policy has always been to oppose and check intellectual culture of every kind. She has put no restraint on human thought, or action, which God himself has not imposed upon them. She has suffered much in the defence of popular rights against the tyranny of rulers, and of legitimate authority against rebellion. The freest forms of government on earth have her blessing, and the cordial support of her children; yet non-Catholics, generally, know her only as the uncompromising advocate of despotism in every form.

And thus we might go over the whole catalogue of Protestant popular objections to the Church, and assert that they are based on false suppositions, that they spring from misconception and misrepresentation of her doctrine and her discipline.

Nor is it in theological works only, that false charges of this

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kind occur. They are to be met with in every description of Protestant writings, from the dictionary to the encyclopedia, from the school primer to the grave and philosophical history. The candidate for collegiate honors finds them in his Whateley's Rhetoric and Logic. The student of law finds them in his Blackstone; the man of letters in all the sources of his literary and scientific knowledge. Even Mr. Bancroft, though he frankly confesses that Catholics were the first to give religious liberty a home—"its only home, in the wide world"—on this continent, has, unconsciously we trust, woven into the beautiful web of his History of the United States, more than one coarse anti-Catholic calumny.

The following passage from Dr. Nevin, an eminent Protestant clergyman of this State, confirms what has thus far been said on this subject. "We are all familiar," he says, "with the anti-popery spirit under this radical and fanatical form. Our common religious press may be said to teem with it every week. It meets us on the street, and in all public places. Our very piety is infected with it to a large extent, both in the sanctuary and in the domestic circle. The fountains of our charity are turned by it too often into wormwood and gall. Many appear to look upon it as one main part of their religion, a necessary evidence of their evangelical temper and habit, to hate and curse the Catholics. However it may be in any other direction, here, at least, they feel that they do well, as it would seem, to be angry, to show contempt, and to indulge misrepresentations and abuse to their hearts' content. Nicknames are so pat to the tongue, that they flow from it like the poison of asps, without effort or thought; all, too, in Christ's sweet and holy name. The most abominable charges and criminations are trumpeted without proof, as though the bold repetition of them simply were enough in the end to make them good. No pains are taken to understand any doctrine or practice of the Church in the light of its own historical or theological relations; it is counted quite sufficient to drag every article, in the most rude and vulgar way, before the tribunal of the world's common sense (alas, how *common* in many cases,) and to take the measure of its merits accordingly, as though the deepest mysteries of religion might be settled by such superficial and profane judgment, as it were, at a moment's glance. All runs out easily, thus, into the most wholesale censure and reproach. Romanism is found to be from beginning to end a tissue of impiety and folly, at war with the most sacred interests of humanity, and in full contradiction to the will of God. It is a diabolical conspiracy against truth and righteousness. There is no reason in any of its institutions; they are founded on falsehood throughout; they subvert the whole sense of the Gospel, and, in their source and operation, are purely

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anti-Christian, of one order, we may say, with infidelity itself. Such, in general, is this popular theory." (*Mercersburg Review*, 1852, page 45.)

During the last political campaign in Ohio, Bishop Rosecrans, through the columns of the *Columbian*, offered "a handsome picture" to every man in his diocese, "who could find a newspaper attack on the Catholic Church without a misrepresentation in it." Need we say that thus far no claimant has appeared for one such gift?

And how can Protestants have other than erroneous ideas of Catholicity, if, from whatever cause, they never read our books or our formularies of faith, and are dependent for their knowledge of it on those who misrepresent it? Some years ago, we received a letter from a Protestant young man in the State of Ohio, who, as he said, had been "taught to look with abhorrence on the Catholic religion and its adherents," and who had learned the lesson taught him. Subsequently, however, his reading of history led him to conceive such a dislike of Protestantism, and such a veneration for the Church, as to make him feel that, in his own words, he "must either become a firm believer in the Mother Church, or a disbeliever in Christianity." "Can you," he asked, "will you give me some advice? Are there no books, papers, tracts, or other publications, that will enlighten me in regard to your religion?" In a subsequent letter, he said: "In all I have ever read, I have never found a single page, nay, not even a sentence, favorable to Catholicism, or rather intended as such. It has been one continued tirade of abuse, and all I know about the Romish Church, is through her enemies." Now, there are hundreds of thousands and millions of non-Catholics in this country, who, like this young man, have been taught to abhor the Church, but who, unlike him, have hardly ever suspected that an imposition has been practiced upon them.

And is there not something truly extraordinary, something preternatural, in this ignorance, this utter delusion, in regard to our faith? We can understand how the Pagans could have been led to believe that the early Christians adored an ass's head, and, at their love feasts, fed on the flesh of babes. There was a secrecy and a mystery about the assemblies of those first Christians. Pagans, and even catechumens, were not allowed to be present at them, nor to read nor see the Sacred Scriptures. This secrecy might have easily given color to the calumnies that were circulated against the faithful. But the Church has now no *Arcanum*. Her temples are open to all. All have access to her formularies of faith. Protestants live, everywhere, intermingled with Catholics, from whom they may learn our doctrines. Almost everywhere

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may be found Catholic books and Catholic papers. Yet, strange to say, even in cities where nearly half the population is Catholic, Protestants are as profoundly ignorant of our faith as in the most Protestant districts. How strange, how unaccountable this is! Protestants explore every department of science, read history, criticise it, philosophize upon it; but of the Catholic Church, the only fact that has filled the world, and filled it for nineteen centuries—a Church whose history is the history of civilization, a Church that has converted and civilized all the great nations of the world—of her they know nothing that is true, and will believe nothing that is good! Impartial critics in all things else, they accept, with a blind and blinding faith, their ideas of her from her bitterest foes, and do not and will not hear what she has to say in her own defense.

All this might be intelligible if Protestants ignored the Church, if they were accustomed to banish the thought of her from their minds. But they do nothing of the kind. She is the bugbear of their childhood, the crafty enemy of their liberties in manhood, the great moral and social evil against which it is the duty and the endeavour of their whole lives to contend. They will talk about her, write about her, they will do anything and everything but study and understand her. Is this, we ask, complimentary to their intelligence, their fairness, their love of justice?

Contrast their conduct, in this respect, with that of Catholics. Where, in the long list of our standard controversialists, is there one in whom can be found the slightest misrepresentation or misstatement of the errors they undertake to refute? Who, for instance, would suspect a Bellarmine, a Swartz, a Bossuet, or, coming down to present times, an England, a Wiseman, a Newman, or a Manning, to be even capable of such a thing? Why, it is notorious that such a charge is hardly ever made against Catholic writers or preachers, even of the most ordinary intelligence. And when it is, where is the writer or preacher who is not only too glad to correct the error into which he may have unintentionally fallen? Could such a one be found, Catholics would be the first to lose respect for him. They would not tolerate him in their pulpits, and they would pray to be delivered from such a defender of their faith. And as for libelous charges on any class of non-Catholics, clerical or lay, from the Catholic press or pulpit, who has ever heard of them? Sometimes, indeed, attention is called by some of our papers to such current scandals among non-Catholics as may be said to have become public property; but in this they are not sustained by the approval of the general Catholic reader. Unless in the case of some notorious hypocrite, who has become "a corruptor of the flock," or something of that kind, and whom for this reason it becomes necessary in the interest of public morals to

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expose, Catholics regard such mention of their neighbors' faults as a violation, if not of charity, at least of propriety and good taste.

We do not claim for Catholics generally a critical knowledge of Protestant doctrine, much less of the history of its all but endless variations. As well might they be expected to be conversant with the *Flora* and *Fauna* of the different Protestant countries, as with the specific doctrinal differences of the countless sects to which they have given birth, during the last three centuries. Still all intelligent Catholics are correctly and sufficiently well informed as to the general principles of Protestantism, its leading objections to Catholic dogma and discipline, and the principal arguments by which it seeks to sustain them. To give them such information is a part of their Catholic training. It is to be found in the doctrinal catechisms they study as children, and in the numberless tracts and books on popular controversy, in the hands of persons of all ages and conditions amongst us.

But be their knowledge on these points what it may, certain it is that the most unenlightened Catholic would think it literally a sin and a shame, as well as a folly, to attribute to Protestants errors they do not hold, and which they even condemn and reprobate.

But anti-Catholic prejudice is not only unenlightened, misled; it is also credulous in the extreme. It accepts without inquiry and without hesitation the most extraordinary stories about convents and the Catholic clergy; and no sooner is one such calumny exposed, than it welcomes others as improbable, or more improbable than the preceding. It craves aliment of this kind just as the drunkard craves rum. It is true, Protestants here no longer believe that priests have horns. They have seen too many of them to believe that now. They will hardly suffer to be told any more, as they used to be told even within our recollection, that the Pope meditates a descent on this continent, and the capture of Washington city. But they can still be made to believe, or at least to suspect, very strange things about us. We once heard a Protestant clergyman tell a large and enlightened audience in this State that the young ladies of St. Joseph's Academy, Emmetsburg, were made to adore the wooden image of a lamb, in Holy Week, and the statement was generally credited in the community where it was made. The same gentleman gave as illustrations of the religious belief of the Irish people, the story of St. Patrick and the snake which he shut up in an iron chest, and other stories of the same kind, from the "Killarney Legends." We are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to become members of secret societies; yet it would be hard to convince the majority of Protestants that there is not a very flourishing society of the kind in the Catholic Church, under the lead and control of the ubiquitous Jesuits.

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How many a good Protestant lady has heard from her pulpit, and read in her religious weekly, that her servant Bridget is a committee of one from this society to report the affairs of the family to the priest, who, in turn, will report to the bishop, whose duty it will be to lay the whole matter before the Pope!

To pander to this grosser kind of anti-Catholic credulity, was, for a long time, quite a profitable business in this country. It gave notoriety and a livelihood to numberless impostors, from Maria Monk to Miss Bunkley, from Hogan to Leahy, Achilli, and others of later date. And though the charges made by these wretched anti-popery celebrities have been refuted to the satisfaction even of candid Protestants, and though some of the traducers have themselves made humble and open confession of their falsehood, their libels may still be found for sale on the shelves of Protestant bookstores.

Of a large class of Protestants, it can hardly be said, that they "rejoice not in iniquity;" at least when we are supposed to be its authors. When chronicling our misdeeds, few of them can be likened to those

> "Who, sad as angels for the good man's sin,
> Weep to record, and blush to give it in."

Quite the contrary. Losing sight of the first principles of Christian charity where we are concerned, they are jubilant over the wickedness imputed to us; and, when we are proven to be less guilty than had been supposed, they give no uncertain signs of disappointment and chagrin: their press and pulpit, that echoed the calumny against us and exulted in it, are silent, and dream not of repairing the injury done us.

This anti-Catholic prejudice has, more than once, hurried Protestants into excesses of which Protestants themselves were often ashamed. It made men, calling themselves Protestants, set a torch to Mount Benedict near Boston, to the churches of St. Augustine and St. Michael in this city, and to the churches and homes of Catholics in other places. It made them shoot down unoffending Catholics in the streets of Louisville, Kentucky, and force them back to perish in their burning dwellings set on fire by an anti-Catholic mob. Others it led to tar and feather a priest in Maine, for no other crime than that of being a priest. And in polite, learned and liberty-loving Massachusetts, it sent an investigating committee of legislators, very properly styled at the time "a smelling committee," to pry into the cupboards and cellars and sinks of a convent boarding house, in search of captive or murdered females.

About the same time this convent-phobia, which is ever lurking in the system of Protestants, showed itself in a very malignant form in our city. A ladies' petition was gotten up here in

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1851, to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, calling for the suppression of nunneries, under the gross insinuation of their being only seats of licentiousness and sin. "Strange 'ladies' they must have been," says the Protestant Dr. Nevin, already quoted, "that could lend their names to such an infamous libel on the purity of their own sex. The like insult directed towards the Episcopalians, Methodists or Presbyterians, would have at once drawn upon itself the angry frown of society as a breach of all decency as well as charity. But, as directed against the *Catholics* only, the blackguardism of the thing was generally not felt. Certain "evangelical" papers caught up, even with a great gusto, as a capital hit, the flying report that the legislature had referred the petition to the Committee on Vice and Immorality. Now, if *any* ground had ever been given for scandal, in the history of American nunneries, one might have some patience with such ribald ruffianism, hiding its malignity under the cloak of religion. But what well-informed person needs to be told that every apology of this sort is wanting? All attempts yet made to blast the good name of these institutions amongst us, have recoiled with signal discomfiture on the heads of those who have acted as leaders in the vile crusade. It is enough to refer to Charlestown, Pittsburgh and Montreal, to the *memory* of Miss Reed, Dr. Brownlee and Maria Monk. On the other hand, the good works of these religious houses have been too manifold and plain, in every direction, to be rationally called in question. Now, in all seriousness, we ask what right, in these circumstances, have people pretending to be themselves respectable and pious, to vilify and calumniate the inmates of such institutions, in the way of which we now speak, as though they had forfeited all claim to the most ordinary courtesies of well-bred life? Just as little right, we say confidently, as any gentlewoman has to outrage, in the same way, any ladies' seminary whatever, in the land." (Mercersburg Review, 1851, page 475.

That the spirit that inspired this petition survived it, is evident from the fact that, five years ago, another effort was made in our legislature to have a visiting committee appointed for our convents. There must be, at least, fifty thousand Protestant ladies in the United States who have been educated in our convents, and who bear witness to the purity and the piety of their inmates; but their testimony is not sufficient to silence the nasty insinuations of anti-popery bigots.

About the same time that the ladies' petition so fittingly commented on by Dr. Nevin was drawn up, a crusade was preached in this city against Catholic servant girls, several of whom were turned into the streets simply because they were Catholics.

Thousands of Protestants, it is true, deplored these excesses, and

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did what they could to atone for them; but were they not the natural effects of the false and outrageous charges made against us by the non-Catholic press, and the non-Catholic pulpit? No one need be surprised at them. The wonder is, that they have not been more frequent, and more violent. Were a tithe of what Protestants are taught to believe of us true, the Latter-day Saints would be saints indeed, compared with us. Did we really hold the doctrines, and entertain the designs for which they give us credit, Protestants, to be consistent and just to themselves and the country, should drive us into the sea.

And what happened before, may easily happen again. Where there is so much combustible material, a spark may cause a conflagration at any moment. A well-concocted tale of scandal about a convent, a Catholic hospital or orphan asylum; an imprudent act an imprudent utterance by a bishop or a priest; an injudicious article in a Catholic paper; any false step, in fine, made by one or more representative Catholics, so-called, might stir up as fierce an excitement to-day as ever disgraced the past. It is of course unreasonable, outrageous, to hold the Catholic community responsible for the sins or indiscretions of its individual members, but such is the logic, and such the justice of anti-Catholic prejudice.

But how are we to meet this prejudice of non-Catholics? Two rules of conduct in regard to it must commend themselves to everybody. One is, not to give it any unnecessary occasion of irritation; the other, to do all in our power to enlighten it.

We may not conceal or explain away Catholic truth, in any one particular; but we can proclaim and defend it, without giving reasonable cause of offence to any man. To assert and uphold our rights under the constitution and the laws, is our privilege, and may sometimes become a duty. But, may not the case arise, too, when to do so persistently, clamorously, or even to do so at all, would be both impolitic and mischievous?

There is in this country a large class, larger perhaps than in any other, of fair-minded non-Catholics who would not knowingly, do us a wrong even in thought. At times, too, and in particular localities, they have been able to give practical proof of their love of justice and fair play, even when we were concerned. Still we cannot always rely on the support of this class, when a grievance is to be removed, or a just claim to be advanced. Least of all can we do so, in seasons of religious excitement. At such times, those who inspire and direct anti-Catholic opinion, know very well how by well-timed misrepresentations, to array many of them against us, to awe others into silence, and to defy the remainder. But we should bear in mind that there is another class who, when we have shown them in what and how they can harm us, are only too glad

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to profit by the knowledge we give them. When we prove to unscrupulous opponents of this sort that, for instance, a certain provision of law is unjust and injurious to us, we give them the very strongest reason for insisting on its maintenance; and should they be led to regard it as fatal to any important Catholic interest, they are excited to a frenzy of zeal in its defense. Press and pulpit, secret societies and associations of every kind, are summoned to its support; all the bad passions bigotry can arouse are let loose, and very often the evil originally complained of is supplemented by others much harder to bear. When this is likely to be the result of pressing any Catholic claim on the attention of the general public—and such a result should, generally speaking, be anticipated whenever we have to touch some deep-seated, cherished delusion in the public mind—it were, we submit, better not to press it. Any good to be hoped for by so doing, had better be sought by other means. Prudence is a virtue, and one without which the other virtues must degenerate into vices. "All things are lawful to me, but not all are expedient." We all have a right to protection in life and limb, but a sensible man will be careful how he crosses the whim of a lunatic. Now, every community goes mad at times, on a variety of subjects; but we venture to say there is no subject on which the non-Catholic mind is as liable to lose its balance, as on that of Catholicity. And when it is lost, there are never wanting those who are able and willing to put method in the madness that ensues, whether for the shedding of Catholic blood, the destruction of Catholic property, or the passing of laws hostile and hurtful to Catholics. Such men and their dupes are not restrained by any considerations of right or justice. Their only recognition of these virtues is, to do in their name the very worst deeds. No matter how consistent in other respects, they will fling consistency to the winds, they will even sacrifice their most cherished principles, to do us a wrong. The enemies of the Church are ever and always the same, animated by the same spirit, guided by the same policy. The advocates, *par excellence*, of religious liberty, Protestants, have never granted it to Catholics, or indeed to each other, when they had the power to withhold it, and have meekly taken their Gospel from the state whenever the state was willing to adopt them as its own, and give them the benefit of its support and protection. The ultra Radicals, and the advanced Lutherans of Prussia, are to-day, the most enthusiastic supporters of Bismarckian rule. Freely, joyfully, do they give their feet to the fetters forged by this tyrant, solely because they think them likely to prove more galling to their Catholic fellow-countrymen than to themselves. In the Catholic states of Germany, the Radicals who control them would rather see them absorbed by Prussia, than continue to be Catholic,

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showing thereby that their hatred of the Church is much stronger than even their love of country.

Let us not be deceived. Our enemies in this country lack only the power to do here, what Bismarck and his friends are trying to do against us in Europe; and should the power be given them, they will do it in a more summary and shameless manner than their European models. Such a trifling obstacle as a clause in the Constitution, they will not allow to stand in their way for a single moment. Here they profess to be in favor of the separation of church and state; but do we not find them making constant efforts—in which they are but too often successful—to use the legislative power of the state and federal governments to strengthen their own position and undermine ours? Their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, the sects and modern infidel parties have an innate sense of their own weakness. They feel their inability to hold their own against each other, but especially against the Church, without the aid in one form or other of the civil authority. Hence they have always sought to usurp that authority, or when that was impracticable, to make it as far as possible subservient to their ends. This is all perfectly natural. When men cut loose from the religious order established by God in the world, they cannot feel the ground very firm under their feet, and they must be expected to catch at such helps for support as lie within their reach. The secret societies and the sects have evidently made up their minds that the time has come for pressing this government into their service, in the general onslaught they are now making upon the Church, and we may rest assured they will leave nothing untried to effect their purpose. If they fail, it will not be their fault. And why may they not succeed? In these days of "culture," all that is necessary to make a law, to make wrong right or right wrong, is a majority of votes; and that majority secured, what is there that the enemies of the Church need be afraid to dare or do, even in a republic? Has not the anti-Catholic legislation of Switzerland, during the past year, cast even the Falck laws into the shade? and has not every outrage committed against religious liberty, whether at Berlin, or Berne, or Geneva, the approval, more or less avowed of all classes of non-Catholics in this country?

The outline of the crusade with which we are threatened was given us by General Grant in his maiden speech at Des Moines, a few months ago. It is eminently Bismarckian. From a literary point of view, that speech can hardly be said to be a success. As it reflected the inner thought and temper of the man, it was a deliverance disgraceful in the chief magistrate of a great nation, and especially so in one who ought to be animated by the high impulses of a soldier, and of a soldier of the United

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States Army. But it derives great importance from the fact that it has been deemed quite sufficient, not only to restore the lost popularity of its author, but to retrieve the fortunes of a falling party. After what has transpired since it was spoken, who is prepared to say that its influence has been over-estimated? One thing at least seems certain: should General Grant actually commit himself to the course of action foreshadowed in that speech, though he may be disappointed in the hope he is said to entertain of a third term, he cannot fail to become the leader and the idol of a very powerful party in this country. He is not a great man. Even his former admirers have generally ceased to regard him as such. He may without injustice be classed with those modern "Presidents of Republics," who, as Louis Veuillot has lately said, rise up like phantoms to betray the needs of the public, who are weighed and found wanting, who are lost in oblivion, and who, if they have chanced to leave any footprints after them, a sort of dust soon blows over them, and obliterates their fruitless tracks. Still, his shortcomings, whatever they may be, if not forgotten, will be condoned him, and he will become the *Magnus Apollo* of ultra-Protestantism and radicalism in the United States, should he lend the prestige of his name and the patronage of his office to further the "policy" indicated in his speech. And, should he adopt this course, no one will be able to plead in his defence that he did so out of the superabundance of his religious enthusiasm. Religious enthusiasm is about the last thing of which anybody could suspect Mr. Grant capable. He may have, and no doubt he has, the ordinary amount of bigotry imbibed by non-Catholics from their tenderest years, but he is not, and never was an enthusiast. No, should he put himself at the head of an anti-Catholic crusade, he will do so with all the cool calculation of that worst class of politicians, who are always ready to make use of religious fanaticism to secure or retain place, and to be used by it in turn.

Should a persecution be forced upon us, as would seem not unlikely to be the case, we need of course have no fears for the Church; and as for ourselves, we must hope that God will give us grace to bear it. But we must not provoke it by culpable indiscretion on our part. To do so would be to tempt God. A little less boasting than we are accustomed to indulge in about our numbers and our influence, to say nothing of the imprudence of the thing, would, it seems to us, be in better taste. Catholic parades and processions are all very well in Catholic countries There, they strengthen faith and Catholic feeling in those who take part in them, and in those who witness them. Here, in our opinion, they are out of place. They put unwelcome obstructions in the way of public business and when they do not exasperate, they

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certainly do not edify a community that can have no sympathy with them. The enemy is ever on the alert to compromise us, to put us in a false position; and such demonstrations furnish numerous occasions of doing so, especially if they lead, as they may at any time lead, to a violation of the peace. Years ago we heard a prominent clergyman of this city say, that in his opinion the anti-Catholic feeling that culminated here in the riots of 1844, had received its first great impulse from a Catholic procession that paraded our streets in 1839. Our estimable Temperance and Beneficial Societies, or at least many of their members, may not, we fear, like this disapproval of displays which they view in a very different light from us. But we feel the general sentiment, not only of the country, but of Catholics, is opposed to them; and even though it were not, we should for the reasons just mentioned consider it a duty to enter our protest against them at the present time. We do not flatter ourselves that our words are likely to have much effect in putting a stop to them, but we are unwilling by our silence to be held in any way accountable for the shedding of blood they are likely some day to occasion. Catholics are accustomed to rely, and in this country they have always solely relied on the law and the constituted authorities for protection in person and property. They have no organizations for self-defence against those whom they know to be hostile to them, and ready to do their worst against them should the opportunity offer. This under ordinary circumstances is as it should be. But how is it with those whom they would find opposed to them in case of riot, or disorder? Every large city and town in the land is, we need hardly say, covered with a network of secret societies, which though with one or two exceptions not avowedly organized against Catholics, are in anything but sympathy with us. From the members of these societies the rank and file and officers of our volunteer force are mainly recruited. For some reason or other Catholics show no great love for soldier's clothes, unless when fighting is to be done for the country. Suppose then "a trap" should be set for one of our processions, and it falls into it, what will follow? Those in the secret of the plot, stationed at convenient points along the line, will know how to raise the proper battle cry, and draw a following to commence the fray; the afternoon papers will give under inflammatory headings their version of the affair; flaming posters will repeat it at every street corner; mob-orators will try their powers of persuasion on the multitude; the "drum ecclesiastic" too, may beat to arms, the military will be called out, and hundreds and even thousands be slaughtered before the state authorities are able to come to the rescue, if even they could be relied on now to do their whole duty in such a contingency. Time was when our volunteers were ready

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at a moment's warning to stand up bravely, and without bias, in the defense of public order, no matter by whom disturbed. They did so in this city in 1844. But we fear that time is not now. When a President of the United States is not ashamed to hound on against us the veterans of the Army of the Cumberland, what may we not apprehend from the bad influences that can be brought to bear on men who would themselves bring into their ranks the very passions it would be their duty to quell in others?

It would little become us at any time, least of all now, at our first appearance amongst them, to undertake to lecture our brethren of the Catholic press on the grave responsibility that will rest upon them, during the crisis on which the Church has already entered in this country. And, even could we, by any chance, feel ourselves called on to do so, we are unconscious of any grace or gift that would fit us to discharge such a duty. Nevertheless, the importance of the occasion will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for, at least, calling their attention to the subject. Every sentence, every word we write, is weighed and scrutinized by thousands, solely with a view to pervert its meaning, and use against us any imprudent or less guarded expression that may happen to escape from our pens. It is an old device of the enemy. "Then, the Pharisees going, consulted among themselves, how to insnare him in his speech." We cannot, then, be too cautious in what we say, or how we say it. Doing our very best, we will be misunderstood and misrepresented. Let us, at least, be able to feel the consolation of having tried to prevent the one and the other. A veteran Catholic journalist once told us, that having the fear of the gentle critics just alluded to before his eyes, he had long made it a rule to never knowingly write a sentence which, taken from its context, could be made by them to bear a sense that could be rightly considered offensive to non-Catholics. In this it was his good fortune to have succeeded far beyond his expectations. Those of our readers whose memories go back some twenty-five or thirty years ago, may remember how, about that time, the silly and insulting "bounce" of a certain editor for whose words the Catholic body was held responsible, kindled a fire of indignation against us all over the country. Happily, that editor lived to become a wiser and a better man, and to atone, in great measure, for his past imprudence; but the evil he had done lived after him, and bore its bitter fruit for years. No one, we think, can hesitate to say which of these two men the young Catholic writer of the present time had better take for his model, in the one particular to which we have presumed to invite attention. A fool can set the house on fire, though a wise man cannot always extinguish the flames.

We should endeavor to enlighten the prejudice of non-Catholics.

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Catholicity, as they understand it, exists only in their own imaginations. So understood, it is a compound of sin and absurdity, which we detest far more than they. We should try, then, to teach them what Catholicity really is. If we can induce a Protestant neighbor to read some compendium of Catholic doctrine, such as the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or even some one of the catechisms in use in our Sunday-schools, we will have done much towards his conversion. When a Protestant has been brought to understand in what, precisely, Catholicity and Protestantism differ, he may still have objections to the Church; but nine-tenths of his previous objections will have disappeared, simply because they were objections to things that form no part of Catholic doctrine. We owe it to Protestants to make an effort to bring them to a knowledge of the truth. They are our fellow-citizens, our brethren in Christ. There are many kind and generous and noble hearts amongst them, who find it painful to be obliged to differ with us. There are those, too, who, though they now oppose us with the blind and restless energy of a Saul, would, did they only know what and whom it is they persecute, rival even his zeal in their efforts to diffuse Catholic truth. Of this we have abundant proof in the long line of learned and devout priests and laymen now in the foremost ranks of the Church's defenders, who, but a few years ago, were among the ablest champions of heresy and unbelief. And if there be others, whose opposition to us springs from motives less pure or less enlightened than theirs, these, more than any others, call for the exercise of our zeal. We have been brought up to a knowledge of the faith, without any sacrifice or merit on our part. Had we been born out of the Church, we might be numbered to-day amongst her blindest and bitterest opponents. We should, then, be patient and charitable with those who oppose her, because they know not what they do. And whilst we enjoy the peace, the security, the certainty, and all the manifold consolations our faith brings us, we should do all that it is possible for us to do, by word, but especially by example, to bring back those who now wander in the ways of doubt and error to the one fold of the one Shepherd.

JAMES O'CONNOR.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SUPERNATURAL.

Principii di Filosofia Soprannaturale. Libri Tre. Genova. Tipografia del R. I. de' Sordo Muti, vol. i. 1869, vol. ii. 1871, vol. iii. 1872, vol. iv. 1874; 16 mo.

We have no intention of reviewing at present the very remarkable work, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. We have as yet received only four of the five volumes of which it is to consist, and these we have not sufficiently studied to be able to pass an intelligent judgment on their contents. We introduce them in order to express our cordial approval of the author's design, our sense of the rare philosophical and theological learning and ability with which it appears to be executed, and also as a text of some remarks of our own on the general subject, or the so-called philosophy of the supernatural.

There may be readers who doubt if there is or can be any such thing as a philosophy of the supernatural, for there are many persons, who, though they deny not a supernatural order, never recognize any relation or analogy between it and the natural order. For them the Creator's works, instead of forming one dialectic whole, exist as two separate and unrelated, if not antagonistic orders. The author of the work before us is not one of these. He hold that the Creator's works form a complete and harmonious whole, and that the natural finds its complement or fulfillment in the supernatural. The natural and the supernatural form in his view only two parts of one homogeneous and indissoluble whole, and therefore must have a real relation the one to the other, and necessarily have not only their points of analogy, but also somewhere their points of contact. Both orders are homogeneous parts of one system, or of one design, one divine decree, or the one divine creative act. If this is so, there may be a philosophy of the supernatural as well as of the natural.

Philosophy is the science of principles; not, as the superficial thinkers or unthinkers of our materialistic age would have us believe, of sensible or material facts, the proper object of the physical sciences, as astronomy, electricity, chemistry, mechanics, geology, hydraulics, etc. Principles precede facts, originate and govern them. Indeed we know not facts themselves, nor understand their significance or meaning, until we have referred them to their principles. What in the English-speaking world is in our days called philosophy is simply an induction from the observation of the facts of the physical order, and is confined by Sir William Hamilton to physics, psychology and logic, and excludes not only the supernat-

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ural, but the supersensible or intelligible, though within the province of natural reason. But without meaning to disparage philosophy in this sense, or the physical sciences, the fruits of which are seen in the mechanical inventions and material progress of the age, we must maintain that it is infinitely below philosophy, properly so-called. It is, in a subordinate sense, *scientia*, but not *sapientia*, according to Aristotle, the science of principles which are upersensible and not obtained by way of induction from sensible facts, whether facts of external nature, or from the soul itself. All principles are supersensible and are objects of the intellect; in no case of the senses. Some of them are known or knowable by the light of nature; others only by the light of supernatural revelation. The science of the former is the philosophy of the natural; of the latter is the philosophy of the supernatural.

These two philosophies are of principles equally certain; for the light of reason and the light of revelation are both emanations of the divine light or Logos, and each is infallible. We may err and take that to be reason which is not reason, or that to be revelation which is not revelation; but neither can itself err, for both rest on the veracity of God, who is Truth itself, and can neither deceive nor be deceived. The science of revealed principles is as truly science as is the science of principles known by the light of nature, and differs from it only as to its medium. We may then speak of the philosophy of the supernatural with as much propriety and confidence as of the philosophy of the natural.

The philosophy of the supernatural follows the analogy of the natural. The philosophy of the natural presents the principles of the natural so far as they are cognizable by natural reason in their intelligible phase, their relation tc one another, and the facts of the sensible order which they explain and govern. The philosophy of the supernatural presents the principles so far as revealed of the supernatural order, their mutual relation and reciprocal dependencies, and their relation to the natural order which they explain and complete, and which without them is not only incomplete, but absolutely without purpose or meaning. This is what the Rev. professor has attempted to show in his *Principii de Filosofia Soprannaturale*, with what success we are not a competent judge; but so far as we have read the volumes published, and are capable of judging, he has not failed; and if he has not completely succeeded, he has proved himself a philosopher and theologian of the first order, and produced a work which for depth, originality, and importance, has not been surpassed, if equalled in modern times. While the professor accepts the maxim, *gratia supponit naturam*, he refutes the rationalistic assumption that the natural exists for itself alone, that it does or can suffice for itself, or is

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anything without the supernatural in which it has its origin, medium and end.

The questions treated belong properly to the domain of theology, but lie back of those ordinarily treated by our modern theologians. Since the rise of scholasticism, theology has pursued the analytical method, and has been, for the most part, studied in separate questions and articles in detail, rather than as a uniform and indissoluble whole. The articles and dogmas of faith have been dissected, analyzed, accurately described, and labelled, but except by a few superior minds not presented in their unity or as integral and inseparable members of one living body. The objection of the traditionalists to the scholastic method that it is rationalistic and of Döllinger and German professordom that it is theological, not historical, and places reason above revelation, deserves no respect, and, if I am not mistaken, has been reprobated by the Holy See. As against the traditionalists and the German professors, the scholastic method is approved in the Syllabus, but this does not prohibit us from pointing out that it tends to make the student lose sight of the faith objectively considered as an organic whole. What moderately instructed theologian ever regards the natural and the supernatural as parts of one dialectic system, distinct, if you will, but inseparable in the divine decree, or that does not look upon them as two disconnected and independent systems? Who ever thinks of looking below the dogma to the catholic principle that underlies it, governs it, and binds it to every other dogma, and integrates it in the living unity of the divine purpose in creation?

We do not pretend to enumerate and describe the principles of the supernatural philosophy, for we are neither philosopher nor theologian enough for that; we lack both the ability and the learning to do anything of the sort. All we aim at here is to show that there is a philosophy of the supernatural as well as of the natural; and that we live in times when for the vindication of the faith against the various classes of its enemies, it is necessary to recognize and study it to a far greater extent than it is ordinarily studied in our seminaries. The age has no respect for authority, and though we prove conclusively that the Church is divinely commissioned and assisted to teach the faith, and is therefore infallible, we do not meet the real difficulties of the more cultivated classes of unbelievers, or prepare them to accept any article, dogma, or proposition of faith for the reason that she teaches it. The world outside of the Church may be credulous and superstitious, able, as Clemens of Alexandria said to the Greeks, "to believe anything and every thing except the TRUTH," but have undeniably lost all faith in the supernatural order, and really believe only in the natural, if indeed even so much as that. Our spiritists, who profess to have communications with

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the spirits of the departed, do not really admit a supernatural order. The real cause of this unbelief, so far as it is intellectual, not moral, is in the assumption that the natural and the supernatural are held by the Church as by the sects to be two separate, independent, and unrelated orders, indeed as two antagonistic orders. They take their views of Christian theology not from the teaching of the Church, but from such errorists as Calvinists and Jansenists, who in their theories demolish nature to make way for grace. The supernatural appears to them an anomaly in the Creator's works; something arbitrary, illogical, without any reason in the nature of things, or the principles of the universe. No amount of evidence, they contend, can suffice to prove the reality of any order that is above nature or the reach of natural reason. Hence they attempt to reduce miracles and all marvelous events, too well authenticated to be denied as facts, to the natural order, explicable by natural laws, though we may as yet be ignorant of these laws. Carlyle, one of the oldest of contemporary British thinkers and writers, in his "Sartor Resartus" has a chapter headed *natural-supernaturalism*, in which he reduces the supernatural to the natural, and therefore really denies it while apparently asserting it. Natural supernaturalism is a contradiction in terms; and it is more manly to deny the supernatural outright than it is to attempt to explain it by the operation of natural laws.

Now, it is necessary, in order to meet and refute this objection, and the reasoning by which they who urge it attempt to sustain it, to show that without confounding the supernatural with the natural or obliterating the distinction between them, the supernatural is not anomalous, arbitrary, or illogical, but is as original and integral in the Creator's design as the natural itself. The natural and supernatural are two parts of one original plan of creation, and are distinguished only as the initial is distinguished from the teleological or completion. The natural is initial, the supernatural is teleological, or the perfection or fulfillment of the natural. It was in the beginning, εν αρχη, *in principio*, the design of the Creator that the natural should be perfected, completed, or fulfilled in the supernatural. Indeed, we do not understand how the natural could possibly be perfected in the natural, the creature, which is necessarily imperfect, in the creation. To assume that man can be perfected in the natural order is to assume that he has no destiny, his existence no purpose, and therefore no meaning, which would be tantamount to assuming that he is a mere nullity, nothing at all. Man, nature, the universe, all creation, originates in and proceeds by the creative act of God from the supernatural, for God the Creator is necessarily supernatural, that is, above and over nature. Nature originates in the supernatural, and since we know from revelation,

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and might almost at least infer from reason itself, that God creates all things for Himself, it has and can have its destiny or end only in the supernatural. The good of every creature is in attaining its end, the fulfillment or perfection of its nature, and hence the notion broached and defended by some theologians —not, indeed, of the first order—of a natural beatitude, is inadmissible, and originates in a superficial and incomplete view of the Creator's design in creation, and, we may add, of the nature of things, in the very assumption on which is founded the objection of the unbeliever. We are considering that nature is a whole, and once created with its laws, suffices or might have sufficed for itself—a purely deistical conception, and not changed in its nature by what these same theologians add, that God by his superabounding goodness has provided for those that love Him something better, even supernatural beatitude. There is and can be no natural beatitude; because, whatever is natural is finite, and the soul hungers and thirsts for an unbounded good, and can be satisfied with nothing short of the Infinite; that is to say, God Himself, who is the Supreme Good in itself. "I shall be satisfied," says holy Job, "when I awake in Thy likeness." There is rest for the soul only in God. Prophets, poets and sages of all nations and ages, as well as Christian preachers have borne witness to the insufficiency of every created or finite good to satisfy the soul and give it real beatitude. All this proves that man was created for a supernatural, not a natural beatitude or end, and therefore that the supernatural entered into the divine plan of creation. When it follows that the alleged *status naturæ puræ* is a pure abstraction, and has never existed in an actual state, as the theologians who insist on it, for the most part, concede and hold, as we do. We are laboring to prove that man, in point of fact, is and always has been under a gracious or supernatural providence, and, therefore, from the first destined to a supernatural end, attainable only through a supernatural medium. The original justice in which Adam was constituted, and which placed him on the plane of his destiny, was supernatural, not produced by his nature; and when by his prevarication he lost it, he fell below his nature, became darkened in his understanding, weakened in his will, and captive to Satan, from whose power he is delivered only by the Incarnate Word.

That man is created for a good that transcends nature is indicated not only by his inability to satisfy himself with any natural, that is, created good, but also by his consciousness of his own imperfection or incompleteness, that his reason is limited, and that he is capable of being more than he is or can be by his unassisted natural powers. There is something mysterious and inexplicable

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to us in this fact—a fact which seems to us to imply that we have an obscure sense of the supernatural, which the vast majority of mankind in all ages and nations in one form or another recognize. Gioberti, in his *Teorica Sovrannaturale*, ascribed it to a faculty of the soul, which he calls *Sovrintelligenza*, that is to say, a natural faculty of knowing what transcends nature. But this seems to us inadmissible, indeed a contradiction in terms. A faculty is a power, and the faculty asserted by Gioberti would be the power of knowing the superintelligible. But if we have a natural faculty of knowing the superintelligible, it is not superintelligible, but intellibible. Yet the fact that reason asserts her own limitations, and therefore something beyond which limits her, or that nature asserts her own insufficiency, whatever the explanation, is indisputable. This to us proves the reality of the supernatural and its relation to the natural, though it tells us not what the supernatural is, or what are its specific principles.

We may perhaps establish even more conclusively still the reality of the supernatural, and the relation of the natural to it, by rational science or reason itself. The Holy See has defined against the Traditionalists and Anti-Scholastics that the existence of God as well as the immortality of the soul and the free will of man can be proved with certainty by reason prior to faith, and I think I have fully proved that God is, in my Essay in Refutation of Atheism, published in the Last Series of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, whatever may be thought of my criticisms on one or two popular arguments commonly adduced to prove the divine existence. The principles of rational science, as the author of the work before us asserts, are all included in the ideal or rational formula, *l' Ente crea l' esistenze*, or *Ens creat existentias*. We say nothing here as to the way in which the mind comes into possession of this formula, but this much we hold is certain, that there is no mental operation and no mind possible, without the principles summarized or expressed by it. These principles connect all existences with God by His creative act, and consequently show that the natural is really related to the supernatural, for the Creator of nature is necessarily above nature, that is, supernatural.

As existences *a contingenti* proceed from the supernatural, *mediante* the creative act of God, it follows that the assumption of unbelievers and modern infidel scientists is inadmissible, namely, that the natural and supernatural are two distinct, separate, and unrelated orders, and that the supernatural is not nesessary to complete the science of the natural. The contrary is the scientific fact; and, as the natural does not and cannot exist without the supernatural, the science of the supernatural by divine revelation or otherwise is essential even to the science of the natural. There

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is no science without principles, and all principles are supernatural, even the principles of the natural order itself. They who undertake to explain the cosmos by what they call natural laws, which are obtained by induction from the facts they observe, uniformly fail, and fall into the greatest absurdities, as we see in old Democritus and Epicurus, as well as in such miserable charlatans as Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer; because induction from facts gives only generalizations, classifications called natural laws, never transcending the region of facts or the particulars generalized or classified. It never gives us principles, which always precede the facts, produce, underlie and control them.

We have establithed two points, namely, that the supernatural really exists, and that the natural has its principle, origin, and end in it, and therefore is dialectically or really related to it, dependent on it as the creation is dependent on the Creator, or the effect on the cause. We speak with diffidence, for we are fully aware of our own limited knowledge; but we think that our theologians have not dwelt with due emphasis on this second point, the dialect relations of the natural to the supernatural, and have, by their neglect, given occasion to unbelievers to suppose that we really, when we are not assumed to deny nature in the sense of Calvinists and Jansenists, exclude the supernatural from the primary design of creation, and hold it and the natural to be two separate and unrelated orders. We know that it was a long time before we learned to connect them by a real nexus, to think of them otherwise than as two parallel orders, without any real passage from the one to the other, any reason in the constitution of the natural for anticipating or asserting the supernatural. They seem to us, in their fear of running one order into the other, and confounding nature with grace, to have left it to be inferred that the natural order would have sufficed for us, if God in His excessive goodness had not resolved to provide something better for us.

Having established by rational science the reality of the supernatural, and of the dialectic relation of the natural to it, or that thc natural and the supernatural are parts of one and the same system, we may proceed to inquire what are the principles of the supernatural, or, as says our author, "of the Philosophy of the supernatural." This is a subject that is only imperfectly treated by our modern theologians, for our theologians have, from the scholastics down, generally pursued, as we have said, the analytic method, and have been more intent on stating, elucidating, and defending the several articles and dogmas of the faith separately than on considering them as whole, or in their synthetic relations. They have dissected the faith for the convenience of teaching it; studied and described with due precision and exactness its

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several parts; but they rarely enable the student to view the faith as a whole, or its several parts in their systematic relations, or in connection with the principle from which they all proceed. The theologians follow the method of the catechism, indeed, but rarely do more than simply develop and amplify it. We say not, and must not be understood as implying that they do not teach the truth, or all that is necessary for salvation. Indeed for the generality of mankind the analytic method is the only practical method. It is the only method possible in catechisms, and in them we must adopt it, or abandon all catechetical instruction. This method is natural, is sufficient for all except those whose duty it is to set forth and defend the faith against its more subtle assailants. It does not suffice to refute the objections of unbelievers in our day, who have gone so far as to reject all authority, not only of revelation, but of reason itself. To meet these we must have the philosophy of the faith.

The *principium* or principle, as we have seen, of philosophy, or rational science, or the science of reason, is *Ens creat existentias*, or as the author of the work before us says, *l'Ente crea l'existente*, Being creates or is creating existences, corresponding to the first verse of *Genesis*. "*In principio, Deus creavit cœlum et terram*," or to the first article in the creed, "I believe in one God, maker of heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible." Those scientists, whether in ancient or modern times, who seek to explain the origin of things without the recognition either of one God or His creative act are worthy of no consideration, and may be set down as ignorant of the first principle of all science, and as perceiving no distinction between a principle and a fact, or a fact and a factor. The world is not eternal; for what is eternal is one, and immutable, and can not of itself change either in substance or in form. Yet the world is multiple and constantly changing. All things change their form at least under the very eye of the spectator. There is no change without motion, and there is no motion without a first mover itself immovable; for an infinite series is an infinite absurdity. It matters not that it is said only the form changes, for the form cannot change itself any more than the substance can change itself. The change must have a beginning, which must be the effect of a cause independent of itself. Hence Herbert Spencer's pretense that the universe is explicable by evolution, by matter and motion, by the simple processes of expansion and contraction, or concentration and dispersion, is repugnant to every principle of science or reason. Whence the concentration or the dispersion? They result from the inherent laws of matter, it is said. But the inherent laws of matter must be always the same, and operate always in the same direction, and therefore

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cannot of themselves produce such contrary results as concentration and dispersion. Wherever there is change there must be a cause independent of the thing changed, and this necessarily induces the assertion of a First Cause, itself uncaused, and effectively disposes of the doctrine, which asserts that the principle of things, though intelligent, is inherent in the cosmos, or that makes God the soul of the world—as did Plato and Aristotle, or as does Brahminism.

The universe is explicable, and science in any degree possible only by virtue of the rational formula, *Ens creat existentias*, Being is creating or creates, existences or creatures. This is the first and last principle of all rational or ideal philosophy.

The principle of theology, or what we here call supernatural philosophy, and known to us only by revelation, is, our author says, "The Father through Christ, (*per Christo*) deificates or is deifying existences or creatures," that is, supernaturally elevating them to union or oneness with God, the creature to oneness with the Creator. The medium of this deification is the Incarnation, or the Word made flesh. The fact affirmed in the ideal or rational formula that existences proceed from God by way of creation, or that God creates the world, and is its first cause, proves that He creates it for some end, that it has a final cause, and a final cause and end, like its first cause above and beyond itself. We know from rational philosophy that our final cause or the end for which we are created is supernatural, but we know only in a general way that it is supernatural, not specifically or in particular in what it consists. This we know only by revelation. We can know from reason that God creates us for Himself, because beside Him there is nothing for which He can create us. But we cannot know from reason, that He creates us to deify us, to make us one with Himself, "partakers," as St. Peter says, "of His divine nature, *naturæ consortes divinæ.*' Nor can we know by natural reason that this deification of the creature is to be effected through the Incarnation or the Word made flesh. "*Verbum caro factum est.*" The whole principle and scope of the teleological order, or what Gioberti calls the second cycle or the return of existences to God without absorption in Him as their final cause or last end, transcends the reach of our natural faculties, or the light of nature, and is known only by supernatural revelation.

As the philosophy of the natural order consists in the reduction of the facts of that order to their principles and their integration in the ideal or rational formula, *Ens creat existentias*, so supernatural philosophy, or theology, consists in the reduction of all the facts, mysteries, articles, and dogmas of the supernatural order and their integration in the revealed formula, "The

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Father through Christ deificates or is deificating *existentias*, or the creature, that is, elevating the creature to oneness with the Creator. The medium of the revealed formula is the Word made flesh or the Incarnation, that is, the Hypostatic Union, by which the created nature becomes the nature of God, or the creature is made one with the Creator, as the medium of the rational or ideal formula is the creative act of Being, *Ens*, or God. It is in this medium or creative act that the natural and supernatural coalesce and become one, for the Hypostatic Union, or the Incarnation of the Word is effected by the creative act, and is that act raised to its highest power, is its supreme effort; for it is impossible for the creative act to rise higher or to go further than to make the creature one with its Creator. The two orders, the natural and supernatural, are dialectically united by one and the same medium, and —inasmuch as both proceed from the same principle—by one and the same divine creative act.

The point we make here is that the act which creates the natural is the identical act which creates the Hypostatic Union, and founds the supernatural. The Hypostatic Union, or Incarnation, is itself in the initial order, in the first cycle, order of the procession of existences by act of creation from God as first cause. It completes that order of carrying the creative act to its highest pitch, and initiates or founds the teleological order, or the order of the return of existences without absorption in Him to God, as final cause, or their last end. This order, called by St. Paul and usually termed the supernatural order, is therefore founded on the Incarnation. In it we enter by regeneration, and the race are propagated by the election of grace from Christ by the Holy Ghost, as in the first cycle, or the initial order, they are propagated from Adam by natural generation. Hence Christ is called the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. He is the Father of regenerated humanity, as Adam is of generated or natural humanity. Hence we see the reason why without the new birth it is impossible to enter the kingdom of heaven or to see God.

If the natural and the supernatural universe are homogeneous parts of one and the same system, the point on which we here specially insist, the whole of both parts have their unity in the principle from which they proceed, and as the natural is created and exists for the supernatural, it is integrated in the principle of the supernatural, *Verbum caro factum est*, or the Incarnation. Hence it follows that the entire creation, whether in the natural or supernatural, the initial or the teleological order, exists for the Incarnation, and finds in its relation to the Word made flesh its significance, its purpose, its unity, and its integrity. This granted, it follows again that the denial of the Incarnation would be the

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denial not only of the entire supernatural order or the whole Christian system, but of all existences, whether natural or supernatural, by denying this final cause, as essential to any created existence as the first cause. It would deny the very end for which all things exist, and deny the universe itself, by denying it any purpose or meaning. What means nothing is nothing. The Incarnation is the key to all the Creator's works, and we have not mastered theology or the philosophy of the supernatural, till we are able to say that the denial of any one item in those works involves the denial of the Incarnation, or the Word made flesh. It is the highest and supreme principle of all science, and without it nothing in the universe is scientifically explicable. The greatest absurdity into which men can fall, is that of our modern scientists, who imagine that there can be science without theology, and who affect to treat theology as no science at all, but a vain imagination, or the product of a superstitious fancy. The Scholastics understood the matter, when they treated theology as "the Queen of the Sciences." The feebleness, superficiality and conceitedness of the modern sciences are unquestionably due to the very general neglect in our day of the study of theology. By that neglect men have lost the key to the sciences, become weak in understanding, puffed up with a foolish pride, and nearly as stupid as the brute beasts from which they imagine they have been evolved. In reading their work, one is tempted to doubt the fact of the evolution. A respectable monkey might well disown the speculations of a Darwin, a Tyndall, a Huxley, a Sir John Lubbock, a Herbert Spencer, to say nothing of their congeners in France and Germany. Yet these are the instructors, and held to be the great lights of the age, entitled to look down with pity on a St. Augustine, a St. Gregory the Great, a St. Thomas, and all renowned theologians who, under God, have rescued the human race from the barbarism, ignorance and superstition into which the great Gentile Apostasy had plunged them, and into which apostasy from the papacy is plunging them anew.

It follows from the unity of the principle of both the natural and the supernatural that the creation in both its parts is one system, and also that the faith is one, and the several articles and dogmas recognized and treated by theologians form not simply a union, but are strictly one, flowing from one and the same principle, through one and the same medium, to one and the same end. Hence the destructive nature of heresy, which accepts some articles of the faith and rejects others. As all depend alike on the Incarnation, the principle of the teleological order, the denial of any one item of the faith is the denial of the Incarnation. All heresy impugns the Incarnation, and is of the nature of infidelity,

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or the absolute rejection of Christ, the Word made flesh. This theology or the philosophy of the Supernatural must establish, as we intended to prove in this present article by descending to particulars, and showing it in detail; but, much to our regret, we must reserve it for a future opportunity. We shall on resuming the subject endeavor to show the relation of each particular doctrine of the Church to the Incarnation, and make good the several positions thus far assumed. O. A. BROWNSON.

THE CLASSICAL EDUCATION OF THE DAY.

Semper ego auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam?
Juvenal.

The Americans very naturally object to the admission that anything in our country and its institutions is not of the very first class and quality; nor is the feeling which prompts such dislike an unsuitable one. It is right and proper that people should admire their own country; but it is manifestly absurd that our predilection should be so indiscriminate as to close our eyes either to our own faults, or to the excellence of other countries and other people. Now, without speaking more specifically for the present, of some other points in regard to which the comparison, if fairly drawn, would not result in our favor, we propose in this paper to speak of classical education in the United States, and to compare it with the same thing in some of the countries of the old world. We are sorry to be obliged to make in advance the admission that with few and rare exceptions, which the writer rather takes for granted through patriotism than knows to exist from experience, we are lamentably and painfully behind some of the countries which the popular speakers of the day are in the habit of denominating the "effete European countries." It will be the object of the present paper to show firstly the fact; secondly what are the causes that have conduced thereto; and finally in what manner *subsidio seu remedio veniendum est.* And as there is a much higher use for patriotic impulse than in becoming foolishly angry with those who show us our faults, it is to be hoped that the strictures necessarily made, and which from their truth will cut in many quarters deeply, will be received in the firm, but kindly spirit in which the writer (himself an American) fain hopes that he is laying these before the community.

It must be very evident to those whose fortune it was to be

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conversant as teachers or taught, or as mere "lookers on in Venice," with the colleges of our country some twenty or twenty-five years ago, that while the grade of knowledge in Latin and Greek then and there acquired compared by no means favorably, either as to extent or depth, with that of European institutions of much less pretension, yet even that minimum of acquirements has been year by year decreasing both in amount and in thoroughness. For this we appeal to the actual consciousness and inner conviction of those who either as examiners, trustees, or merely educated citizens of public spirit, have kept themselves conversant with the run of the various colleges of their own or of other denominations in their respective vicinities. In short, we all know that the graduate of nowadays, from some of the "best" institutions, knows so little of Latin and Greek, that even his own gross ignorance thereof, though backed by the presumption engendered by the possession of a diploma, would shame to attempt, we will not say making himself orally intelligible in tolerably correct Latinity, but even to write a Latin letter with any assurance of correctness.*

It would be useless, as it is uncalled for, here to enter into a dissertation on the importance of these studies, of their absolute necessity in any system of education destined to reach beyond the merest elements, of the utter inadequacy of any substitutes ever yet devised in their stead, and of the further fact that without a fair and full knowledge of classics, we grope in the dark as professional men, at least, for knowledge of our own vernacular. We write for those who know classics, and who need no arguments on this subject. To the limited range of intellect in the Indian or South Sea Islander, the use of clothing is cumbrous, and of houses absurd; but clothing is none the less desirable, nor are houses to be lightly dispensed with, though he should perceive no advantage in cotton or woolen mills, nor appreciate the architecture even of Michael Angelo.

Now, how many of our graduates are there from the various colleges, who when taken out of the few and perfunctorily learned books of Nepos, Cæsar, Cicero, Virgil and Horace, read and un-

* We carefully refrain from saying, in this paper, anything of the knowledge of Hebrew imparted in some Theological Seminaries, barely premising that those who know Hebrew, and know these institutions, estimate them at a considerably lower value than do the weak old ladies, and weaker men, who club together to advance young men, generally their own personal kith and kin, to acquire therein the mental pabulum deemed necessary to launch them upon a congregation. This is more particularly true of the various sects, which advance means very promptly for the object of aiding "indigent young men with a call to the ministry." Unfortunately enough, the subject is one that, for obvious reasons, almost precludes the possibility of going into details; yet the facts will hardly be impugned, unless by these whose zeal outruns their discretion, and whose knowledge of classics is not even of sufficient extent to enable them to have an inkling of how much they do not know.

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derstand with even tolerable facility a half page of hitherto unseen Latin? How many who will succeed at anything like a rigid scrutiny of *concord*, *accord* and *government*, even in the books of the ordinary curriculum? How many who will read a few lines of Ovid or Virgil so that the ear will distinguish them from prose? How many who could be said by any stretch of charitable language to have become imbued with the spirit of the classics, failing which the whole value of the study, even as a mental discipline, either very seriously diminishes or goes by the board? Those who know, answer at once that they are "rari nantes," and we address ourselves only to those who know whereof they speak. In all the arts and sciences, we Americans stand fully abreast of all other countries, or at least we think so: in mechanics far enough ahead of them all. Now, why should we be so far behindhand in this, one of the most important; and on our own catalogical showing the most prominent of the branches of study pursued in our colleges?

1. The multiplication of colleges in the interest, real or supposed, of the numerous and jarring sects has sown the country broadcast with a weedy crop of little unfledged institutions, without means sufficient to enable them to attain even the grade of respectable grammar and high schools; and unfortunately not representing sufficient ability "to preserve them from putrefaction." The members of the sects, at bottom hostile, whatever may be the surface pretence, are under an impression, somehow sedulously fostered by their ministers, that their sons cannot be properly taught the alphabet, or the multiplication table, much less the five declensions, or the verbs in $\mu\iota$ save by somebody of their own special "Scheme of Salvation" as they ludicrously enough are apt to term it. As to patronizing a Catholic College, where efforts are made to give a good education, they would refuse it with horror. There exists now in a few localities of the United States a small and obscure sect called "Seceders," a relic of the theological bickerings of two centuries ago, or less, in Scotland, but an anachronism in the present day, and in this country. Yet a man of this persuasion, in all other discernible respects a sensible person, took away his sons from a good, or at any rate, a fair school, as things go, near his own home, almost at his door, and sent them to an adjoining state, to a newly established boarding-school, merely because the founder of the new school preached seceding doctrines, and opened and closed the school with seceding prayers. He was, moreover, a man to whom, on account of his limited means, the difference between keeping his boys at home on the farm and boarding them abroad was by no means an inconsiderable item. There are many thousands of just such men, conscien-

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tious and honest, but narrow-minded. Here we do not think of including Catholics, who are bound by the teaching of the Church, which never was nor could be a sect, and which speaks authoritatively on this point, and "not like the Scribes." We speak of the sects around us, and assert that they are very liable to patronize inefficient teachers, especially in their academies and various boarding-schools, and are absolutely sure to have narrow-minded ones, who just as frequently fail in their aim of inculcating certain dogmas and practices, since we know by experience of long standing amongst them, no better way to disgust a boy with such unsubstantial assertions, than to have them thrust upon him in season and out of season, as they are usually in such small institutes. It is with pain that we add the tendency, so strong as to be almost universal with the brighter boys, viz: to bring all religion and devotion into something nearly approaching contempt, by an enforced attendance on exercises which ought to be laid down in such way that the conscience of the youth would speak out to him personally, and manifest to him his duty, which would be the case, if the matter was reasonably placed before him, and he would soon esteem it a privilege and blessing. Among many of the sects, a superannuated minister, or if not that, one who has, to put it mildly, not been a success as a pastor, has the sway, and the people, the dear people, cunning and shrewd enough in other matters of business, are always ready (we speak of the large majority) firstly, to believe that every minister knows Latin and Greek; and secondly, that by the mere fact of being a parson, he knows how to teach. Now there are many hundreds of different sects in the United States, and the result in the ante-collegiate course of boys, is a corresponsive one. Furthermore, it will be found on inquiry that subordinate to such principal, the ushers or assistants are nearly always unfledged and, in many cases, raw youths with views towards the ministry, or a call of that ilk *of course*, which aforesaid call is supposed in some inexplicable way to make up for all deficiencies of culture and manners.

Next in order, and quite too numerous, are the schools of the Squeers sort. Well, not exactly in all respects deserving that epithet; for cruelty of the sort practiced by the Yorkshire pedagogue could not exist in our country for a week. We mean schools gotten up by individuals, or run by them purely and solely with a view to making money:—the principal being the purveyor and business man of the concern, and the teachers as few as it is possible to get on with, making any show before the community, and procured at a compensation but little removed from that of a day laborer. You see their advertisements daily with "damnable iteration," and there are certain ear-marks even

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in their advertisements by which they are at once stamped so as to be unmistakable. Parents are advised to *send early*, lest the school be filled in advance of their application. As anybody can get a reference which costs nothing—for it is a harsh thing to refuse a fairly dressed man in your own community, particularly about election-times—a list of references is usually subjoined; subsequent small announcements appear, stating that there are vacancies for two, four, six or eight more pupils: catalogues are distributed very lavishly, in which the religious and moral influences of the localities are lauded to the starry heavens: a large and extensive library is spoken of, usually either not existing at all, or else made up of dilapidated Sunday-school books and tracts, eked out by census, patent office, and post-office reports, with some stray volumes of congressional reports, and a few geological surveys. Such men are very apt to boast of a philosophical apparatus, consisting, in fact, of a wheezy air pump and an ineffectual galvanic battery. There is always an imposing array of teachers' (we beg their pardon, of professors') names: said professors being largely made up of professional gentlemen of the vicinity, who never make, and never are expected to make, an appearance at the school, but who think it tells well at a distance to have their names in the catalogue; and there is always to be found in such catalogues, the favorite preacher, who being "such a sweet man," does up the æsthetical part of the business for this and probably an adjoining female accomplishment manufactory, until his collapse, which generally takes place in due time. These institutions are simply and plainly pretentious frauds; and they do this ineradicable harm, if no other, to the boys who frequent them, that the pupil, seeing his pretentiously pious, always moral in appearance, at least, and sometimes Reverend instructor, sham and lie in print, comes to the conclusion that his own verbal lapses from strict truth are by comparison mere peccadillos. Boys are shrewd and unerring judges of anything within their sphere, and he has to be such a hypocrite as the world never yet saw, who can go long undetected by them, while occupying the position of their teacher. The phrase is a current one, "lying as a tomb-stone," but it might well be varied so as to read: "mendacious as an Academy's Catalogue."

Yet another class of schools preparatory for college, put the price of board and tuition at a rate not more than sufficient to pay the commonest board, trusting to the numbers that such an inducement will persuade to attend, and to the almost unlimited "Extras," which may be and are stuck on at every step. Any study beyond reading, writing and arithmetic called "ciphering," is an "Extra;" washing, lights, matches, fires, mending, wear and tear of room, chalk, ink, paper, etc., etc., etc., *all extra*. The prin-

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cipal and teachers are of one or the other of the two classes above shadowed, and more frequently of the latter than the former; and the main idea is to keep pupils as long as possible, so that the most may be made out of them.

A boy who stumbles at every third word or so in reading, and who cannot by possibility understand one tenth of what he reads, is thrust into English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, History, Analysis of Words, it may be, and very likely into a class in Latin, studying from a text-book which happens to be in vogue at that special place. If there be a stray Frenchman loose around the house, the pupil is made to study Ollendorff's or some equivalent system. Should such an one not exist, the principal's wife, or some female relative who has graduated (forsooth) at a female Academy, and who teaches the language "after the school of Stratford atte Bowe," answers the purpose just as well, and there is the superadded advantage in this, that she also thrums somewhat on the guitar, or tinkles the clattering piano, when, of course, her competency as a music teacher is unquestionable.

With this statement of the mode in which many schools are commenced, of the motives which practically animate their principals, and the kind of teaching material, it need not surprise us that so many of our boys taken from academies and schools of that grade seem to have learned little or nothing; that they neither read nor spell well; that their general information is so exceedingly defective, and that those who learn Latin and Greek grammar seem, for the most part, to have hardly the remotest conception of the use of the cases, of tense or of voice, nay, even of number and person!

It would be absurd to expect from boys so thoroughly at sea in the elements even a fair idea of idiom. Nor is the classification so universal but that we know some good schools to exist (especially when Religious Orders, or Catholic clergymen, have the duty and see to the teaching, and of these we do not *now* speak,) and, no doubt, such are to be found; but those in whose way it has fallen to examine many of their pupils, must come to the conclusion that good schools are rare, and in number very few. The already mentioned sectarian or local prejudice, blatant pretension, diligent advertising and skillfully worded clap-trap, have so great an effect on the average American, that the day is carried, and the school which imparts no acquisition of any permanent worth will succeed in numbers, the kind of success that is wanted by those in charge; while the genuine one, where it exists, proffering no easy methods, pursuing solid studies, acquiring them carefully and accurately, and making use of no specious pretense "ad captandum," dwindles in numbers, or at best barely maintains its

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ground; but the only success that the community can fully appreciate, fails it utterly.

It follows from what has been said, that such of these boys as are intended for college come up to the institution, when they are to be matriculated, at all stages of preparation, or rather want of it; and though there is at most of our higher grade colleges an examination for admission, the literary acquirements necessary to succeed are even on the showing of their catalogues barely nominal, and how wretchedly soever the candidate may be prepared, experience proves to us the rarity of failure. At West Point, and at Annapolis, on the other hand (which cannot, however, strictly be called literary institutions, classics being taught in neither), from the obvious fact that neither the institutions themselves, nor the fees of the Faculty, nor their hold upon the public, depend in any regard on their numbers, a very large proportion of the young men described fail in the literary requirements, meagre as they are.

Now admit, for argument's sake, the professor of classics in college to be conscientious, a scholar and a teacher (no two of which characteristics necessarily and always unite in the same person, much less all three), we ask what is he to do, what can he do, when a Freshman class of eighty or a hundred comes before him? Three-fourths of them are utterly unprepared to profit by any such instruction as *should* be given in college, even to the lowest class. One-eighth are inefficiently prepared, and we will say for the sake of argument, that the remaining one-eighth are fairly ready for the proper class instruction. If he directs his instruction to the second class, he shoots, during the greater part of the year, over the heads of the first, and repeats a thrice-told tale to the third section, who become careless and weary, mentally asking themselves why they came here, and whether this be the so much vaunted, and by them dreaded college, of the profundity of instruction at which they had in previous years heard so much; while some of the first section may perhaps in their new fervor strive for a week or two to follow the Professor, the majority not even attempting that; and all in a short time fall into a sort of mental apathy and carelessness, one part because of the impossibility of making up for the lost or inadequate instruction they should have acquired at the academy, and another because they knew it all before, and fancy themselves preternaturally sagacious and learned. Meantime the Professor himself is with one-eighth of the class plunging away at explications which never ought to be needed beyond a fair grammar-school. This is no fancy sketch, for the writer has occupied just such a position in one of the first institutions, by current repute then and now, in the country. Only, in his case, the classes were larger in numbers, and the proportion of those properly pre-

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pared fell far short of one-eighth. What can be expected from such a class when it comes up for graduation? Is it not clear where our classical inferiority originates and has its prime cause? It is not the fault of the boys themselves, for no country in the world contains brighter ones; but it is the fault of the careless, incompetent, haphazard and money-making teachers who have had the charge of their previous education. The boy who is allowed to come up to college without a clear idea of the distinction between an adverb and an adjective in any language, is exceedingly likely to go through college, and to graduate, without acquiring it. We have personally known both things to occur, and the person referred to now prepares young men for college himself; at least he is Principal of an academy.

It may well be said in the matter of education that everything depends on a good beginning; and in college there neither is nor should be any chance of making up for the years lost at an academy. Nor is it, as unfortunately too many people are apt to imagine, a matter of comparative indifference *who* teaches our sons at the academy, or whether their grade of acquirement and mental calibre be high or not; since unless the instruction at that stage in education be thorough, there is very little hope that the loss will ever be made good. Were the subject not so serious, and the results so momentous, those announcements would be simply ludicrous which gravely inform us that "M—— will teach Arithmetic, Algebra, Mensuration and the *elements of Latin and Greek.*" The plain fact remains, and scholars know it, that he who knows only the *elements* of Latin and Greek does not know even those elements. Of course there are some self-made men, and our fellow citizens are very fond of the phrase; but they are fewer than is generally supposed; and the vast majority of those who have succeeded in acquiring a ripe education will acknowledge that all their efforts were but a groping in the dark, till they found a teacher who fully understood his subject, knew how to explain and make it interesting, was competent to answer clearly and intelligibly any questions upon it that the boy, always very ready that way, might put on it, and thus opened up to the juvenile mind a new, an interesting and a hitherto undiscovered world. Such a teacher has, however, most palpably been wanting to the majority of young men who enter our colleges in these days, and for some time past. Here then is the great cause of our lack, laughed at by observant foreigners, palpable to any one who examines the subject, and acknowledged with mortification by the most discerning among ourselves. Of course it would be requiring too much of human nature to expect academical principals and teachers, or indeed college professors *en masse*, to join us in the admission of

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the defect, or in the assignment of the prime cause which we have made. The cry that "by this craft we have our livelihood" is as potent now as in the days of the coppersmith of Ephesus.

Thanks, too, to the ardor of the booksellers and book-makers for money-making, the text-books are multiplied without rhyme or reason; and few men have taught a brace of years without feeling called on to write a book on the specific subject of their instruction. Booksellers are always ready to publish such books for a man at the head of a well-frequented academy, book agents to laud it to the skies, school boards properly manipulated to introduce it by vote to the schools they control. It would be hard if the prominent pastor of the town or village adjacent did not recommend it. We say nothing of the results of this fecundity in books in other branches (parents and others patronizing schools know something at least of the pecuniary tax, and of the "different edition" annoyance:) but we charge it with being an important though a secondary cause of the decay and desuetude of classical learning amongst us; and this is how it happens: Latin and Greek are from their nature and from their literatures fixed and changeless. There is and should be no possibility of original views on the grammar of those languages; and, as a matter of fact, the Port Royal, Eton, Wettenhall, Ruddiman and Busby grammars contain all that it is desirable, nay even possible for the boy to learn at this stage of his course, and that too gotten up in a form far more intelligible, far more easily memorized, less mixed with extraneous and, to the boy, incomprehensible disquisitions, than any, singly or all together, of the new-fangled grammars, schemes, methods, phrase-books and easy plans gotten up in either Latin or Greek since the beginning of the century. In point of fact it would seem as though the decadence of classical knowledge went *pari passu* with the multiplication of text-books on the subject. You must teach the language to boys as it is, before you begin to philosophize and theorize to them about what it probably was in remote ages, or what it might be in future ones. It is worse than folly to attempt to explain the theory of nominal or verbal roots to a boy who does not yet know the five declensions, nor the four regular conjugations, or the scheme of the Indo-European languages to the lad who does not yet comprehend the agreement of a verb with its nominative in his own; and so, by attempting too much, as well as by the improper and piecemeal presentation of what is necessary, you succeed in nothing but in imparting to the pupil a rooted disgust for the study, and a full conviction, enduring through life, that it is one of those things "*that no fellow can find out.*" Yet this is what a great majority of our superabundant text-books try to do; and the remainder do worse by attempt-

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ing to minimize, giving, for example, the nominative and objective of a single declension at one lesson; fag ends of pronouns and the verb "*esse*" at a second; a couple of persons in a tense or two of "*amo*," at a third; and so on to the bitter end of such book; but at no time presenting the whole of a single subject compactly and squarely together, so that the pupil may have a full survey and a fair intelligence of it. Why even the old grammar of *Ross*, published early in this century in a neighboring city, curt, lacking, and unphilosophical though it was, contained more that was necessary, less that was extraneous, and made more and abler scholars in Latin than would stacks of these miserable, windy, pretentious and insincere make-shifts, were they multiplied to millions in numbers and by myriads in effective influence. Another cause largely contributing to the decay of classical learning among us, is the strong tendency of our American people towards cheap, patent and easy roads to learning of all kinds, but in no branch of science are the results so baleful as in the study or want of study of Latin and Greek. In acquiring these tongues so much must of necessity depend on mere memory in the first stages, so much must be absolutely gotten by rote, that our ancestors very properly put a simple Latin grammar into the boy's hands who was destined or intended even from the age of seven years to become a literary man; rightly judging that the faculty of memory was cultivable in the boy, long before there was any possibility of appealing to the judgment. There followed then an age of weak teaching, the Lancasterian, the Pestalozzian, the Hamiltonian as applied to primary and secondary schools, the Ollendorffian, and other, if possible, more absurd and ludicrous modes, culminating in the various modern languages "in six easy lessons without a master," applied to the acquisition of European languages, but from which neither boy nor man ever yet acquired a cent's worth of knowledge, further than the general fact that the system was a cheat. Some of these have had their day, and been exploded; others still have vogue; and yet others under one name or another are tickling the fancies of those who are eager for anything new, merely on account of its novelty. In classics we see books intended to compress the whole subject of Latin and Greek, or either grammar into a nutshell; others that profess to do away with all necessity for the study thereof; and yet other more specious frauds that, if they have any aim other than that of making money for their compilers and the booksellers, tend to produce the impression that grammatical forms, rules and paradigms, are to be acquired with no trouble. We have been and are politically a ring-ruled people (we beg pardon for the use of a slang term, but Americans understand it best); and the ring dynasty has taken hold of, and is

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controlling our text-books in school matters generally; more especially, or rather, we should say, with greater injury to the cause of education in the classics than in many other branches (though in this free country, and in the common schools, chiefly patronized by the wealthy, and in which the simply poor are derided or despised,) the books saddled on the children are almost always sectarian and lying. The authors of such books are not scholars themselves—no scholar needs to be told this; but they are shrewd oftentimes, know well the processes of manipulation, the tendency to gullibility on the part of the public, and the all-pervading ignorance of classics. I have now before me a sheet purporting to give, in the space of less than a page, the entire forms of the four regular conjugations in Latin; the author of which asserts in print that, after two hours study thereof, the student will know as much of the Latin verb as Cicero himself; and he sets forth letters of recommendation which, from the positions held by those signing them, should be of weight; but which, in such connection, only serve to show in a strong light "with how little knowledge the world is governed," and how easily letters commendatory are gotten by any one for almost anything. There are also before me three different editions of a very superficial work on Latin grammar, all published within a few years; no two alike in paging or in sequence of subjects, but no one containing anything more than each other; it simply seeming as though the same *matter* had been riddled through a sieve into each, and chance had decided which should come first, which last, and which mid-way. Here the form of the matter is palpably a catch to force a purchase of the two latter editions: no teacher being able either to assign lessons, or to hear a class of boys supplied, as would frequently happen, with all these. In short, it does not matter how silly the theory, how absurd the treatment, how insane the plan, men can be readily found to compile if it promises novelty, booksellers to publish if it promises money, *distinguished* names to recommend it; and the public, which for the most part has no knowledge in the premises, is of course largely swayed by any names in print, more especially by those that are known.

Again, our young men are over anxious to launch themselves out in life. Those of them who wish to enter the professions soon find out that large masses of physicians and lawyers in our country know supremely little beyond set phrases of Latin and Greek; that others know, if less be possible, still less Greek; and that there is no absolute requirement, either by the law of the land or by the statutes of the most of our colleges, for their knowing any. The effect of this knowledge is obvious. Seven years will be required, even with good brains, industry, and thorough teaching and train-

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ing, to acquire such knowledge of classics as would justly entitle any one to the name of a classical scholar: for in nothing else can it more truly be said that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." Here are clearly seven years gained, and a large amount of severe and drudging study (how severe only those who have tried it can know!) avoided. Can any one doubt the conclusion at which the youth immediately arrives? He would be a paragon indeed were he not to be misled into taking the easier path and shorter cut. A vague idea still subsists in the general mind, that clergymen must know Latin and Greek. It is also thought by some, that the study of Hebrew would benefit them somewhat. They are, however, doing their utmost to prove the falsity of both assumptions; and though there is a nominal requirement of a Latin exegesis for ordination, as they persist in calling it, among the straiter sects, and of some knowledge of the Greek of the New Testament, yet those who have been behind the scenes, who are themselves scholars, and who have had an opportunity to judge individually of any considerable number of such gentlemen of the white neckcloth, are well aware that such requirements are specious shams, and that the great bulk of them know nothing, or its equivalent, *very little*, of classics. There are exceptions, but they are few among our countrymen. Of Hebrew as taught, we do not purpose to speak at this time. Now the student who has not as yet acquired the classic tongues, cannot possibly know the advantages derived from their acquisition; but he is apt to have a clear, if not an exaggerated notion of their difficulties, and it is not to be wondered at that, seeing so many others pass along without them in the profession at which he aims, he should come to the conclusion to follow his compeers—to practice law or medicine, etc., without Latin or Greek, thus saving, as he supposes, expense of time, labor and money:—nay, even to enter the Church, as so many have done in the capacity of ministers, and are doing, without any classical learning.

It hardly needs to be added that in addition to the reluctance to spend the necessary time, a very large number are unwilling to apply themselves to the inevitable study. In the case of those who come up entirely unprepared, and who have the best possible excuse in the manifest impossibility of their "catching up"—to use their own expressive phrase—since reflection will teach, *as experience has taught* us all, how dry, how wearisome, how harassing must be attendance upon classes, the necessary preliminary instruction being deficient or wanting. How absurd the attempt to explain the doctrine of the gerund and gerundive to a student who has no conception of the difference between a noun and an adjective used as a noun, is palpable to any one who knows grammar; but what

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the student in such case must suffer (even supposing him to make a fair endeavor, which but few will be found long to attempt) must be left to the imagination. College professors who know their duty and try to perform it, will join me in admitting the intense annoyance to themselves, the irksomeness of the work both to them and the student, and the impossibility to the latter of recovery when "sero medicina paratur." Now the time applied to study at college is an item of no small moment; and we speak the admitted results of experience when we say that even a well-prepared student, during his first three years at our American colleges, ought to spend at least two hours daily on classics alone, to give him any fair prospect of the amount of actual knowledge that he should have on graduation. When it is borne in mind that there are other studies, also of importance, to be pursued, and that each one requires a proportionate amount of study, it will be seen that even on the part of the best students an amount of time and study is required that will absolutely preclude the wasting of time and attention on frivolities; and if this be so, what must be the case of the unprepared lad, who has yet to learn what he should have acquired at the grammar school?

It may indeed well be, and we should judge from indications the fact is, that many of our students come to college as young men used before the war to go to the University of Virginia; not intending to study there, and consequently not proposing to learn anything there, but merely on the general ground that it was the correct thing to have to say, in after life, that they had been at the University, whether they learned anything there or not.

The colleges themselves, too, are in fault for not vigorously repressing the yachting, boating, base-balling and other practices and pursuits which have grown, in the principal institutions of the country, to such an extent that common sense would teach even a casual observer that very little of severe study can be there. The two things cannot coexist; and he who, during two or three months of his college year, itself consisting of but nine months, is busily occupied in training for a rowing match which is to be the great feature of the year, whose whole mind and being are agog on the subject for months beforehand and for weeks after, has no time and less inclination for such trifles as Latin and Greek. What is true of the boating nuisance holds equally good of all the other excitements with which the so-called students fritter away their time, destroy their chances of ever being scholars, and get their names into the trashy papers of the day for performances in which any fair coxswain or stroke-oarsman on board a man-of-war will far enough excel them, and that too on the munificient pay of $18 per month. Do parents and guardians send their sons and wards

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to college for this purpose? If they must be oarsmen, why not put them on board a vessel, with injunctions that they be of the crew of the gig, barge, cutter, launch, or dingy? It will not be so expensive, they will earn their board and clothes while at it, and there will be no false pretence of education connected therewith. If mere muscular power, or mere muscle, be the desideratum, they might at once be apprenticed to blacksmiths, and might attain at length a measurable proficiency in wielding the ponderous sledge to weld the flukes of a bower anchor. It would seem that students have been before this twitted with truth as having "rung in" (so it is called) professional base-ballers under the guise of students to gain the day. One becomes sad at the silliness, the deception and hollowness of the whole thing; yet newspapers are full of the accounts of such doings, college magnates glory in the success of their man, trustees doubtless applaud, and the parents of the victorious noodle or noodles are in ecstasies. The whole thing is wrong, misplaced, silly, and productive of the most mischievous consequences, and the utter ruin of all educational prospects.

Again, there are too many colleges, or rather institutions going amongst us by that name, which do not even deserve to be called good high schools. Sectarianism in most instances, local pride in others, and the same feeling that impels our villages oftimes to apply for a charter, to have a mayor and city council, prompts every school of sixty or seventy pupils throughout the country to get a charter, have a faculty, dun the public for aid, confer degrees by wholesale on all the local or denominational small fry who would like to have them. This is absurd. A primary school is not made an academy merely by calling it so, nor can an academy, by any legislation, be turned into a college; neither, if possible, would it be at all desirable. There are too many of them already of their kind, and their members are largely though not entirely in fault for their being what they are, viz: puny, meagre and inefficient attempts at doing on small outlay of brain and means, and with scant numbers, apparatus and other appliances, what can only be done effectively by an able faculty, full libraries, ample chemical and philosophical appliances, the *esprit du corps* arising from large numbers, and the independence and manliness fostered by fixedness of position through scholarships and proportionate ample pay to the members of the faculty. But above all things, care should be taken in the first place to see that no man is put into a position to teach what he does not know! Let it not be in the power of a board of trustees, whose knowledge (if ever possessed) has been obliterated by time and disuse, to appoint men to so important a post as that of professor of Greek or of Latin, who are not competent in either—do not actually know either: and this is unfortu-

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nately a thing that has often been done in our country, and even in colleges that rank with the best. It may be thought that such precaution is unnecessary; but let us examine the matter quietly, and see what a professor should be, slightly glancing by the way at what a great many, aye a majority, are. What is said will be proposed in no captious or cynical spirit, but (if the writer knows himself) solely with regard to the truth and the benefit of the rising generation of youth. We use the word *professor* here in its proper acceptation of an instructor in a special branch, at an institution of a high or of the highest grade of its kind. But it will bear in this connection the vulgar and peculiarly American usage, by which any one is a professor who teaches anything, from Sanskrit down to the alphabet; and the remarks made, while primarily intended for collegiate teachers, and especially for those of the classical branches, will apply "mutatis mutandis" to the teachers in all schools and academies where classical studies are ostensibly a prominent object of acquirement.

It may here be stated once for all that what is said is in no respect intended to derogate from the moral character of the class referred to, of those who appoint them, of the community that patronizes them. Probably, nay assuredly, there is no country in the world so little likely to tolerate any deflection from the moral law, or from propriety of demeanor in a teacher, as the United States.

Men are professors in Europe who, on account of grossness of life, of indecorum of personal habits, could not teach in the United States for one week, had they the talents of an archangel. But they are thoroughly learned, they have mastered their branches; so far as anything human can be perfect, they thoroughly know what they teach, how to present it in fresh, interesting and attractive lights; are competent to answer, and promptly and fully respond to and clear up, any question in their branch that may be presented, or difficulty that may be put.

What we need is to have fewer colleges (one say for forty that we have,) and just such professors; retaining always the American desideratum of good character and gentlemanly habits. We want men filling classical chairs who have made those studies a specialty; who have prepared themselves at all points in regard to the niceties of grammar and idiom, the peculiarities of thought and diction, the habits and manners, the constitution, geography, laws, history, antiquities and mythology of Greece and Rome; men not only able to write correctly and with idiomatical accuracy of expression, but competent to converse fluently, and by consequence to think, in the languages they profess to teach. In reality no person without this thoroughness can with any

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degree of propriety be said to understand a language in such form as to be justifiable in occupying the position referred to in a genuine institution of learning. Such men are even now to be found, we presume, in scanty numbers, in our own country; and they will soon be found in greater numbers under the regime we propose. Under them students will receive an impetus in their studies; what they do will be done well; and the influence of such a teacher, even though his branch be not the favorite one of the student (for every student will have a bias or predilection for a particular study) will last through life.

But what is the fact? Our professors are appointed by family, class, or denominational influences. A prominent preacher, a lawyer not successful at the bar, a physician upon whom patients do not call in paying numbers, an editor of a religious journal, or a compiler of one of the before-mentioned text-books, is chosen; and who would hurt the feelings of gentlemen of such eminence by proposing an examination? Who would be able to do the work of examination, if proposed? Rarely or never those in whose hands the appointment lies: and it is much handier and every way more simple to take for granted that the candidate, who has already been a professional man, and who probably graduated somewhere, knows what he should know, than either to intimate the possibility of doubt, or expose our own ignorance on an actual test.

Ah, gentlemen! here is the great cause of our inferiority in classics (it may be, too, in other things) to the nations of Europe. The subordinate, or rather the primary instructors in classics, are with us either self-constituted (as are the principals of our academies and boarding schools), or when appointed, the power of appointment is lodged in the hands of men incapable of appreciating the subjects to be taught, and the requirements for teaching them. The head master wants not the most thorough and profound teacher, but the cheapest man, and the latter takes the place as a *dernier resort* until he can do better at some other and more lucrative business. It were better that the high-toned feelings of any number of plausible and sleek candidates for professorships were wounded, and that both they should see themselves, and the community should see them, in their true light, than that this persistent sham under the auspices of our colleges and the aegis of their Board of Trustees should go on any longer, fraught as it is with ruin to the best temporal interests of the youth entrusted to their care by an over-confiding, a credulous, and, in this regard, an ignorant community. We know now professors of Latin, and those too of long standing as well as of late appointment, who could no more carry on a conversation in Latin than they could fly in the

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air; who cannot discern and read with quantity and rhythm a line of Terence, or a prologue of Plautus; nay, who cannot distinguish, if I print in this article five lines of Latin poetry of the simplest measure, whether it be prose or poetry, unless taken from the common college curriculum, and the lines themselves indicate to them the verse. Such a thing as translating *currenti calamo* into Latin the leader that may appear in some of our best papers, is to them as thoroughly impossible as it would be for a Digger Indian, with a slight tincture of frontier English, to understand the same; and in short, their whole knowledge of the tongue is lame, defective, feeble and inaccurate. In a conversation gravely held with one of them, a few months since, he expressed the opinion that "he did not believe that anybody now-a-days could speak Latin," and insinuated, rather than expressed openly, a doubt whether it had ever been done since the time when, as he expressed it, "*Latin became a dead language.*" What is to be done with such a man? He has not a sufficient substratum after all these years of teaching Sallust, Virgil, and the few orations of Cicero supposed to be necessary, even to appreciate an argument on the subject, or to have a glimmering conception of his own ignorance. Scripture tells what the result is when the blind lead the blind; and this *cæcus cæcorum ductor* has held forth for many years with great acceptance as professor of Latin! Nor is he alone: he is but a pronounced type of a large class, we fully believe of a majority, if not of college professors, certainly of academical instructors throughout our country. We would in charity hope that it arises from *ignorantia invincibilis*, and would just as soon argue with the hedge schoolmaster (you may possibly have seen the type), who knows usually so little that he supposes that he knows everything, and that wisdom will die with him.

And yet what is it but a fraud? These men pocket, year by year, salaries or fees from the community, for teaching what they do not know, for imparting a knowledge of what they themselves do not understand. If a man sells me an unsound horse at the price of a sound one; if he gets from me money on a check returned "no funds;" if he sells me goods not up to the sample or damaged, I have a remedy at law. Why should I have no remedy in this single case? It may be said that these people who teach languages which they do not know, *i. e.*, can neither write nor speak, act in good faith. I answer that there are means of knowing, and it is their business to know the quality of the article in which they deal, and for which they take my money, and I cannot accept these excuses. There are numbers of men (it is useless to say what proportion of all) teaching classics and making money at it, who if they had their deserts would sit in prison under sentence of false

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pretense. This may seem a harsh showing, but the proofs might readily be furnished; and no wonder that the cause of classical literature is at a low ebb throughout our country.

If, as those conversant with the subject will fully admit, the best graduates of our most noted colleges are inferior in actual knowledge to a student who passes his examination at a German gymnasium; if an Eton or Rugby boy will shame them in writing Latin or Greek verse; if the students of the various colleges (in the French sense, *i. e.*, high schools) are fully their masters in those studies, surely something ought to be done, some action taken in the premises, or else we had better yield at once. Under the circumstances, and considering the almost entire nullity of the classical knowledge imparted in our country, it is not to be wondered at that men shrewd in other respects, but either entirely wanting classically, or possessing that smattering which is usually imparted and which they feel to be almost utterly useless, have been successful in superseding the study of classics, by substituting what are called "Scientific courses," in many of our foremost colleges; and that really educated Americans traveling or residing in Europe, are obliged to feel ashamed for their country, when the subject of classics is on the *tapis* among literary men. A remedy ought to be found; the talent exists in our youth; some professors can even now be found thoroughly educated to the requirements of the chairs of classics in our colleges; others will soon be educated to that point under their auspices; the system of appointment on general principles and without examination must be done away with, and no one should be allowed to teach in an academy who has not passed, *then and there*, an examination at the hands of *competent* men, on the branches he professes to teach; the number of pseudo-colleges should be largely reduced; boating, yachting, etc.—in short, all the wide-spread occupation of our present muscular-literary aspirants—should either entirely be done away or confined within reasonable limits; which regulation might with great propriety be extended to the whole absurd system of honorary degrees, which are a delusion, and tend to diminish the respect which a degree rightfully taken deserves. The diploma or "sheepskin," as our friends term it, would mean something which it has long since ceased to do in any eyes but those of the illiterate, or the still more stupid class, the half-learned. The evil is one of great gravity, threatening to make total shipwreck of the cause of genuine erudition in our country; and while the writer is well aware that it is the truth which hurts, and that he has said too much for many, he is equally sure that he has with him the sentiments of the really learned, and he knows better than to expect the suffrages of the sciolists and shams who disgrace our country, no difference

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what their position, if they be ignorant and pretentious, and sail under false colors.

Many more points might be made, many more instances and narratives given, of the fraudulent and false nature of our system of classical education, even among ourselves; and we might be induced to make an introspection of our own colleges, which would not be entirely flattering. For the present, this paper is long already; enough has been said to indicate some of the prominent defects pertaining thereto; and in the hope that this defective sketch may stimulate other minds to thought upon the subject and to the devising of efficacious remedies against its evils, we may speak of our own seminaries, and their aspirants, and their defects, in the future. T. A. BECKER.

THE JESUITS.

Bartoli. History of the Life and Institute of St. Ignatius Loyola, New York (Dunigan & Bro.), 1855. *

It is said of St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, that he prayed often and earnestly to Heaven, that his Society might never tread the broad path of prosperity, but should always walk in the footsteps of the crucified God-Man, whose name it bears; and that as long as Divine Providence allowed it to exist for the good of the Church, it should be, like Him, a sign to be gainsayed, persecuted, and even crucified by the world. Whether this be literally true or not, it little matters. Certain it is, that such was Ignatius' constant wish; and he often so expressed himself. "Prosperity," he was wont to say, "caused in him more fear than joy; and should the Society cease to be persecuted, he dreaded lest it should become remiss in the observance of regular discipline." Almost the same thing is recorded of Saints Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, his first disciples, and who inherited most of his spirit. But whether it was actual prayer, or simply the expression of mingled hope and desire on the Saint's part, he was heard on high; and the wish of his heart was given him abundantly, "with full measure and running over." He himself, while preparing the foundations of his order, was made to taste of this bitter chalice of persecution, which he wished to leave as a wholesome portion to his children. He was accused before the Inquisition, and before the ecclesiastical courts of Alcala and Salamanca. Sorcery and

* This translation from the Italian of Bartoli is owing to the pen of an estimable American lady, the wife of the Spanish Minister in Washington, M. Calderon de la Barca.

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heresy were among the crimes laid to his charge; nor was his innocence always able to shield him from punishment. The tongue of slander even sought to arraign him before the highest tribunal of the Church, that of the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome. And now that he is in Heaven, reaping the reward of his life-long labors, venerated as a Saint, honored and invoked on the altars of the greatest portion of the Christian world, he still serves as a guide to his children, to show them what they must expect at the hands of men here below, down to the very end of time; down to that avenging day of Judgment, when in the words of Holy Writ "*omnis iniquitas oppilabit os suum*" (Ps. cvi. 42); when the slanderers of so many centuries shall stand abashed, self-convicted before the assembled world, and the servants of God shall be justified in the sight of men and angels. For the last three hundred years or more, the name of Ignatius of Loyola has been vilified, his life and actions, aye his very virtues, have been assailed and blackened, by non-Catholic writers; and even those who strive, or flatter themselves and readers with the notion that they are striving, to be impartial, either repeat the old calumnies in milder language, or think it magnanimity to dismiss him with the gentle epithets of "fanatic," "zealot," and "enthusiast."*

And if this has been the lot of the Father, how has it fared with his children? If they resemble him in his zeal, in his working for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, they resemble him too in the reward they have reaped at the hands of the world. Though fighting only with the weapons of the Gospel against the wild

* Instead of looking abroad, though foreign examples abound, we shall quote one from our own country. The late John Quincy Adams—who once sat in the chair made illustrious by Washington, Jefferson and Madison, but who it seems preferred to such glorious reminiscence the subsequent *role* of congressional agitation (we do not care to repeat the odious name wherewith the conservative press of that day used to brand him) and who is still classed amongst American statesmen by some of his admirers—in an oration delivered in 1843 before the Cincinnati Astronomical Society, and subsequently published, deliberately stated, as a fact, that Ignatius of Loyola was the *inventor of the Inquisition!* If our scholars and statesmen (so called) have thus studied history, what are we to expect from the common herd? But as Mr. Adams, or some of his friends on his behalf, when reproached with this ridiculous anachronism, tried to wind and wriggle out of it by a miserable subterfuge, pretending that by the institution invented by Ignatius was meant the Society of Jesuits, we feel bound to give his actual words. After detailing the hardships which Galileo had to undergo from "the Tribunal of the Inquisition" (Mr. Adams' own expression) and at the hands of "the Inquisitor Cardinals" (again his own words), he adds "THE INSTITUTION, by the officers of which Galileo suffered every persecution short of death, which man could inflict upon him, WAS THE INVENTION OF IGNATIUS LOYOLA." To try and make out—solely with the view of covering up a disgraceful blunder—that the legal tribunal, before which Galileo was arraigned, was not the Inquisition, but the Jesuit Society, or that the Jesuits and the Inquisition are one and the same thing, is simply shameful. It is as false as dishonest, and only shows what adepts some of our non-Catholic friends are, in what they love to denounce as "Jesuitism."

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spirit of revolt that has possessed Europe for the last three centuries, though preaching submission to lawful authority in church and state, they have been denounced as framers of sedition against both. They have been made the victims of oppression at the hands of kings, ministers of state and parliaments. They have been proscribed in Catholic as well as Protestant countries. They have been murdered by raging mobs, or sent to the scaffold in the name of the law by judicial tribunals. Bishops have thought proper to hurl against them pastorals and ponderous treatises; and almost in our own day, even those whose religious calling should have prompted them to be rivals of the Jesuits only in charity and meekness, have not blushed to praise in Latin inscriptions a brutal autocrat, as "the banisher of the Loyolites." The very Head of the Church, only a hundred years ago, was compelled for the sake of peace to make of them a sacrifice to the insatiate enemies of the Church, and to disband at their bidding the most intrepid defenders of the Holy See and of Christianity. But far worse than spoliation and banishment, worse even than imprisonment and death, has been the cruel warfare of calumny and misrepresentation that has been waged against them from the very first day of their existence; till their very name has become a bugbear in Protestant and infidel ears, and even awakens fear in the hearts of timid and ill-educated Catholics. They are accused of all manner of crimes; they are made to appear not only as workers of iniquity, but as elevating it into a system, and as deliberately constituting themselves its apostles and teachers. Their very name has passed into an odious expression for all that involves fraud, lying and treachery. The term "Jesuit," with its hateful import, has been indelibly impressed upon our language. You will find it not only in the pages of stereotyped religious mountebanks like Fox and Errington—to say nothing of our own ignoble, illiterate flock of American anti-Catholic scribblers—but in the noble prose of grave and staid writers like South, Hall and Milton. Even the Macaulays and Gladstones recognize its potency to wing an anti-Catholic shaft, when they would appeal to vulgar prejudice or insinuate some covert slander against the Church. And now the question presents itself, what have the Jesuits done to deserve this widespread odium? what is there in their institute or in their history to warrant these hateful accusations? Absolutely, nothing, that will bear scrutiny. Who has yet been able to produce a word or a syllable from their Rules to justify these slanderous charges and insinuations?

And yet it is not so much from the cold, dead letter of these Rules and Constitutions, that we should seek to learn the true spirit of the Jesuit; what he is in daily life and action, what he is

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in his commerce or conflict with the world. Unless we take into consideration the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, we shall never understand what a Jesuit really is. It was under their influence that the Society was founded and diffused throughout the world; and Bartoli is right in calling them the basis of the spiritual edifice raised by Ignatius. Every one who enters the Society, has either been moved to take the step by performing the Exercises, or is required to go through them before definitely uniting himself with the Order. He must repeat them frequently on stated occasions; indeed, in some shape or other, they enter into his constant meditation. They furnish the daily food to nourish his soul; and it may truly be said, that from them chiefly he draws his life and spirit. Now what are these Exercises? They are nothing else than a systematized* epitome of gospel truth: the very same truth that changed the face of the Gentile world; that made heroes and heroines even out of illiterate men, shrinking women and helpless children in the early days of Christianity. In these Exercises man is invited, apart from the noise and distractions of the world, to consider first his last end, the service and glory of God, which end he has in common with all the works of the divine hand; and then to reflect on his special end, which is the salvation of his immortal soul. All creatures—which name includes not only material objects, but all our relations to men and things—are called up and passed in review before his eyes; their true nature is pointed out; he is reminded that at best they are only means, never to be confounded with his end. They may be helps, they may be hindrances to that end; and he must use them accordingly, embracing them if they are helping means, discarding them if they thwart his great purpose. To one fully convinced of his true end, and sincerely bent on saving his soul, what are the riches, the glory and honor of this world? What are even its friendships, or other bonds of affection? They are to be measured by the eye of Christian faith; they are good, if they conduce to our true end; wicked and to be cast away, if they withdraw us from it. This is

* It is in this system and skillful arrangement that the power of the Exercises consists; and this it is which makes it widely different from mere knowledge or contemplation of Christian truth. The object of St. Ignatius was "to reduce the cure of the soul to an art by basing upon certain principles of faith an exact and positive method, which practiced by the application of the means prescribed by him, insures almost infallible success. If we reflect seriously upon this, we shall find that this method differs from a simple consideration of the truths of religion as much as a knowledge of the virtues of certain plants or minerals differs from the art of medicine; which by teaching us to understand the constitution of the human body, and the properties of certain substances tending to restore its equilibrium when injured by sickness, forms a body of precepts, by means of which our health may be restored or preserved".—Bartoli, Hist. of St. Ignatius, Chapter V.

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the happy state of what may be called the due equilibration* of a rational mind, which in serving God does not count wealth, honor, or comfort as things good or desirable of themselves, but will accept at His hands with equal readiness either these or their opposites, poverty, shame and suffering, provided they are better means of serving Him. The next step is to weigh well and learn to detest the enormity of sin, which abuses the creature against the Creator, mars the harmony of the universe, and frustrates the true end of man. After this comes the consideration of what it cost our Saviour to atone for sin, and undo the wicked work of Satan in our first parents and in ourselves. And then, deeply impressed with the consciousness of the plague-spots of our fallen nature, its pride, covetousness and sensuality—and contemplating besides the life of humiliation, poverty and suffering, chosen by our Divine Lord as special means of the Atonement—the soul feels encouraged to take a higher step, to rise even above "holy indifference," and after the example of Him who is our Teacher and Model as well as our Saviour, to give the preference to a life of humility and mortification. Here any Christian may rest ratisfied with the result of his meditations; but the Jesuit goes farther. In beholding the perpetual struggle of the Devil, and his ally the World, to destroy the souls that Christ has redeemed, he is moved to holy indignation and zeal; and he begs of Him the privilege of enlisting under His banner, that he too may wage unceasing war upon the Devil and his allied hosts, and may conquer souls to Christ. This is a very brief, inadequate sketch of those holy Exercises which the Order has received as a legacy from its Founder; but it was necessary in order to give some faint idea of the spirit that moves the Jesuit to enrol himself among the soldiers of Christ, and that sustains him in his warfare against the world and its countless forms of sin and error.

But do not the Jesuits make of this pretended zeal only what St. Peter calls "a cloak of malice?" Do they not bind themselves through dreadful vows, by means of which they are organized into a secret society, formidable to states and peoples, or at least utterly incompatible with modern civilization? We reply that the Jesuits are no secret society: the men who thus reproach them do not themselves believe it; and even if they did, such a charge would come with very bad grace from most of their accusers. The whole world knows well to what the Jesuits have solemnly pledged themselves; and their daily lives and true history are open to all, so that none may plead ignorance of how they have carried out their pledges. But, is not the real objection to these very pledges or

*It is styled "indifference," or "holy indifference" in the technical language of the Spiritual Exercises.

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vows, so openly taken? Were men of the world disposed to answer with some slight degree of candour, would they not speak their mind somewhat in this strain—"Yes: we do object to these Jesuit vows, and we look upon them with disgust and aversion. Such things may have done for monastic and mediæval times; but they are out of place in our enlightened century. And, if they are to be tolerated at all, let them be confined to the cloisters, where silly women and half-witted men immure themselves in solitude, and wisely refrain from obtruding themselves on the gaze of the world. But these Jesuits will not so hide themselves; they do not shrink from the eyes of men. They go everywhere; they make themselves at home, even in communities where civilization has reached its highest point, and where the prevailing spirit is non-Catholic or infidel; they walk about at noon-day, displaying—if not ostentatiously, yet unpleasantly—those remnants of antiquated superstition that most offend the enlightened mind of our day."

No doubt, if the Jesuits, forgetful of their vocation, would only consent to hide their light under a bushel; if they would but cut themselves off from the world by a life of total seclusion; if they devoted themselves solely to singing the praises of God and to saving their own souls, the World, the Flesh and the Devil would think much better, or less evil of them. But when, on the contrary, they issue from their quiet abodes, and with calm courage proceed to defy and attack error and vice in their strongholds, to preach in their discourses and exemplify in their persons before the world the distasteful virtues of poverty, humility and chastity, it is no wonder that they are hated and reviled, and, like the Infant Church, everywhere "spoken against."*

If the spirit of the age, the spirit of this world—which "is seated in wickedness," which hates the disciples as it once hated the Master, and which has already been judged† and condemned in the

*This, too, was the experience of their holy Founder. "He was once surprised with a sad and depressed countenance, a circumstance astonishing in a man whose impassible physiognomy always indicated the profound peace of his soul. He was in fact afflicted, because he observed that in a certain province the affairs of the Society went forward with too much tranquillity, and that its members enjoyed equally the favor of the court and of the people. Ignatius judged from his own experience. When he was solely occupied with the care of his own soul, and his own progress in perfection, no one thought of ill-treating him; on the contrary, he was venerated as a Saint but was he occupied with his neighbor, they took up arms against him, and he soon found accusers, imprisonment and chains; he was treated as a seditious disturber of the peace, and ordered to be silent. "You enjoy a long truce," said one of his friends to him in Paris, when the Saint, who as yet knew French but little, could not labor for the salvation of souls. "It is true," replied he; "the world grants me a truce, because I do not make war upon it; but let me once come out of the camp, and you will see Paris up in arms against me." Bartoli, Life of St. Ignatius. Ed. cit., vol. I., p. 225.

† John xv. 18; xvi. ii: 1 John v. 19.

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person of its prince—had not so thoroughly possessed the minds of most men, darkening their understandings and corrupting their hearts, we should have no need of perpetually reminding those, at least, who call themselves Christians and profess to draw their knowledge of Christian truth and morality from the New Testament, that there are such Christian virtues as poverty, chastity and obedience; and that these virtues, when raised to the degree of perfection, embody what are called the Evangelical Counsels. We should feel ashamed to add even another word in explanation or defence of these Counsels; and it ought to be unnecessary. But, unfortunately, it is not; and we feel the sad conviction, that their meaning is not understood by one in every fifty of our American brethren, even the well-educated, outside of the Church. For amongst them is fearfully verified that saying of the Psalmist "*Diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum.*" (Ps. xi. 2.)

These Counsels, as their name implies, are not matters of law or precept, but are given by way of advice and counsel to those who wish to become perfect in the practice of virtue and in the following of Christ. The Christian virtues are binding on all. To be poor in spirit, clean of heart, charitable to the needy, is necessary for all; men and women, young and old, rich and poor, clergy and laity. But it is not expected of all, that they should sacrifice their whole store for the benefit of the poor; that they should of their own accord raise up a sacred barrier between themselves and the innocent joys of domestic life; that they should devote their whole being to the service and relief of destitute or suffering humanity. This is the privilege of a few chosen souls, who aspire to something higher in the service of God than falls to the lot of common mortals; who are prompted by divine impulse to rise above the beaten path, to lift themselves from our common earth and soar aloft; who can truly say with the poet, but with far worthier aim and nobler inspiration:—

> Tentanda via est, quâ me quoque possim
> Tollere humo.

These are they, whose hearts give ready entrance to God's grace, and are effectually stirred by its gentle pleadings to receive with welcome and delight the invitation of the great Teacher, "Be you perfect, as also your Heavenly Father is perfect". (Math. v. 48.) In these words it is no longer Patriarch or Prophet, nor Saint of the Old or New Law, but the Holiness of the Divine Nature—a holiness without end or limit—that is given us as the standard for our imitation. And there never have been wanting in the world, from the first days of Christianity, those who heard and obeyed this heavenly summons to perfection, or to the ceaseless striving after it. Some of them died in their quiet cell; others in the gloom of a

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dungeon; not a few of them by the ignominious hand of the executioner. But their memory is in blessing; and that glory before men, which they shunned during life, has become their portion after death. They wrought wonderful things in their zeal and charity, for the glory of God and the welfare of their fellow-men. They were benefactors of mankind; and the good they have done their race far exceeds all that can be claimed for Pagan and worldly heroes, for the sages and legislators of ancient or modern times. Their names will be remembered and cherished by faithful, loving hearts, long after those of the Cæsars, Napoleons, Cavours and Bismarcks shall have faded away from the memory of man. Nor should it be forgotten that it was principally from this class—the Jesuits, so to call them, of early Christianity—that Divine Providence chose the holy and great men who under God called our barbarian forefathers out of the darkness of heathenism into the marvelous light of Christian truth and knowledge; that kept alive in their cells the torch of science during the ages of darkness; that reclaimed the waste spots and deserts of great part of Europe; that gave her all that is wise and Christian in her laws and institutions; that were the real founders of whatever there yet remains of good and valuable—in a word, all that is yet undepraved and unheathenized—in the civilization of Europe and America.

Those men who make profession of Christianity, and ignore or deride the Evangelical Counsels, have either never read the Gospel, or have forgotten its teachings; or what is too often the case with those who are loudest in denouncing "the traditions of men," have learned their Christianity, not from God's holy, unadulterated Word, but from those very "traditions" of fallible men, which they affect to despise. It is impossible to peruse with the slightest degree of attention the Gospel narrative, or the Epistles of the Apostles, and not find there these Counsels clearly laid down, and not only praised but warmly recommended to Christians for practice. Perfect chastity, self-denial, mortification, fasting, voluntary austerities; the taking up of our cross of our own accord, instead of waiting till Providence lay it on our unwilling shoulders; the renouncing of father, mother, brother, sister, and all worldly goods, the more readily to follow Christ—surely, these are all sayings with which every reader of the Gospel should be well acquainted, and even the unlettered who hear them read occasionally, though seldom made the topic of a discourse, from the sectarian pulpit.

But unhappily the great change which came over the European world three or more centuries ago, has ruthlessly blotted out, not only what some are pleased to call the dross and superstitions of mediæval Christianity, but the very spirit and substance of Christ's religion, as taught in the Gospel. Some of its forms may

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yet linger among those who, outside of the true Church, still call themselves Christians. But the life, the soul has gone, and mere lifeless forms must soon share the same fate. That violent change, like all resolutions forced upon unwilling peoples, sought to delude its victims with the prestige of a high-sounding name, and dignified itself with the title of Reformation—a reformation of the Church of Christ in doctrine and morals. And this is the name it still bears, with awful mockery of the truth, among those who—whatever the extent of their knowledge or their fears and suspicions—are naturally loath to condemn the work of their fathers. For how could we expect men who adhere even nominally to a religious system of human origin, to do strict historical justice to the founders and framers of that system? Dryden, as accurately as happily, suggested the name of *Deformation* for that lamentable rebellion, which robbed Europe of her religious unity, and made in her body social and politic a helpless breach through which

"*deformed* rout
Entered, and foul disorder,"

never perhaps to be wholly remedied until the day of God's final judgment. But a far truer and more expressive name was given to the great religious convulsion of the sixteenth century, by one of keen insight, who, being neither Catholic nor Protestant, may be looked on as an impartial judge, and who ranks high in the Protestant and liberal world among the apostles and poets of modern progress. We mean Heyne.* He hails and applauds Luther's rebellion against the Church as the great "EMANCIPATION OF THE FLESH." Never was there uttered a truer word; never could the results, the so-called "blessings" of the Reformation, have been condensed into a simpler or shorter formula. It is too plain to be misunderstood. In the dark ages of Europe, the Church sought to hold the flesh in subjection to the spirit. But a brighter day dawned; a deliverer came in the person of Martin Luther, and the flesh was emancipated from this shameful, irrational bondage. Let some praise him, if they will, as the discoverer of that consoling doctrine—salvation through faith in Christ alone, without the aid of saints or good works. Let others boast of his having purified Christianity by disentangling it from the traditions of men, or of having freed the human intellect and conscience from the tyranny of the Pope. These, if not shams, are at best mere side issues. Luther's true glory, and the direct, slow but sure, effect of his

* Heyne was born of Israelite parents, but he certainly never followed their religion. He lived and died a member of no church, though in his testament (made public after his death by his brother) he calls himself a member of the Lutheran Confession; to which, from some motive connected perhaps with his civil or social interests, he had, in early life, given a nominal adhesion.

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great work, was the rescue of the Flesh from the slavery in which, under the teaching of the Catholic Church, it was held by the Spirit. Such is Heyne's view of the Reformation; and it is, it must be admitted, philosophically and historically correct. We do not pretend, for a moment, that Luther either avowed openly, or acknowledged to himself, that such was likely to be the result of his labors. It is to be hoped and presumed, that he did not even dimly foresee it at the beginning of his career. But nevertheless it was undeniably the logical sequence of his principles and system; and when in after years he found vice and immorality daily gaining ground, he was forced to admit that this evil growth was springing up everywhere side by side with the growth of the new Gospel. He wept and groaned in bitterness of soul at the sad discovery; he stormed and thundered in his own rough, fiery strain of eloquence.* But it was too late. The foul spirit would not down at the bidding of the conjurer who had raised him. Luther's eyes were opened; but pride, self-love, and above all the new habits of life by which he was enchained, would not allow him to think of falling back on the doctrines of the Church he had so long and so passionately derided and denounced. He did not or would not see that it was his own wild theories about good works, and mainly his shameful invectives against the Evangelical Counsels that had brought about this frightful state of morals. How significant is the name of "Fifth Evangelist," given him by some of his unreflecting flatterers? He was, indeed, the herald of a fifth Gospel; but it was a new one, and of his own making: not the Gospel taught by Christ on the plains of Judea; not the Gospel committed to writing from His lips, and preached to the world by the Evangelists, Apostles and Disciples.

Yet if there be anything clearly and explicitly laid down in the New Testament, it is the existence of two beings, as it were, in each of us, forever warring with each other, the sensual† and the

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* He even went so far as to doubt, whether it would not be better for him to stop preaching, since it only made men daily more obdurate, more sharp-witted and envenomed. "Ich habe oft gedacht, ich wollte das Predigen gar anstehen lassen; denn die Leute werden täglich härter, spitziger und giftiger draus' (Auslegung des Evang. Johannis. Walch vii., 2467). He declares that he never would have begun to preach his doctrine, had he but known the misery, dissensions, scandals, blasphemy and wickedness that were to come of it. "Wer wollte auch angefangen haben zu predigen, wenn wir zuvor gewusst hätten, das so viel Unglück, Rotterei, Aergerniss Lästerung, Undank und Bosheit sollte darauf folgen?" (In the same commentary Walch viii., 564.) And again, in his commentary on the Prophets, "Wenn mir nun Gott nicht die Augen zugeschlossen hätte, und ich hätte diese Aergernisse vorher geschen, so hätte ich nimmermehr angefangen, das Evangelium zu lehren." (Ausleg. der Propheten. Walch vi., col. 920.)

† In St. Paul Ep., 1 Cor. ii. 14, where our Douay Bible has, not incorrectly, "the *sensual* man," the Greek original has Ψυδικὸς δε ἀνθρωπος, and the Latin Vulgate

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spiritual man. The former is most frequently symbolized under the name of the *flesh*, the latter under that of the *spirit*. "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh" (Gal. v. 17); that is to say, they are deadly enemies struggling for the mastery of our souls, and one or the other must rule. We cannot serve both, any more than a man can serve two masters or fight in two hostile camps at one and the same time. The flesh implies not only what are strictly called carnal desires, but all besides in our inferior nature that contradicts right reason and God's law. The spirit is, so to speak, our higher and better nature, whatever of our former glorious being has been left unruined or has been restored through Christ; but above all, the impulse of the Holy Spirit working through grace in our hearts. The Apostle tells us* that the wisdom of this world, which is born of the flesh, is an enemy to God; and that whereas the wisdom of the spirit is life and peace, the wisdom of the flesh is death. And again he warns us, that those who are in the flesh† cannot please God, but must die; yet, if by the spirit they mortify the deeds of the flesh, they shall live.

If, then, mortification be the duty of all who wish "to live," that is to save their souls, how much more is it necessary for those who strive after perfection; who in the great battle of the inward life are not content with escaping defeat, with barely holding their own, but aspire to victory—to the complete conquest and subjugation of the lower nature, so that Christ alone may reign in their soul, and His Holy Spirit dwell in their body as in His chosen temple. This is what the Scripture‡ calls being dead to sin and self, and alive only to God and His righteousness; dead to this world and living a life that is hidden with Christ in God; having so to say no life of our own, but allowing Christ our Lord to live in us instead of ourselves. They who would follow Christ more closely resolve not only to abstain from sin, as all are bound to do, but to flee even its remotest approaches. Hence they take refuge in the Evangelical Counsels, and bind themselves by a religious obligation to shun all that, however lawful in itself, is liable to misuse, or

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"Animalis autem homo." According to the best lexicographers, the primary meaning of Ψυχικος is "ad animam vel *animam* pertinens." Its secondary meanings are (1) *vitalis;* (2) *animosus*, cupiditatibus serviens; (3) *naturalis*. Hence, since Ψυχη is the *anima*, i. e. *anima sentiens*, the Vulgate rendering is the closest, and therefore the best. King James', and Luther's Bible, from whom Kenrick and Allioli do not dissent, have "the natural man." Wicliffe translates, expressively enough but rather harshly, "the beestli man." Martini in his Italian version judiciously follows the Vulgate (l'uomo animale).

* Rom. viii. 6, 7, 8, 13.

† That is "live according to the flesh," as explained in a subsequent verse (v. 13).

‡ Rom. vi. 11; 1 Peter ii. 24; Coloss. iii. 3; Gal. ii. 20.

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might in any way serve to detach them from their lofty purpose. And hence arose the sacred vows of continence, poverty and obedience, which are the best safeguards against sensuality, covetousness and pride. These are the three sources from which, as St. John teaches,* springs all the moral evil that leads man astray and works the loss of his soul. The practice of these counsels is good and pleasing to God, and should be honorable before men, whether carried out by the hermit in the desert, the Trappist in his lonely cell, or the Jesuit in the face of the world. It is as much needed now as it was in the middle ages; it is good and expedient in communities where religious error and infidelity abound, no less than in countries like the Tyrol and Ireland, where the simplicity of Christian Faith is so deeply rooted in the soul, that neither brute force nor cunning policy has been able to extirpate it. It is a visible proof that the hand of the Lord is not shortened; that in every time and place the Spouse of the Holy One of Israel must necessarily bring forth fruits of holiness. If nothing else, it is a living, perpetual protest on the part of the Catholic Church against the ignorance or utter forgetfulness of Gospel truth prevaling among those who, defying her authority, presume to call themselves enlightened Christians, owning no guide or teacher outside of Holy Scripture.

But, leaving out of consideration what the Jesuits have in common with the monastic orders, have they not (so say their enemies) a special, frightful vow of obedience to their superior? Does not every Jesuit solemnly pledge himself to do whatever he is bidden by that superior; and in so doing to sacrifice everything—feelings, opinions, convictions and even conscience itself? must he not be, in the hands of him to whom he has sworn obedience, no longer a free, intellectual, moral agent, but a mere tool; a lifeless instrument moved and wholly directed by another's will; a dead body (and here they make a show of quoting textually from the Constitutions of the Order) that has no soul, no power of its own, but obeys blindly the given impulse, is unresistingly raised up, carried about, or dashed to earth by the hands or at the beck of another? And does not all this involve a slavery degrading to human nature; and which leads, or may lead, to the commission of every crime? We answer that this is not the language of sober inquiry, but mere declamation, intended to gratify prejudice and conceal or distort the truth.

In the first place, the vow of obedience, taken by the Jesuits, is common to all Religious Orders, old and new; and the indignation wasted on St. Ignatius and his disciples might as well be

* "For all that is in the world, is the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life." I John ii. 16.

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turned against the Benedictines or the children of St. Francis and St. Dominic.* We do not deny that St. Ignatius wished the obedient Religious to be in the hands of his Superior "like a dead body" (*perinde ac cadaver*).† But neither can we see that this figurative language, which has evoked so many a sneer, needs any apology. For, in what does it differ from all that has been taught in the school of Christian perfection, from the very first ages of the Church? Such is the doctrine of the great Saints Augustine, Jerome, Basil, John Climacus, Benedict, Bernard, Francis of Assisi; of Thomas a Kempis, and all the renowned masters of the Spiritual Life.‡ Nay, the very expression, for which St. Ignatius is reproached, had been used three centuries before by the Founder of another Religious Order. St. Francis of Assisi used to liken the true Religious to a lifeless body (*corpus exanime*), which is passive in the hands of another;§ and often, while insisting on the perfection of obedience, would exclaim that he wished his children and disciples, in doing the will of their Superior, to resemble dead rather than living men, "*mortuos non vivos ego meos volo.*" And nearly eight centuries before St. Francis, John Cassian, the friend of St. Chrysostom and of St. Leo the Great, made use of the same figure to express what perfect obedience should be. The illustri-

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* There is substantially no difference between the obedience inculcated by St. Ignatius and that prescribed in other Orders. If any can be thought of, it will be found perhaps to consist in this, that St. Ignatius, while warmly insisting on the perfect spirit of obedience as the life and soul of his Society, yet did not push the limit of its extent as far, as other religious legislators. "S. Ignace (says the calm and judicious Ravignan) a beaucoup insisté sans doute sur la vertu et la perfection de l' obeissance; mais il n'a rien dit de plus fort, ni meme d' aussi fort que les autres fondateurs de societes religieuses. ..... Dans cette langue de moderation et de prudence qu' il savait si bien parler, il a cru devoir temperer le conseil de l' obeissance aveugle (coeca quadam obedientia), là ou les autres, tous les autres, l' imposent avec une rigueur qui n' admet point de menagement, avec une etendue qui ne connait point de limites." De l' Existence et de l' Institut des Jesuites, par le R. Pere de Ravignan. Namur, 1844, p. 92.

†"Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regi a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac si cadaver essent." Constit., part vi., ch. 1, § 1. (And let each one rest assured, that those who live under obedience ought to allow themselves to be moved and ruled by Divine Providence through their Superiors, as though they were lifeless bodies). To this comparison he subjoins another, that of a staff in the hands of an aged man, which he wields at will.

‡ We have no space to give their language. Any one desirous of reading the passages may find them collected by Suarez in his admirable Treatise de Religione. (Lib. iv. chap. xv.) Paris, 1866. Vol. 17, p. 727.

§ "Tolle corpus exanime et, ut placuerit, pone; videbis non repugnare motum, non murmurare situm, non reclamare dimissum. Quod si statuatur in cathedra, non alta sed ima respiciet; si collocetur in purpura, duplo pallescit. Sic autem verus obediens est, qui cur dimoveatur, non dijudicat; ubi locetur, non curat; ut transmutetur, non instat; evectus ad officium solitam tenet humilitatem etc." St. Bonaventure in Vita S. Francisci, Chap. vi., § 77. Apud Bollandianos ad. d. iv. Oct., p. 757.

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ous St. Basil compares true Religious to sheep, who never dispute the will of the shepherd, but blindly follow whithersoever he leads them. He further adds, that whoever wishes to advance in virtue, to build up (as he says) to perfection the spiritual edifice, must be as pliable as a tool or instrument in the hands of a carpenter or house-builder, which never chooses for itself how it is to be used, never refuses to obey the impulse of the master's hand.* Is this in any way different from "the staff wielded at will" of St. Ignatius? If the language of the latter is exaggerated or wrong, we have no alternative but to reject and condemn the Christian ethics of the fifteen centuries that went before him.

But does the obedience of the Jesuit degrade the dignity of human nature? If there exist at all any such Christian virtue as obedience, the answer is very plain. If a low or middling degree of virtue does not degrade a man, much less can a higher degree succeed in so doing. Human nature, or fallen man, has retained very little, indeed, of his former dignity; and that little is not improved by individual self-government or independence. On the contrary, the spirit of insubordination and self-control is one of the chief results of our fall through disobedience; a remnant of the poison infused into our nature by the deadly fruit which our first parents ate in Paradise. Of the three fatal enemies engendered in us by the primeval curse, pride is perhaps the worst. It is, even in the just, generally the last to be subdued. The renouncing of all wealth, be it little or much, and habitual absence from the busy haunts of life and the cares of the world, may bring the mind at last to a practical conviction of the truth of our Lord's doctrine, that riches are thorns and may become snares for the soul, (Luke viii. 14). Continued bodily austerities may dampen and stifle, or the winter of age may extinguish† utterly the fires of fleshly lust. But neither mortification, nor lapse of years, nor withdrawal from the world, will always kill what the Apostle calls "the pride of life" (1. John ii. 16). The history of the Church is full of examples, to prove that no austerity of life, no detachment from worldly goods, is a safeguard against spiritual pride. A hundred names will occur to every Catholic student, from Tertullian in the second century down to the French confessors of the faith, who in the days of Pius VII. fell into the "Blanchardist" schism.‡ We need say nothing of the Arnauds, Pascals and mere-Angeliques of two hundred years ago, in whom an irreproachable outward life was united with a

*Constit. Monast. Chap. xxii. Opp. S. Basilii. Paris 1618. Tom. ii., pp. 718–19.

†Constit. Monast. Cap. xxii. Opp. S. Basilii. Paris 1618. Tom. ii. pp. 718–19.

‡Any English reader who wishes to see a condensed account of this politico-religious, trouble, into which even some good men were drawn at the beginning, will find it in Husenteth's Life of Bp. Milner, who wrote against these schismatics.

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diabolical pride, that drove them to "make shipwreck concerning the faith," (1. Tim. i. 19). The safest and surest remedy against pride is obedience. It implies the renouncing of one's inner self, which is far harder than renouncing what is our own, but outside of us*. And the same Divine Teacher, who said that He will acknowledge as His perfect disciple none "who doth not renounce all that he possesseth," has not failed to inculcate the *denying* and *hating of ourselves*, which means the conquest of our pride and self-love, (Luke. xiv. 33, 26; Matth. xvi, 24). And this is precisely what the Jesuit tries to do by his vow of obedience†.

When their enemies talk of this as being a "slavish" vow, they either know not of what they speak, or they are measuring the Jesuits by their own standard. And this, however docile or humble he may be, no Jesuit will or can submit to. When these men of the world obey—and obey they must at times—they are always prompted by some motive of the baser sort. It is with them only stern necessity or sordid interest; they dread the power or court the favor of the man whom they obey. And this is, indeed, mean and slavish. But the Jesuit obeys through love, of his own free will, with a high, holy purpose. Our enlightened men of the world obey MAN, in as much as he is man. But the Jesuit is of nobler mould. He scorns to obey man as such; but deems it his highest glory to obey GOD, whether He speak in person, or through His lawfully constituted representatives. And these he never would obey, did he not feel sure that thereby he is obeying God, whom alone he considers entitled to claim his obedience.‡ So that even

*It is no harm to repeat here those words of St. Gregory the Great, with which all who recite the Divine Office must be familiar: "Fortasse laboriosum non est homini relinquere sua; sed valde laboriosum est relinquere semetipsum. Minus quippe est, abnegare quod habet; valde antem multum est, abnegare quod est." Hom. xxxii. in Evangel.

†In order to obtain more perfectly this self-denial, to ground himself still more deeply in the love and practise of Christian humility, to shield himself yet more securely from the subtle approaches of self-love, lurking under cover of what might be regarded as not unlawful ambition, the professed Jesuit takes an additional vow, never to seek and never to accept any ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever. And the small number of Jesuits to be found amongst the Cardinals, Bishops and other prelates of the Church for the last three centuries, is sufficient proof how well and faithfully they have kept this vow, on which their holy Founder laid such stress, and from which nothing but an absolute command of the Pope can release them. The Jesuit may be "*ambitious*," and Protestants are very fond of adding the epithet, when tney have occasion to mention his name; but they must grant that he has a very strange way of showing it.

‡This is the constant teaching of St. Ignatius: Nunquam intueantur personam ipsam cui obediunt, sed in ea Christum Dominum CUJUS causa obediunt. (Epist. de Obedientia). (Let them never regard the person of him whom they obey: but in him (let them behold) Christ our Lord, for WHOSE sake they yield obedience.) Suarez commenting on this passage, gives the logical explanation "non judicat (subditus) praeceptum superioris esse divinum, id est, a Deo ipso immediate latum, cum evidens illi sit hominem esse qui præest'; sed judicat rationem obediendi esse divi-

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on the score of upholding "the dignity of human nature" it would seem that Jesuit obedience, compared with the obedience of this world, has the best of it.

To say, that by his obedience the Jesuit ceases to be an intellectually and morally free agent, is simply a misuse of words. Whatever surrender is made of his own opinion, does not in the least destroy the participation of the intellect in his action. Whenever obedience is a virtue, it is of necessity under the control of prudence as all virtues must be. Now the Jesuit judges, and judges prudently, that he should obey. The only difference is, that the prudential principle which influences his conduct lies not exactly in his own intellectual investigation, but is external rather, viz., the judgment of the superior, in which he has every reason to acquiesce.* We can see nothing singular in this. It is done every day without reproach by all classes of society; by children in regard to their parents, by the simple and uneducated with respect to the learned. When we go to consult a professional man, it is generally with the predetermination to shape our judgment according to his. And even the world calls this prudence.† Or, to take an example of a higher kind: a man is called on to believe some doctrine that appears to contradict, or which certainly transcends his habitual sphere of thought; he unhesitatingly rejects it, if it be sustained by no evidence; or he accepts it, if proposed on God's authority. He then believes; but the principle that determines his judgment of assent, he does not seek within himself. He has to find it outside of him, in the divine veracity. Yet in this he cannot be accused of blind submission or intellectual slavery. He uses his intellect as fully, and judges as prudently, as when upon examina-

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nam, scilicet, voluntatem Dei quae impletur, cum impletur superioris voluntas, et esse debet prima ratio obediendi." Loc. cit. p. 783. "The inferior does not judge that the *precept* of his superior is divine, that is, coming immediately from God himself, since it is plain to him that the superior is only a man; but he judges that the *reason of his obeying* is divine, namely the will of God, which is fulfilled in fulfilling the will of the Superior. And this must be the primary ground for obeying." And the same principle (though Protestants seem to forget it) had been taught long before by St. Paul (Eph. vi. 7). "Doing service, as to God, and not to men." And our High-Church friends should remember how fond they are, for a purpose of their own, of quoting the words of another Ignatius, when he exhorts Christians to "obey their Bishop and look up to him as one ruling in place of God." Ep. ad. Smyrn. Cap. 8; ad Magnes. Cap. 6.

* 'Hoc est ei (obedientiæ) proprium quod judicium prudentiale dirigens illam fundatur magis in extrinseco principio et judicio superioris quam in proprio; et ideo, quatenus excludit proprium, dicitur obedientia coeca; excludit autem proprium quatenus vitiosum aut imperfectum est, non quatenus dicit omnem usum proprii intellectus." Suarez, lib. cit. pag. 789.

†Of course, these examples are alleged only to illustrate the general principle, that in many cases we may safely adopt the judgment of another as our own. The mainspring of religious obedience is, not the conviction that the superior is wiser than ourselves, but the certainty that God speaks and commands through him.

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tion he decides that the thinking principle within him is spirit, and not matter.

"But the Jesuit," they say, "debases himself by throwing away his freedom, his natural birthright." Moral bonds, as we are taught by the wisest philosophers, regulate and make perfect, but do not destroy human freedom. Is it not absurd to suppose that God by His law should destroy the freedom, of which He is the author? Free will, as it now exists on earth, is not simply a pure and unmixed good. It involves defect or evil; and this is healed by law, whether given us by God, or voluntarily imposed upon ourselves in His name and after His example. It is only in Heaven where men can do no wrong, that freedom becomes perfect. And even now, under the sweet yoke of the Gospel, under the mild bondage —if you will call it so—of the Evangelical Counsels, there is far more true liberty, than in the freest commonwealth of the world. Is it possible, that any man in his right mind can assert, or even insinuate that all moral curbs and restraints are so many outrages on human freedom, so many encroachments on "our birthright," as they are pleased to call it? If so, they are lineal descendants of the fool reproved by holy Job (xi. 12) "who is lifted up into pride, and thinketh himself born free like a wild ass's colt." This frolicsome, riotous beast, to its sorrow if not to its conviction, may be taught at last by the maternal bite, by the heels of its playfellows, by the toils, or it may be the spear of the hunter, that there are limits to its fancied "birthright."

But our men of the world, though they have only too often at the tip of their tongue such phrases as "liberty," "man's inalienable birthright," and the like, are wiser in their generation than their prototype of the desert; and feel no reluctance in shifting their opinions to suit circumstances. The obedience, which they affect to condemn or deride in the Jesuit, they admire and sternly exact in the soldier and in the politician. The soldier represents the triumph of brute force, the putting down of the weak by the strong; too often the crushing of right by injustice, the seizure of provinces and the exaction of tribute, the agonies of strong men and the wailing of helpless women. To accomplish this noble purpose, the soldier's blind obedience is worthy of all praise, and any infraction of its strict laws must be punished by court-martial and a file of musketeers. But if a Jesuit venture to obey voluntarily his superior for God's sake, the better to save his own soul and serve his fellow-men, he is forthwith a craven, a miscreant, one that ought to be accounted, like the primitive Christian, an enemy of mankind. What shall we say of the politicians, that choicest or, at least, most important product of our American civilization? With liberty and independence forever on his lips, in the glorious strug-

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gle for place and plunder, he is more afraid of the party lash than of the stings of conscience or the vengeance of his Maker. Indeed for honor, good repute, conscience, or God, he cares nothing; though at times, with hateful hypocrisy, he may raise the battle-cry of religion for electioneering purposes. Neither his opinions nor his actions are his own. He must think, speak and vote as the party bids him. How many months have gone by, since we listened to some of our so-called legislators excusing their late infamous votes on the wretched plea, that they were unwilling to do wrong, but were compelled to it by the party leaders? And it is just such bare-faced men, and their admirers, that habitually turn up their hands in horror at the self-abasement of the Jesuit in keeping vows of obedience, that have no other object than to remove him, as far as possible, from all danger of evil-doing! Or do these men really believe that it is wrong and cowardly to obey for God's sake the just behests of one man, but quite right and honorable to stifle conscience at the bidding of a many-headed monster, because it happens to bear the high-sounding name of "the Party" or the "DEMOS?"

There remains another objection. Does not this solemn vow of Jesuit obedience, or may it not at least, lead to the commission of crime? And is not one who is bound to do whatever he is commanded, and to resign his own will and judgment into the hands of his superior, very likely to become the instrument of any and every misdeed? Let us try, if possible, to imagine good faith in those who put forward this objection, and answer it accordingly.

In the first place the accusation, if honestly made, rests on a misconception. It supposes that the Jesuit vow of obedience is unlimited and unconditional. But such is not the case. That vow has clearly defined limits. It can only hold good in *honesta materia;* in that which is good intrinsically, or which, being of itself indifferent, becomes good in virtue of the precept. But nothing can ever become good that is intrinsically wrong, that is contrary to the law of God, as known through the moral teaching of Christianity. There is, therefore, no danger that the Jesuit in obeying should become the instrument of evil-doing; for nothing sinful can ever become good, were it commanded by men or angels. If the Jesuit received such a command, his vow would no longer bind him; or rather it would bind him to disobey. For, unlike the men of the world who slander him, it is the privilege of the Jesuit to obey God alone, and not man; and were he told to do anything manifestly wrong, he would know at once that it was no longer God, but mere man, who gave such command. This is the express doctrine of St. Ignatius, who wishes his children to "render obe-

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dience in all things in which there appears no sin."* And this he explains elsewhere with other terms "in all things to which, consistently with charity, obedience may be extended."† *Charity* is here used in in its higher sense, as meaning the love of God. But to obey a sinful precept is not compatible with charity or the love of God; and therefore, according to the Saint, the obedience of the Jesuit can only be allowed in what is good and pleasing to God. Such has been the theological teaching of the Catholic Church from her very beginning, and none have insisted on it more than those Saints and Doctors who have been most outspoken in their praises of perfect obedience.‡ The Jesuit, then, runs no risk in vowing to obey. Though willing to sacrifice his opinion in indifferent matters for the sake of obedience, he is, generally speaking, as good a judge of what is sinful or not as his superior; and there is as little danger that the latter will urge, as that the other will accept, any obligation to do what contradicts God's law. The possibility of such evil is simply a product of the fertile brain of anti-Catholic credulity, and has no warrant in fact or history. How often, we may ask, within the last three hundred years or more, has it happened, that a Jesuit has been called on to oppose the voice of conscience or the law of God, to a wicked command on the part of his superiors? Is this the experience—uttered by word of mouth, or recorded in print—of those who have left the Society of Jesuits, and spoken and written against their former colleagues? Has the Jesuit-hating world ever heard of such a case? Or has anything like it been invented even by the Foxes and other fablers of Protestantism, old or new; or by those unequalled masters of the lying art, the Jansenists? And yet how thrilling and romantic would be

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* "In omnibus rebus, ubi peccatum non cerneretur." Constit., cap. i., § 23.

† "In omnibus rebus, ad quas potest obedientia cum charitate se extendere." Ibid., P. V., cap. i. In the official explanation (Declarat. lit. B) these words have the following gloss appended:" "Hujusmodi sunt illæ omnes, in quibus nullum manifestum est peccatum." (Such are all those things, in which no sin plainly appears.)

‡ A few extracts will sufficiently prove our assertion. St. Basil, in his Monastic Constitutions, Cap. 23, from which we have already quoted, says: "Cultores pietatis moderatores suos sequi debent, nihil omnino ipsorum jussa curiosius perscrutantes, QUANDO LIBERA SUNT A PECCATO" ("Those who follow after piety must obey their superiors, and not scrutinize closely their commands, *whenever these include no sin.*") St. Bernard says, "Quidquid vice Dei praecipit homo, QUOD NON SIT CERTUM DISPLICERE DEO, haud secus accipiendum est ac si praecipiat Deus." (Opusc. de Praecept. et Dispens.) ("Whatever is commanded by him who holds the place of God—unless you are sure that it displeases God—must be received as coming from God himself.") St. Bonaventure gives the same rule and almost in the same words in his Speculum Discipl., P. 1., Cap. iv. The full, Catholic doctrine, which no Christian dare impeach, is laid down in full by Suarez, in the Second and Fourth Books of his Treatise De Religione, from which we have so freely quoted. But why multiply quotations to prove the point? Not one in a thousand—nor in a hundred thousand—of those who accuse the Jesuits on this score, believes in the truth of what he alleges.

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the story of a young Jesuit, torn from his first love and immured in a convent by his bigoted father—remaining unstained by the contagion that surrounded him—protected perhaps by the furtive reading of a Bible cautiously hid away in some recess of his cell—and, fresh from its perusal, confronting his superior and repelling his iniquitous behests with a stern appeal to the Gospel of Christ! Romantic, indeed! But, God be blessed! there is a Providence that controls lying tongues, as well as corrupt hearts and impious hands.

In this connection we wish to notice a statement of Ranke, who is reckoned by many outside of the Church, and perhaps by some Catholics, as a fair, impartial historian of the Papacy. One example may give some idea of his title to fairness and honesty. In his well-known work (Book II.), speaking of the Jesuit vow of obedience, he says:

"Obedience in this society took the place of every other relation, of every other motive, that can sway the actions of men; absolute obedience, without a thought of its OBJECT or CONSEQUENCES."

Now, what we have to complain of here, is the ambiguity of the language. It may imply the highest praise of Jesuit obedience, and might be accepted as such by any disciple of St. Ignatius. The Jesuit, certainly, does not give a thought to the task assigned him, as to whether it be easy or arduous, whether it beimpossible to human eyes, or possible only through God's helping hand. This he leaves to the consideration of his superior. Nor does he count the consequences to himself; it is all one to him, and to the merit of obedience, whether his undertaking is to be crowned with success, or is to end in failure, chains and martyrdom.

But it may also imply that the Jesuit is indifferent as to the object of his obedience, whether it be sinful or innocent; indifferent as to its consequences, whether they be harmless, or involve the calamity, ruin and death of others. If this be Ranke's meaning, in what does he differ from the common herd of slanderers, except in the caution with which he chooses words to veil his detestable insinuations? And, that such is his meaning, appears from a note appended to the text, in which, after repeating the passage which contains the famous pharase, "*perinde ac cadaver*," he thus continues: "Here is also the other Constitution, vi. 5, according to which it seems as though a sin could be enjoined. 'Visum est nobis in Domino, nullas constitutiones, declarationes vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientiae jubeat'"—(which is thus translated by Ranke, or his English interpreter)—"'It has seemed good

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to us in the Lord, that no constitutions, declarations, nor any order of living, can induce an obligation to mortal or venial sin, unless the superior command them in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience.' We can hardly trust our eyes as we read this, and indeed another interpretation of the passage is possible, besides that which obviously occurs at first sight. 'Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale' may possibly rather mean the binding force of a constitution, such that he who breaks the latter is guilty of one or the other kind of sin. It will at least be confessed that the constitution ought to be more perspicuous; no fault can be alleged against one, who shall *bona fide* refer 'ea' to 'peccatum mortale vel veniale,' and not to 'constitutiones.'"*

We are almost tempted to re-echo the writer's words, and exclaim "we can hardly trust our eyes as we read this"—whether it be real ignorance, or only a dishonest affectation of the same. It is shameful to discuss the events of any historic period, without knowing accurately the language in which its documents were written; and if Ranke has been ignorant of the Italian language of two or three centuries since and even of its dialectic idioms, he would have made bad work of the "Relations" or reports of Venetian ambassadors, from which he has culled such a mixture of gossip and information. He is evidently unacquainted with the phraseology of the schoolmen, according to which St. Ignatius wrote, in common with the theologians of his day. No one conversant with their style can be ignorant that such phrases as "*obligare* (or *obligatio*) *ad mortale*," or "*ad veniale*" have but one meaning, viz: to bind *under pain* of sin, whether it be mortal or venial. The general mode of expression *now* is *sub mortali* (or *gravi*), or *sub veniali*. But it was otherwise with the theologians of three, four, five and six centuries hence. A few examples will show this sufficiently. St. Thomas,† speaking of this very matter of religious vows, says: "The vow of religious profession regards principally the three things aforesaid: to wit, poverty, chastity and obedience; and to these all things else are subordinate. And hence transgression in these three *binds* UNDER PAIN *of mortal sin*. But transgression in the rest does not *bind under pain of mortal sin*, unless it be through contempt of rule," etc. Even theological writers of a more recent date, though using more frequently the modern forms

* History of the Popes, their Church and State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. Translated from the German of the last edition, by Walter K. Kelly, Esq. New York (W. H. Colyer), 1847, p. 61.

† St. Thomas 2. 2. Qu. 186., Art. ix., Resp. "Votum professionis respicit principaliter tria praedicta, scilicet paupertatem, continentiam et obedientiam; alia vero omnia ad haec ordinantur. Et ideo transgressio horum trium *obligat ad mortale*. Aliorum autem transgressio non *obligat ad mortale*." According to Ranke, the *obvious* meaning of this is, we suppose, obliges (to commit) mortal sin.

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"*sub gravi* (*mortali*)" and *sub veniale*," yet not seldom imitate the old writers in their use of "*ad mortale, ad veniale.*" Thus Suarez "Illa (voluntas superioris) non semper habet vim praecepti, sive taciti sive' expressi, nec per se *obligantis ad mortale aut ad veniale.* Ergo," etc.* Having occasion to repeat these same words or their substance a few lines below, he thus renders them: "Significatio ergo hujus voluntatis non est praeceptum expressum vel tacitum, neque inducit obligationem *sub* mortali aut veniali peccato.† And a few paragraphs afterwards: "Cum praelatus vult aliquid a subdito fieri, nolens illum *obligare* ullo modo *ad* culpam."‡ Or, simply reading the titles of the chapters of his famous book, "De Legibus," we may see how he uses promiscuously the old and the modern form. Thus, chapt. 24, "Utrum lex civilis *obliget* vel *obligare* possit *sub* reatu mortalis culpae:" chap. 25, "Utrum lex humana ut obliget *sub* mortali culpa, gravem materiam," etc.: chap. 26, "An ex verbis legis colligatur *obligatio ad mortale*, et quae verba ad hoc sufficiant." We merely add a sentence, in which he couples together both forms: "Unde, sicut supra posuimus plures conditiones requisitas ut lex civilis *obliget sub mortali*, quibus deficientibus ad summum *obligat ad veniale* ita," etc.§ But we are ashamed to linger any more on so evident a matter. Had St. Ignatius foreseen the ignorance or malice that was one day to pervert his words, he might have been "more perspicuous" in his expressions: but he could not possibly imagine that coming day of enlightenment, when scholars would be ignorant of the language universally spoken by the theologians of his time. It is sheer impudence to say, that any man may *bona fide* refer "ea" to "peccatum mortale," etc. Had it been "peccatum mortale *et* veniale," one might; but neither grammar nor good sense will sanction it in the case of "peccatum mortale *vel* veniale." We must in all propriety refer "ea" to *constitutiones* and the two following nouns, of which two are feminine and one masculine. But is is idle to talk of *good faith* in this connection. Had it been the language, we will not say of Luther or Calvin, but of Confucius or Mahomet, the impartial Ranke would have paused and investigated the matter closely, before indulging in such off-hand condemnation. But it was only a Jesuit—aye, their father and founder —and therefore he deserves no regard, but may be outlawed with impunity in the domain of historical criticism. What matters it that so many Pontiffs have examined and confirmed the Jesuit rules, or that the Council of Trent approved of their Institute as

* Suarez. De Religione, Lib. IV., Cap. xiv., § 11.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., § 15.

§ De Legibus, Lib. IV., cap. xvii., § 1.

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"pious?" So much the worse for them; they are the abettors of wicked men, who, at a wink from their superior, are ready to "commit mortal or venial sin," as may suit his caprice!

Assailed thus on every side, denied every chance of justice in this world, maligned by open enemies, and condemned without a hearing by those who profess to be "impartial" judges—where may the Jesuits turn for consolation? They will find it in the words of Him who tells them, calmly and authoritatively, "Nolite timere opprobrium hominum et blasphemias eorum ne metuatis; sicut enim vestimentum, sic comedet eos vermis. Salus autem mea in sempiternum erit, et justitia mea in generationes generationum." Is. li. 7, 8.

Our remarks have extended much further than we proposed; and we have no space left to speak of the fourth vow of the Jesuits, that vow which has made them the great missionaries of Christianity in modern times. And yet, to speak of the Jesuits and say nothing of their missions, is leaving out the brightest side of the picture. We had designed, too, to speak of their teaching, and of the calumnies to which it has furnished a pretext. But these points must be reserved for future articles.

JAMES A. CORCORAN.

THE BUGBEAR OF VATICANISM.

The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Many of the cherished bugbears, that long did excellent service against the Church, have begun to lose their power. The old charges of superstition and idolatry are being gradually abandoned to the ranting of the most fanatical, and the belief of the most ignorant. Doctrines and practices of the Church, which were thus misrepresented and caricatured, now find defenders in Protestant pulpits, and believers in Protestant homes. The real, old-fashioned Man of Sin no longer weighs as an incubus on the minds of aged Protestant spinsters, and the younger ones have begun decidedly to like the color of the Scarlet Lady. Sensible Protestants will no longer listen with patience to the tale about the abominations of the confessional, and will show their belief in the holiness of its influences by seeking wives, or persons to trust, among those who go regularly to confession. It is very remarkable, that perhaps every doctrine of the Catholic Church, save one, and every practice,

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save those that depend upon that one doctrine, find eloquent upholders and earnest believers and followers among those whom, little as some of them like the name, we must still persist in calling Protestants. And Protestants they certainly are, since they continue to protest, and none more vigorously, against that one doctrine, without a practical acceptance of which their claim to the title of Catholic is but a vain pretense; since Christ Himself has made it the very foundation of the Catholic Church. The very nearness of their approach, by their belief in so many of the doctrines of the Church and their use of so many of her practices, seems to require of them a louder and more vigorous protest, to discriminate themselves from those with whom their fellow-Protestants, looking from a much greater distance, are inclined to confound them. They must needs have an answer for the question which is frequently put, and with reason: "Why do you not become *real* Catholics at once?" and they must have a defense for refusing to take a step which many even of their fellow-Protestants think would be, under the circumstances, the proper one. Of this number is Mr. Gladstone; and we may find in this fact, as well as in his history and present position as a politician, some explanation of his new and fiery zeal against the Pope.

When the Public Worship Bill was before the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone offered a set of resolutions intended to protect the Ritualists. Having failed there, he next appears as their defender in his article in the *Contemporary Review*. But the most important point with him in his appeal to the Protestant mind of England, in behalf of the Ritualists, was to remove or weaken the impression that Ritualism leads to Rome. In fact, Mr. Gladstone was at the same time defending *himself* against the charge, which had been repeatedly and publicly made, that he was a Catholic. And therefore he would show that he could abuse the Pope and his authority, as roundly as the loudest no-popery ranter of them all; as he does in the following passage: "When Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change of faith, when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused, when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another, and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history, I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief."

Mr. Gladstone seems for a moment to have been a little ashamed of the facility with which he had been able to fall into the cant of the no-popery ranters, and to have been somewhat startled at the

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echo of his utterances, as they came back to him in the remonstrances of several of his friends, converts to the Catholic religion, who felt aggrieved and insulted by his surprising outburst. They wondered that he could have written such words, because, if for no other reason, his acquaintance with *them*, and his knowledge of their habits and grasp of mind, and of their integrity of purpose, should have taught him that men can and do become converts to the Catholic religion, "without renouncing their moral and mental freedom, and placing their civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another;" and without "repudiating" anything that may be ot value in "modern thought," or ignoring any one of the facts or teachings of "ancient history." He ought to have known that it was the long and careful and conscientious study of "ancient history," and the exercise of their own best "thought," under all the light that they could get from any quarter, that had constrained many of these men—some of them among the most gifted minds and purest characters of their land and age—at the expense of great sacrifices, to join the communion of the Catholic Church, as the kingdom of Christ on earth, and to enter into relations of loving, filial submission to the See of Peter, as the teaching and ruling authority that Christ has left in His Church.

Mr. Gladstone tells us of these expostulations, and admits the seeming roughness of some of his expressions; and he acknowledges that if he had been addressing his Catholic fellow-countrymen, he "would have striven to avoid them." But, having mounted the dangerous hobby, he could only rein it in long enough to feel and express this momentary regret. In fact, the spirit and habit of mind of the practiced debater urged him on to use his skillful fence, not only in parrying the reproaches of his friends, but in charging home his original hasty and ill-considered utterances. And so he too must expostulate in his turn; and to this it would seem that the world is indebted for the pamphlet, which he calls an "Expostulation:" "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance." To be just to Mr. Gladstone, we should perhaps try to believe that such is the peculiarity of his mind, that he himself has come to believe in the bugbear conjured up by his imagination, and that he is by this time sincerely and thoroughly frightened at it.

The attacks of Mr. Gladstone and his friends argue, not only a strange ignorance or forgetfulness of "ancient history," and of the plain and oft-repeated utterances of Christ Himself, as recorded in the New Testament, but also a strange indifference to the lessons of *modern* history, since the outbreak of Protestantism. It is certainly remarkable that they should not see, or that they should forget, that during all these years, in the dreadful onset

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made by heresy and schism against the Church, the papacy has been the one bulwark of defence for all those Catholic doctrines and practices that are now so precious to Mr. Gladstone and his friends, as the very teachings and ordinances of Christ. For a large portion of this period, the ancestors and predecessors of Mr. Gladstone and his friends in the government of England, and in that pretended *branch* of the Catholic Church, were mercilessly banishing, robbing, torturing and putting to death the bishops and priests and laity in communion with the See of Peter, for teaching and holding these very doctrines. Were it not for the unshaken firmness of this central authority, those doctrines and practices must have perished from off the face of Europe, and we should not be witnessing to-day that Catholic revival in the Anglican world, with which Mr. Gladstone is, we believe, prepared to be in full sympathy, short of its leading back to Rome. And why should it not lead back to Rome? Should not these men find, in the remarkable fact which we have just been considering, strong presumptive evidence at least, to begin with, that the Catholic claim is true, and that all this is but the historical confirmation of the prophecy and promise of Christ, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against" the Church, because of the indefectible firmness which He gave to its foundation, in the teaching and ruling authority of Peter? Mr. Gladstone and his ritualistic friends can have only one opinion as to the question, on which side were "the gates of hell," and on which side was Christ, in the Protestant revolt against the teachings and practices of the Christian Church, as they believe them to have come down from Christ and His apostles. In fact, it is notorious that they energetically repudiate the name of Protestant; and their feeling may well be illustrated by the remark of a Ritualist, who, in a conversation with the writer of this article, taking up a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and calling attention to the word Protestant in the title-page, where it is stated that the book is for the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, said that he felt like taking out his pocket-knife and *digging* the word out.

Is it not strange, then, that Mr. Gladstone and his friends should feel no compunction in their furious onslaught against the venerable Mother of Christendom? Is it not unnatural, that they should so harden their hearts against the mother, not only of their faith, but of civilization? While admitting that she has brought them to Christ, and taught them all that they know of Him; while not denying that she has heroically preserved His teachings and ordinances against the attacks of "the gates of hell" for the enlightenment and blessing of ages and nations yet to be; why should they rage so violently, simply because she declares as a part of

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Christian doctrine, on the authority of the clear word of Christ, that what she has done so successfully hitherto is just what she has been sent to do; and that she has His promise, that she shall be preserved in the doing of it till the end? Is it not passing strange that, in their onset against the Papacy, as they come to a nearer view of this cardinal fact of Christian history, and face to face with the august figure of an authority that so far transcends, in dignity and importance, the merits and character of the individual who may be its temporary possessor, they should feel no relenting of their purpose, no weakening of their arm, no misgiving that their blows are parricidal, and that theirs is but another of the attacks of "the gates of hell" against the Rock upon which Christ has built His Church?

We Catholics know, that—through, and above, and in spite of the miseries and weaknesses, the shortcomings and the short-sightedness, the mistaken policies, the negligence, the blunders, the sins, and even the crimes, of the human element in the Church—not only among the laity and the inferior clergy, but in the hierarchy, and in the very chair of Peter itself—Christ is still with His Church, carrying out His own plan for the teaching of the world, and making good His promise that He will ever abide with her. We know that His Spirit is the animating Spirit of the believing and teaching mind of the Church, and gives efficacy and holiness to her sacraments, and makes her the fruitful mother of saints, even in the worst and darkest of ages. But we acknowledge the shortcomings and miseries of the human side of the Church; which it were a monstrous falsehood, and the craziest of policies as well, to deny. On the contrary, we should find the most striking argument of the divine authority and efficacy of her teachings and her sacraments, and evidence of the special protection and blessing of Divine Providence upon her practical work in the world, in the fact that she so frequently accomplishes such wonders with such weak and inadequate human instruments, and in spite of, rather than in virtue of, the human character and the human wisdom and policy of her rulers and ministers and members. There may be, but too often, on their part, errors of policy and faults of conduct, which we can not but deplore, and which, while we may readily enough find reasons to account for, and sometimes extenuating circumstances to partly excuse, we can never defend.

At the same time, it were equally false and foolish to deny the great natural goodness, the amiable qualities, the noble traits, and even the high Christian character and piety of so many who are not in the Catholic fold; while regretting, for their sake, that they are deprived of the merit and graces of higher sanctity, and even heroic virtue, which such characters could not fail to acquire from

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the divine teachings, and the sacramental graces, and the thousand other sacred and salutary influences of the Catholic Church. But while deploring their separation from the more full communion with Christ and His Spirit, which they would enjoy in the life of that Church "which is His body," we yet have every reason to believe that many of them are far from being entirely separated from the communion of that inner soul of the Church, which is the Holy Spirit himself. Even in the noble and manly national traits of peoples who, like the English and American, are chiefly non-Catholic—in their love of liberty and justice, in their wondrous energy and capacity in their philanthropy and zeal for what they believe to be the truth—we may find reasons for firm confidence in the future of the Catholic Church, when these peoples shall have ceased to misunderstand her teachings, and shall have accepted them as of divine authority, and when they shall have no longer any quarrel with her policy; partly, perhaps, because the influence of their national character may, under the providence of God, have had no small share in shaping it. To assert this, is but to repeat substantially what the early Fathers said of God's providence in the empire of Rome, even at the very time that the empire was ignorantly doing its best to exterminate the Church, and putting to death millions of her children.

Yet, while making these concessions, we are constrained by the words of Holy Writ and of Christ Himself to hold that the Church is Christ's messenger, Christ's representative, the depository of His doctrines and His authority, and the dispenser of His blessings; that her Sacraments are the ordinary channels of His graces, and that it is through her, and in her communion, that He designs to convert, to save and to sanctify the world; in a word, that she "is His body," of which His Spirit is the very life. On the other hand, in spite of whatever concessions we may make as to the goodness and honesty and Christian piety of many of those who are not of her communion, and even of some who actively and bitterly oppose her; yet we hold, and with good reason, that the opposition to her is inspired and planned and directed by the Spirit of evil, who, is the enemy of God and man, and therefore the bitterest enemy of the Church, just because she *is* the Church of God, and, with all her *human* miseries, is ever the best friend of man.

Christ himself plainly points out to us that the conflict of the Son of Man, throughout the whole period of the existence of His Kingdom on earth, is to be, not merely with the natural passions of the human heart,—the ordinary darkness and perversity of the human mind;—but, with all these roused and intensified and powerfully aided and directed to his purposes by a potent and subtle spirit of evil, whom He calls "the Prince of this World."

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Christ predicts for His Church the conflict and its character, and assures her of the victory, in the promise that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her." The mighty power that is designated by "the gates of hell," is the kingdom of "the prince of this world," who wages eternal warfare against the kingdom of Truth, and Christ its King. The "World" of which this spirit is the "prince," is the world with which Christ would have nothing to do, the world for which He refused to pray, and which, He said, was already condemned. We learn from this, that there are two worlds,—the world which God made, and which He "so loved," "that He gave for it His only begotten Son,"—and another world, which God never made,—a world of sin and error and darkness and disorder, which is entirely evil, and is the work of a malignant spirit, who is the enemy of the truth, the "father of lies" and "a liar from the beginning."

With such a "world," that is the principality of Satan, it is a matter of course, that Christ can have nothing to do but to wage war for its destruction. It is precisely to emancipate men from its horrid thraldom, that the Father has given His only begotton Son, and thus shown how much he loved the world. The immense value of such liberation is to be gathered not only from the dignity and power of Him who was sent to offer it deliverance, but from the awful price that He paid for a boon, which cannot be entirely disproportionate to what it has cost.

The world, that God so much loves, is in the minds and hearts of men, whom He has made in His own image, and who are thus His children by nature as well as by supernatural adoption. He has made them from the beginning for Himself: while He had made all other things for them. The image of Himself, which He impressed upon their nature in giving them intelligence and will, necessarily determined the object for which alone they could be created, namely, the knowledge of the Truth and the love of the Good, which is God. It was in the creation of this child of God, that all the other objects of the visible creation found the solution of their mystery. For the cycles of ages, if you choose, during which all else was forming, the world was without an eye to see, without a heart to feel, without a voice to tell, the glory of God. There was no *mind* in the world, that could read the handwriting of the Creator spread out over all His works, to tell of his invisible glory and divinity; there was no *heart* in the world, to bring it back, with the impulse of love, to the God from whom it had had its being. It was only when, amid the countless multitude and variety of objects, inanimate and animate, at length appeared in the world man, endowed with *reason*—with the capacity to know and to love—that God bowed the heavens to the embrace of earth, and

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earth was raised to the kiss of Heaven; and then were celebrated the espousals of Heaven and earth in the mind and heart of man. Then for the first time did all the sounds of nature become voices speaking to the ear of intelligence of the goodness of God;—and the word of man became the voice of the world giving praise to its great Creator. Man is, therefore, not inappropriately called "the Lord of Creation." But it is the *Truth* that makes him master, and makes all things else his servants.

The fallen rebel angel, who had become a spirit of evil and the enemy of God, could not but hate this reign of Truth, and could not but be filled with jealous rage against the favored child who was one day to be taken *home* from this *school* to fill the place of the fallen one in the Father's house in heaven. He therefore exerts all his strength and subtlety to mar this beautiful harmony, to thwart God's plan, to drag down the "lord of creation," to make him rebel against the Truth, and thus become the slave of sense and of the elements of the world, and the thrall of him who would thus begin to be "the prince of this world." He induces man to shut his eyes wilfully to the Truth, and to refuse to obey its behests; to violate the law and to disregard the voice of the monitor, which the Truth had placed in his bosom. It is by lying that the spirit of evil accomplishes all this, and thus becomes a "liar from the beginning;" and it is only by continued lying—by denial or false presentation of the truth—by calling truth error, and error truth—by proclaiming good to be evil, and evil good—that the "father of lies" can continue in possession of the power which he has thus usurped.

Christ, having come to emancipate us from thraldom, and to restore us to even a higher position than that from which we had fallen, must necessarily have come to be the Teacher of the Truth. He must teach man the origin and character of his spiritual nature; he must remind him of his destiny and furnish him with the means of attaining it. In opposition to the reign of the "father of lies," he must set up the kingdom of Truth. It is His own word, in explanation of the real character of His kingdom, at the moment that he had acknowledged to the Roman governor that He was truly a king: "For this was I born, and for this came I into the world; that I might give testimony of the Truth;" and again He tells us: "You shall know the Truth; and the Truth shall set you free."

The "prince of this world" must needs hate with a perfect hatred this kingdom of Truth. He must needs exert all the mighty powers of his angelic intelligence, and all the tremendous forces of his perverted angelic will, to exterminate the King of Truth, and to prevail over His Kingdom. Christ Himself, during His passion,

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points out the influence of this Satanic power in compassing His death: "*Now* is your hour, and the *power of darkness;*" and in predicting the perpetual failure, he indicates the perpetual renewal, of the efforts of "the gates of hell" to prevail against His Church. All arguments will be good enough; no error too gross; no calumny too atrocious for "the father of lies," if they but serve his purpose in keeping the minds and hearts of men from rendering Christ's kingdom the allegiance which He asks of them. This spirit will have no compunction in persuading men that Christ's appointed shepherd is the very anti-Christ, and that the priests of the Church have the signs of the *beast* in the shape of hoofs and horns, as there were people to believe in benighted regions of our own country a generation or two ago. He will persuade people, who profess to be Christians, that filial veneration for the mother of their Lord is heathenish superstition, and that the devout offering of Christ's eucharistic sacrifice is idolatry. He assured Pagans in Rome, that Christians who assembled in secret to receive the Holy Communion, met to eat the flesh of a new-born babe; and he assures Pagans in China, that pure and heroic women consecrated to God, who devote their lives to caring for abandoned children, only gather them in to torture and to maim them for purposes of magic. And when these falsehoods are at length dispelled by a flood of light, convincing men who want to be Christians that the doctrines and practices of the Church come down from Christ and His Apostles, the adversary of Christ will inspire them with new fear and hate of that authority which is the safeguard and custodian of them all and without which they would not have come down to us at all.

It is but natural that the powers of darkness, in their attacks on the edifice that Christ has built, should ever seek to destroy that authority which the Builder Himself has made to be the very foundation. But particularly must so subtle an adversary feel the tactical need of prejudicing against this authority the minds of men who have been hitherto in possession of Catholic truth, or seem to be fast approaching to it. As he cannot hope to feed *them* upon the horrors that may pass well enough among others, he must exasperate them against the Pope, knowing well as he does, that this bond of unity and strength being taken away, the belief in the various doctrines must perish, or remain ever unfruitful, lacking the vital efficacy and completeness which they can have only in the living "body of Christ," and in loving submission to and communion with its Head. We find illustrations of these tactics in the action of Henry VIII. and in the writings of Mr. Gladstone,—the one intended to tear England away from the Pope, and the other to render it more difficult for her to return to him. The king had published a book against Luther in defence of the Seven

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Sacraments, and received for it from the Pope the title of "defender of the faith;" and proudly wearing the title, and still believing in the doctrines of the book, he shortly after cuts off the head of Bishop Fisher, who is believed to have written the book for him, simply because the saintly bishop could not bring himself to admit that it was to civil rulers, and not to Peter, that Christ had given the keys of His kingdom. And Mr. Gladstone, having set out to defend the liberty of the ritualists to believe and practice pretty much every other doctrine of the Catholic system, ends by lashing himself into a passion, to frighten them from using their liberty to the extent of going to Rome.

There are two classes of persons, of whom we may say with the melancholy Dane, that the prince of this world "is potent with such spirits," and each of whom would certainly do well to take heed in time, and to say to himself, with the same melancholy prince: "The spirit that I have seen, may be a devil," which "abuses me, to damn me." One of these classes may well be represented by unspiritual, material, blood-and-iron men of the world, of the Bismarck type, for whom the "prince of this world" must have a special fondness; and the other by dreamers and talkers like Dr. Döllinger and Mr. Gladstone, whose imaginations have the magic power to conjure up the bugbear in the most gigantic proportions and with all of the most appropriate drapery and surroundings, and whose skillful rhetoric supplies all the special pleading that may be necessary to give impulse or justification for the policy of the former.

But too often does the "prince of the world" find his allies not merely in the passions and ignorance of private individuals—in the jealousies and hates of Pharisees and high-priests, and in the folly of the rabble; but in the jealousy and ambition and groundless fears of the holders of civil power or aspirants to its possession—of men who sit on the throne of Cæsar, or stand near to it as his counselors and ministers; or of vulgar and cowardly politicians, who seek his favors or fear his frowns. It was only by the power of Cæsar, on the false charge of disloyalty to Cæsar, and through the cowardly fear of Cæsar's displeasure on the part of a politician, that high-priests and Pharisees were able to compass the death of Christ. "We have found this man perverting our nation," said His accusers, "and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar;" although He had said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and had ordered Peter to pay tribute for Him and for himself. And, again, to the governor, who had declared Him to be innocent, they cried out; "If thou lettest this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." And so has it been—and naturally enough—in every subsequent age.

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As "the prince of the world" finds his best aids for destroying the reign of truth and virtue over the individual heart in the animal passions and in the love of temporal things, what wonder that he should find his best ally against Christ's universal kingdom of Truth, in the jealousy and lust for power and pride of place, and even in the avarice of the holders of the temporal power? What wonder that for such inducements he should often be permitted to pervert its strong arm from its legitimate uses, and to wield "the arm of the flesh" to worry, and restrain, and smite, and "crucify" the Church of Christ? As the "father of lies" tempts man to rebel against God, in order to make him a slave to himself, so does Cæsar, under his prompting, abuse the national pride and the patriotic impulses of the people, rousing exaggerated or groundless fears of the Pope, in order to divert their attention from the loss of their liberties, when he would perpetuate despotic power already usurped, or frighten them into surrendering their liberties to his keeping, as their protector, when he would inaugurate a despotism. Sooth to say, the people that suffer themselves to be fooled out of their liberties, or to continue to be robbed and oppressed by bad government through such false issues, deserve no better fate.

The Gladstones of Christ's time feared too numerous *conversions:* "If we let Him alone, all will believe in Him"—and they feared or pretended to fear the political consequences: "and the Romans will come, and take our place and nation;" and so they rejected the king of Truth and proclaimed their "*undivided allegiance*," saying: "We have no king but Cæsar." And the men of Bismarckian spirit, believing or feigning to believe that the *expostulation* was made seriously, found in it their incentive or their excuse for an energetic policy, which was proclaimed as follows: "Let him be crucified."

All these various types have had their specimens in every age, and find their representatives in our own in Döllinger, and Schulte, and Gladstone, and Bismarck, and the *nameless* petty despots and spurious republicans of some of the Swiss Cantons, and even in the "Republican Congressional Committee" of Washington. But to be just to our "Republican Committee," we must admit that they did not really mean much mischief by their late absurd pamphlet about Bismarck and the Pope. The rather abruptly deduced moral of the whole thing, which was: "Don't vote the Democratic ticket, but vote ours," sufficiently indicates, what we believe to be the fact, that they were but very little concerned about either Bismarck or the Pope, except so far as they thought this appeal to the ignorance and latent bigotry of a certain class a good enough expedient to whip up a sufficient number of Republican voters to keep or to put themselves and their friends in office. We may feel quite sure that, if Catho-

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lics should ever be in a considerable majority in this country, the "Republican Congressional Committee" of that day will be found passing indignant resolutions against the Bismarck of the day for his despotic violation of "liberty of conscience," and sending addresses of sympathy to the persecuted Catholics for their heroic defense of that sacred principle.

If Cæsar would but occupy his own place, there would never be any quarrel between Christ and him. Then would the King of Truth and His representatives till the end of time be ever but too happy to bless his power, and to say to men that they should respect his laws, and give willing and cheerful obedience to whatever the State enacts. The King of the Kingdom of Truth has come to teach men, not so much their rights, as their duties to God, to their fellow-men, and to themselves. And there He stands within the realm which He has chosen for Himself—the realm of religious and moral truth; and if Cæsar—in no matter what shape or form —shall ever dare to violate this sanctuary—shall require men to say of what Christ teaches, that it is not true; to hold as lawful and just, what Christ has taught to be unlawful and unjust; to do what Christ forbids, or to omit what He commands, then must they do as the Master before them did, refuse to obey Cæsar, and, in the words of him to whom Christ first gave the keys of the kingdom, must they repeat, "*Non possumus.*"

And so Cæsar kills the King of Truth, as he has killed so many of the holders of the keys of the kingdom. But it is by dying that this King conquers, as He prophesies: "When I shall be lifted up from the earth, then shall I begin to draw all things to myself," and that He fulfils that other prophecy, so pertinent to our subject: "*Now* shall *the prince of this world* be cast out."

The Pagan Cæsars could not be friends with Christ; for they had usurped supreme powers in the spiritual, as well as in the temporal order, and even the attributes of divinity. Cæsar was *Pontifex Maximus*, as well as *Divus Imperator;* he heard with jealousy and alarm of another *Pontifex Maximus*, who had come, with strange audacity, in the shape of a Galilean fisherman, to place his chair in Rome, hard by the throne of Cæsar. He could not brook the thought of a kingdom in the world, even though a purely spiritual one, over which he should have no control; of a sacred realm of religious and moral truth, and of duties flowing therefrom, which he should be forbidden to invade. And so Cæsar resorts to his usual *argument*—he imprisons and kills the Galilean fisherman; and for three centuries he continues to kill his successors. They and their followers are compelled to burrow in the earth to find graves for their sacred dead; and to find an altar for their worship by placing a slab upon the tomb of a martyr. But it was this church of

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the catacombs that, praying, worshiping, dying, undermined to its destruction the monstrous fabric of heathen Cæsarism; until at the end of the three centuries it became good *policy*, apart from the miraculous nature of his conversion, for Cæsar to declare himself a subject of Christ the King, and a son of His Church.

But, strange to say, Cæsar did not forget his old ways, and he would still show the itching to clutch those keys of which the King had said, not to him, but to the fisherman by the sea of Galilee: "I will give to *thee* the keys of the kingdom." The great St. Athanasius of Alexandria spent the better part of his life in exile, under the persecution of the first Christian Cæsar, Constantine, and his sons, because of their constant meddling with the teaching and discipline of the Church. And so was it with but too many of the successors of Constantine. But what has been the fate for ages of the throne that he left in the city by the Bosphorus, to which he gave his name? And what of imperial Rome? The blood-stained cross of the King of Truth has been able to beat down the sword of mighty Cæsar. That cross remains: and Cæsar is—where? The city of Rome to-day is not the city of the Cæsars. The boasted *eternal* city of the Cæsars lies buried twenty feet under the rubbish of its mighty ruins, and the *eternal* city of to-day is the city of Christ—it is the city of the Galilean fisherman.

As it happened to the Empire, so too did it fare with the individual Cæsars and their representatives, in opposing the kingdom of Christ. He has said: "All power is given to me." Let them, then, beware. If they oppose Him, they shall be destroyed. Herod died in exile; Pilate and Nero each lost his place, and died by his own hand, the death of Judas. And of the successors of Nero one after another was hurled from his place and murdered. So that it is a significant fact, that while in the first three centuries Cæsar did to death thirty-three Popes—it took fifty Cæsars to do it.

The history of the mediæval empire, which the Popes had blessed and almost created, is a repetition of the same history. Cæsar would rule the Church. He would appoint its officers; he would bestow its mitres and croziers, and very frequently *sell* them. The representative of Christ the King must needs forbid, and, when asked to approve or be silent, must say, "*Non possumus.*" And hence the old struggle; in which, of course, as of old, Cæsar went to the wall.

Christ asks but little for His kingdom here below. He asks to be let alone. But Cæsar will not let Him alone. It is the old word of the high-priests and Pharisees: "*If we let Him alone, all will believe in Him.*" And Cæsar is jealous of the wondrous allegiance of mind and heart that is paid to the kingdom of Christ by those who "believe in Him." When Cæsar has once witnessed

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this, he is no longer satisfied with the allegiance and the service that they give to him. It is not always from love that they give it, for Cæsar is sometimes very unlovable; but always from a sense of duty, and for His sake who has said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." But Cæsar is angry, that man should serve him or endure him for *Christ's* sake. He wishes to be served for his own sake—*Divus Imperator!* He is not satisfied that men should spill their blood and give up their lives to build up or prop up his throne, in making war against his enemies. He is angry if, as they go out to die, they should salute any other, even a spiritual chief, before him. "*Cæsar morituri te salutant.*"

It has been decreed in the Councils of the new German Cæsar, that the Kingdom of Truth must either become a mere sacristy or vestry of the imperial palace, or shall have no existence at all. But Christ has a sense of His own dignity, and He cannot consent to become the mere chaplain of His Imperial Majesty. And that is the cause of all the trouble. It is said that these German bishops are resisting the law. Of course they are. For it is a law that binds them hands and feet—a law that requires that there shall be no man to dare to call his soul his own, within the broad realms of His Imperial Majesty. A Minister of Public Worship must have much to say in the appointment of bishops and parish priests in the erection and government of diocesan seminaries, and in determining the amount and quality of training that shall be given to aspirants to the priesthood. Imperial Cæsar becomes a teacher of theology, a doctor of divinity! Now it certainly does not suit Cæsar's style of beauty to play any such part; and it sounds very ill in the mouth of Englishmen, and still more of Americans, to applaud the performance. Their action is just as rational and decent as, and less consistent than, that of the flatterers who applauded the fiddling of his illustrious predecessor, Nero the First, during the burning of Rome, which he had set on fire;—of another of whose titles to distinction it is to be hoped that the admirers of the modern Cæsar are duly appreciative, namely, that he showed his keen sense of his right to *an undivided allegiance* by awarding to the first Pope on the Janiculum the same death that, in the name of Cæsar, had been awarded to His Master on Calvary, the death of the cross.

It is strangely inconsistent for people who boast loudly of their love of liberty, to applaud the modern German despotism, which with cynical coolness crushes out all those liberties, of conscience, of speech, and of the press, over which these people can grow so eloquent. It is stranger still, and ominous for the future of liberty, that they should be so ignorant or so forgetful of the fact that it is only in the sanctuary of conscience, enlightened by

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true religion, that liberty has its birth, and ever finds its home and its fortress. They forget that it is only the teachings of the Popes, and the heroic struggles and martyrdom of them and of their colleagues for centuries, in their conflicts with Cæsarism and barbarism, that have rendered possible the pacific assertion and possession of the rights of the weak against the strong, of the individual against the community, of the conscience against Cæsar, of the soul against the State-god. They ungratefully turn their backs upon the mother of their liberties and of their civilization, and appear to forget all about her claims. They appear to think that all this has come to them, as a matter of course, in imitation of the sage in Shakespeare, who tells us that "reading and writing come by nature;" and they talk flippantly about these things as self-evident, and as if they had never caused a struggle.

That all men are born free and equal, is proclaimed as a self-evident proposition in our glorious Declaration of Independence, in spite of the notorious fact that might, with much greater truth, be called evident—if not self-evident—that some are born to wealth, and comfort, and strength, and talent, and consequent power, while others are born to imbecility, and idiocy, and poverty, and slavery. The only sense, in which this boasted proposition can be true, is one based upon natural religion, and confirmed by the teachings of revealed truth. If there is no God, or again if we can have no knowledge of a God, then it is but a mockery to talk of either rights or duties, and worse than a mockery to talk of the *self-evident* equality of men. It would then be strictly true that might would be right, and the only meaning that would remain to the word duty, would be submission to a power that we dare not disobey but at our peril. The very idea of right is correlative with that of duty: and this duty by the nature of the case cannot be towards those who are pronounced by the very fact of their birth to be our equals; but it must be to a superior power having a right to our allegiance; a power that is absolute justice, a power that has perfect knowledge, a power that can read the mind and the heart and account for their secret motives, a power that is omnipresent, a power that has absolute sovereignty and lordship, and even ownership over those who owe it allegiance; and this power, whether to the first man in the garden of delights, to the Hebrew in the courts of the temple, to the Pagan in the Roman Pantheon, or to the besotted savage squatting in an African jungle and hugging his fetish to his heart—is God. It is written upon the heart of every man by the finger of the Creator, that God is his Maker, and that by the intelligence that enables him to know the truth, and the will that empowers him to em-

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brace the good, he partakes in some degree of the image of God, and that all those who share this intelligence and free will are his *equals*, because his brethren and children of one common Father. It is a remarkable coincidence, and far from being a casual one, that the age which was destined to revive the horrid slavery of Pagan Cæsarism is the same that, with strange ostentation, parades as a discovery of science that there is no God; or, with cool cynicism, relegates Him to the region of the unknowable, with which, from the fact that we can know nothing about it, is naturally enough drawn the deduction that we can have no concern.

From such as these it is simply an impertinence that the charge should come, we shall not say against Catholics or Christians, but against any man who has natural religion, that his ideas of his duty to God may clash with his duties to any man or body of men organized into the community of the State. Such men put themselves out of court at the very outset; for by their doctrines they destroy the first idea of rights and duties; and if they are logical, they must admit that they will only obey or respect any so-called authority as long as it suits their pleasure, caprice or interests to do so; or as the fear of unpleasant consequences deters them from doing the opposite.

An all-sufficient answer to such as these should be: If at any time what we choose to call our conscience should prompt us to disobey and to defy the mandates of a State, while generally requiring us to obey them, we certainly can be no worse in the face of the State than you, who begin by telling us that under no circumstances can you admit that you have a conscience at all, to require you to obey any of its mandates. What we would call our conscience, even though you would call it an irrational superstition or caprice, is certainly as respectable as the caprice that would permit you to disregard all so-called authority, except so far as the manifestation of your disregard might entail disagreeable consequences.

No less impertinent would be a similar objection that might be raised by a man who held none but mere natural religion, namely, a belief in God, and the moral law that is written on the heart of man by God and enforced by His sanction. Such a man might object, that any one believing in a revealed religion, whether Christian, Mahometan or Buddhist, cannot be a truly loyal citizen; for the reason that such religion commands certain things that it may at some time suit the caprice of a government to forbid, or forbids something that such government may choose to command. Such objector would seem for the moment to forget that he, too, holds in his *natural* religion, that there are many things that the law of God prescribes, and that therefore no State can lawfully forbid; and

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many things forbidden, that no State can lawfully require. In his zeal to invade the sanctuary of conscience of him who believes in a revealed religion, he is but surrendering the sanctuary of his own conscience. Again, any man who believes, or thinks he believes, in what he calls the Christian religion, as he chooses to construct it for himself (without the slightest warrant of its Founder) from the fragmentary records of the New Testament, and without the slightest regard to the living authority of Christendom, to which these fragmentary records, and all Christian history, and the voice of the great majority of Christians in every age, so clearly point, does believe, and must believe, that there are many things forbidden him by a divine authority which, if the State should command him to do, he must disobey it and defy it, and hold that, to that extent, its authority is but a usurpation and a tyranny, to be resisted by him even at the peril of his life. From such a one the charge comes with but poor grace against those who believe in the living authority of historic Christianity, that in certain contingencies their Christian religion might require them to disregard or to defy the mandates of a state. The logical deduction from what is thus implied is that loyalty to a state is the sum of all virtues; that the State can do no wrong; that no man can have any rights as against the State; that the State is supreme in all things; that the State is God, and the ruler of the State the *Divus Imperator* (the divine emperor).

This were simply the horrid monster of Pagan Cæsarism ruling over the abject and slavish mass of those of whom it is written, that "their god is their belly, and their end is perdition." And this is the great gain that has been achieved as the result of the longing of generations of patriotic Germans, and purchased by their treasure and their blood. They were lately told by his excellency the Prince Chancellor of this new Cæsar, that the subjective conscience has no rights in the face of the objective law. And so this new Cæsar would be, as his prototypes of old, not merely a ruler for certain well-defined temporal purposes, but he must also be the *Pontifex Maximus*, and in fact, if not in name, the *Divus Imperator.*

With especially poor grace comes such a charge from Englishmen, who boast of their liberties, and of their glorious revolution; and still more from Americans, who have been taught to revere the Declaration of Independence as a sort of sacred testament;—from Englishmen and Americans, who have been so prone to hail in every revolutionist a new Franklin or a new Washington, and have been taught by their fathers to look with jealousy upon the exercise of the civil power, and to regard resistance to its encroachments as the noblest of civic virtues.

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Taught as we have been in such a school, as well as in the school of Catholic Theology which tells us of the absolute sanctity of the sanctuary of conscience, such implied charge of disloyalty should have for us no terrors. Of course we should be disloyal, not to our country, or to the general principle of civil authority, but to what would be a usurpation and a tyranny. Of course the very men who shed their blood to build up the throne of the German Cæsar, and who would be prepared again at any moment to go out to do battle for their country, are, and must be, disloyal to his iniquitous interference with the rights of Christ. They must refuse, at the peril of their souls, to repeat the cry of the Jewish mob that condemned Christ to death: "We have no king but Cæsar." For, first of all, they must acknowledge and maintain the rights of the Kingdom of Christ. But it is an abuse of terms to speak of such disobedience as disloyalty; when obedience would be treason to Christ and disobedience to God, from whom alone is all power, as the Apostle teaches.

It was not of the spirit of the fathers of American liberty, as well as of American laws and order—but of a later day, of cheaper but more blatant patriotism—to utter the blasphemous phrase that passed for heroic: "'My country, right or wrong." And, again, it is not of the spirit of the fathers of English liberty, who demanded the rights of the people from a tyrant king "in the name of God" —but of the modern age, which relegates God to the region of the unknowable—to call, in euphonistic phrase, the "blood and iron" policy of Prince Bismarck a firm determination that the laws of the State shall not be disregarded, nor the rights of the State encroached upon by the spiritual power.

But it is particularly saddening to find a Christian statesman like Mr. Gladstone, who is far from relegating God beyond the limits of His creation, making use of this cry, which in its last analysis is Pagan, or worse than Pagan—simply atheistic. Mr. Gladstone, in his profession of Christianity, must be able to imagine scores of cases, in which his conscience as a Christian might have to come in conflict with the mandates of a Paganized and despotic State. Let us hope that he would have the consistency to go to the stake for conscience sake; while we may also sincerely hope that the day may be far distant when his country shall be deprived of the service of his eminent abilities by his premature martyrdom. But we may with equal assurance hope that the day is equally distant when any English Catholic shall have to go to the stake, in the bitter alternative of obeying a law of the State, only at the expense of sacrificing his conscience. In any case, the English Catholic can surely assert his equal right with that of Mr. Gladstone to follow the dictates of his conscience; and it surely puts such

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Catholic at no disadvantage, that besides such natural abilities as he may be able to command, he has the immense benefit of the light reflected upon conscience by the Christian religion, as Christ Himself has chosen to establish it, in a living, perpetual body, with a well-defined constitution, and a living and speaking authority, teaching all things whatsoever He has commanded.

Catholics in England, and, if similar questions should arise here, Catholics in this country, might with perfect propriety refuse to discuss with Mr. Gladstone or any similar objectors the meaning, or the force, or the possible or probable bearings upon their allegiance, of the "Vatican Decrees," or of any of the teachings of their religion. They might well resent such challenge as an impertinence, and assert that they are no more called upon to prove their loyalty than is Mr. Gladstone himself, or any one else who believes in a God. Mr. Gladstone and those who may share the fears which he entertains, or makes believe to entertain, of the disloyalty of Catholics—because in some possible, but quite problematic contingency, their consciences may require them to disobey a mandate of the State—would do much better to devote their attention to that new and rapidly increasing school of those who will not have the slightest difficulty in acknowledging that they are Englishmen first, and neither Catholics nor Christians afterwards; and who, while they can contemplate no possible contingency in which their conscience may require them to disregard a law of the State, will be equally frank in admitting that they can imagine no possible contingency in which their conscience will require them to obey one; for the very satisfactory reason that in their system conscience can logically have no place at all.

Yet we may consider it fortunate that Mr. Gladstone has given occasion, by his too famous pamphlet, to so full a discussion of the teaching and ruling authority of the Christian Church. This discussion will awaken many earnest minds to a keener sense of the tremendous importance of the question: What is the Christian religion? What has Christ made it? What did He intend it to be? No question can be of more importance to the civilized world, which, not by chance, is co-extensive with Christendom. Upon the proper understanding of the answer to this question must depend the best hopes of all the world in time, and the overwhelming interests of the immortal souls of men in eternity.

It is plain from the doings and sayings of Christ, and from all Christian history, that Christ never intended that His Christian religion should have to be gathered in future ages from some fragmentary records that, not by His command, but as if by chance, should happen to be written; and much less that the pretended sense of these writings should be dispensed in larger or smaller

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doses, as a nostrum, by every quack who should set up to be an interpreter; but on the contrary, that He came to establish a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, to form a Christian family, to build a Christian house, ("I will build my Church," etc.,) to gather a Christian flock; and that all these, by Christ's promise and by His abiding power, are to continue till the end. To this Kingdom, to this family, to this Church, to this flock, he has given a well-defined constitution, and clearly defined powers; and He has left it deficient in no respect in any of those qualities that go to make up a well governed kingdom, a well regulated family, an orderly household, a safely guarded flock. Among Christian men there can be no dispute that Christ is the King of the Kingdom, the Father of the family, the Head of the Church, the Shepherd of the Christian flock. And were it not for the strange facility with which men run after the wildest fancies, and shut their eyes to the clearest light, in the things that belong to God, it should be equally beyond dispute that Christ having left His Kingdom, His family, His Church, His flock to remain in the world until the end of the world, whence He Himself has withdrawn His natural, visible presence, has left in His place a Ruler of His Kingdom, a Father of His family, a Head of His Church, a Shepherd of His sheep.

All this is stated, even in those fragmentary Scriptures from which these Christian men chiefly gather what knowledge they have of Christianity. It is stated in these Scriptures much more plainly than are the Divinity of Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, and many other doctrines which these men hold to be essential parts of the Christian religion.

It is plain from these records, as it is from the history of the Christian world from that day to this, that Christ established in his Church the office of a supreme teacher and ruler, who is His vicegerent; whose authority is to last as long as the Church of whose constitution this authority is a most conspicuous and essential part. To this office He gave the power and the command to feed His flock with true doctrine, to define what He had taught, to appoint, to confirm, to teach and to reprove the inferior and subordinate rulers of His Kingdom and shepherds of his flock. This office, to which He gave the supreme teaching authority in His Church, by the very nature of truth and the character of the adhe sion we must give to it, is necessarily infallible. Of this teaching authority, it is the voice of Christian antiquity expressed in proverbial form: "Peter has spoken; the case is ended."

It has ever belonged to this office to convene a General Council; and no definition of a Council has ever been considered a definition at all, unless and so far as that definition was approved and confirmed by the holder of this office.

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To the holder of this office did Christ also give supreme judicial power in His Church; and therefore were the most powerful bishops of the most ancient Oriental sees ever ready to invoke his authority to right their wrongs and to reinstate them in their sees, even against the authority of numerously attended councils of their fellow-Oriental bishops; while on the other hand, it was a maxim of Christian antiquity, that "the first see could be judged by no one."

To the holder of this office did Christ also give supreme legislative and executive power in His Church, so that the disciplinary enactments, like the definitions of the faith of General Councils, have their binding force only from his approval and his confirmation. And by his authority not merely are individual bishops appointed and judged, but new Episcopal sees are established, and old ones suppressed.

It is a power of wondrous extent, such as the world had not seen before, till a man stood in the world who alone of all men durst say: "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" and has so made good His claim as to have now the allegiance of the best and choicest portion of humanity for ages, so that civilization to-day is simply co-extensive with belief in Him. This Man-God, if He is what He claims to be, the Saviour, the Teacher, the Sanctifier of the world, and not merely of the land and the people in which and among whom He lived and died, must be equally for us the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and He must continue to teach and to bless with the same authority, with the same clearness and precision, and with the same divine efficacy, with which He taught and blessed of old. When we thus consider what He claims to be His mission, and yet find that He has withdrawn from the world His natural visible presence, when He had scarcely fairly begun His work, we would have but too much reason to feel that it was not the benignity and the humanity of our Saviour God, but rather the freak of some mocking spirit, that could have held out such glorious hopes only to bitterly disappoint them, if He had not left in the world some living authority, with the same universal mission, as to time and place, that He had claimed for Himself.

Again, from the very nature of the work, which He says He has come to do—to teach men the truth which is one; to make them one family of God's children; to establish one fold, one Church, one kingdom in the world—we have every right to expect of His wisdom and power that He would provide for the doing of this work, such unity and inerrancy in teaching, such unity and efficiency of discipline, as necessarily require a supreme and central authority both in teaching and in ruling. So that if we could for a moment obliterate from our minds all else that we know of Christ's positive enactments and of the history of His Church,

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we might with good reason assert that He must have left with His Church just such an authority; as in fact even the imperfect records of Christian Scriptures, and the whole of Christian Church-history, point out as one of the most conspicuous and cardinal facts of the Christian system and the Christian teaching.

Christ, then, has pledged His word, that in His Church to the end of time shall abide, even in weak and imperfect man, an office, by virtue of which *He* will continue to teach, to rule, to guide and to feed His flock. Christ, the Rock, says to a man named Simon: "Thou art a rock; and on this rock I will build my Church." Christ, the King, says to this same man: "I will give to *thee* the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The unshakable stability of that Church which He builds, so that He swears that all the powers of hell shall never prevail against it, is made to depend on the unshaken firmness of this Central Office upon which it is built. To this same man, Christ, the Shepherd of the whole flock, says with triple emphasis: "Feed my lambs; feed my sheep." To this same man, Christ, the Head and Father of the whole Christian family, says: "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift *you*" [in the plural] as wheat; but I have prayed for *thee*" [in the singular] "that thy faith fail not; and do thou in turn one day confirm thy brethren."

Even though none of these words had been written for our instruction, they certainly would not have been uttered in vain; they certainly would have obtained their full force and have accomplished all that Christ intended. Even though the Scriptures of the New Testament had never been written, we should have had precisely the same living, speaking and ruling authority in the Church, that we have. In fact, more than one generation had lived and died under the Christian dispensation, before certain of those words, which were uttered by Christ, had been written by the last of the Evangelists.

Once we are assured that Christ has established a Church, it is sufficient for us to find where is that Church to-day; and then we can safely, without further inquiry, believe all that she teaches is of divine faith, and obey her authority as the authority of Christ. We may, with excellent reason, reject as impertinent the appeal from the Church of to-day to the Church of the earliest centuries. The great bulk of Christ's family should certainly not be required to become learned in ancient history, in archaeology, in paleontology, in hermeneutics, before they can even feel that they are Christians.

Yet, as a matter of abundance in argument and an additional

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comfort to our faith, we can appeal to the Christian Fathers of the earliest as well as of all subsequent centuries; and we find them all pointing to the See of Peter in Rome, as exercising in every age the very office that Christ, in the person of Peter, left with His Church.

We must refer those of our readers, who are not familiar with the passages, to the works of the Fathers themselves, or to the collections of their testimonies to be found in the theological writers.* We must content ourselves with quoting one of the earliest, St. Ireneus, of the second century, whose language must startle our Protestant friends, by the perfectly well developed "popery," and the rebuke of private judgment, which it contains. He speaks of the Church of Rome as the "greatest and most ancient * * constituted by Peter and Paul." He then goes on to say: "The faith announced to all men, through the succession of her bishops, has come down to us; and by pointing out such faith and such tradition, we confound all those who in any way, whether through pleasing themselves, or vain-glory, or blindness and perverse opinion, assemble otherwise than as behooveth them." "For to this Church," he continues, "on account of *a more powerful principality*, it is necessary that every church, that is, those who are on every side faithful, should resort; in which Church has been preserved that tradition which is from the Apostles."

We may sum up the tradition and teaching of all previous centuries with the united testimony of Greeks and Latins in the General Council of Florence, as follows: "We define that the Apostolic See, that is, the Roman Pontiff, has the right of primacy over all the churches of the world; that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of St. Peter; that he is the very Vicar of Christ, the Head of the whole Church, the Father and Teacher of all the Faithful; that, in the person of Peter, he was intrusted by our Lord with full power to feed, direct and govern the whole flock of Christ. Such is manifestly the doctrine taught by the acts of the General Councils, as well as by the sacred canons."

And the Council of the Vatican but defines more explicitly what is implied by all this, and especially by the statement that the Pope is the *teacher* of all the faithful, and has full power to feed, direct and govern the whole flock of Christ, when it says: "We teach and define it to be a doctrine divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when in the exercise of his office as Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines that a doctrine regarding faith or morals is to be held by the universal Church; he possesses,

* See the work entitled: *The Faith of Catholics*, proved from the Scriptures and the Fathers of the first five centuries. By Kirk & Berrington.

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through the divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, that infallibility, with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed, in defining a doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not by force of the consent of the Church; and again, when it says that to him "both pastors and faithful are bound by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, not only in things which appertain to faith and morals, but likewise in those things which concern the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world." We have seen what is the office of Peter and its extent. Are there no limitations? Of course there are, most numerous and well defined; taught by Christ Himself, by right reason, by Catholic theology, and by the very same authority which teaches us the extent of his office.

Whatever has been taught by Christ, whatever has been defined by the Church, whatever is included in "the deposit of Christian Faith," as generally held by the Church, although not as yet explicitly defined,—whatever is clearly taught by right reason, in the domain not merely of what is called natural science, but even in the domain of morals,—are so many absolute and insurmountable limitations to his teaching authority; for he can teach nothing contradictory to them, for the simple reason that what—in virtue of Christ's promise—we believe him to be infallible in teaching, must be the truth; and all truth, in no matter what order, whether natural or supernatural, is of God, and can never contradict itself. But not only is his teaching authority limited by these negative limitations, by these many things that he cannot teach, because we are already clearly taught their opposite; but even in the domain of truth itself—in the mere natural order for instance, of physical science, of jurisprudence, of political economy, of the mechanical arts, of mathematics, of astronomy, of history—in a word, of a thousand things that may be true—he has no authority to teach. In attempting to do it, he would be simply going beyond his province; and no one should be absurd enough to claim for him any other authority than what might attach to his personal ability and learning. And all this simply because he has been commissioned only as a religious teacher, as is proved by the very words of the decree defining his teaching power; which tell us that he is the appointed teacher only in the sphere of faith and morals, which is the same as to say in the sphere of religious truth. For he is a teacher of morals, only because and as far as morality is necessarily a part of all true religion. This is taught by reason as well as by the words of Christ, when He says: "If any man love me, he will *keep my commandments*."

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Then again, even in this order of religious and moral truth, his teaching prerogative, as far as infallibility is predicated concerning it, is extremely well defined, and extremely limited, by the very words of the decree when it tells us that he possesses this prerogative of inerrancy in teaching, when he teaches "*ex cathedrâ*," "that is, when in the exercise of his office as Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines that a doctrine is to be held by the universal Church."

It is no part of Catholic faith, it is no teaching of Catholic theology, that the Pope in preaching a sermon, or writing a theological work, may not commit theological blunders, or, for that matter, through ignorance or inadvertence, teach heresy, which he himself, upon his attention being called to it by a better theologian or a more learned private doctor, might, by virtue of his apostolic office, be called upon to condemn.

The amount or number of definable doctrines is by no means unlimited; they must be already contained in "the deposit of faith," as handed down from the Apostles, or they could never be defined at all. We can easily imagine that the time may come when every portion of revealed truth shall be so well defined that there shall be nothing more to define. In fact, at this present moment, it would seem that there must be but few doctrines contained in the deposit of faith, and therefore more or less generally held and taught in the Church, that are not already defined.

We should never, in discussing this question of the teaching power, lose sight of the great truth, that teaching *does* nothing, *creates* nothing, but simply *tells*, or enables us to *see* what is; and, as intelligent and moral beings, we certainly should be glad to know all the truth that we can, to see as much as we can in the religious and moral order. Any man or system that brings more light to my intellect, does certainly not enslave it, by rendering it impossible for it to withhold assent to a clearly perceived truth. The truth liberates us from darkness and ignorance, which is the predisposing condition of slavery. Ignorance assimilates man to the slavish condition of the brute, while truth makes him more of a man, more of a freeman. It was for this reason that the Teacher, in whose name alone the Christian Church teaches anything, has said: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"; and His Apostle says: "If the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed."

The Pope is an appointed teacher and custodian of the moral order, but he is its servant and not its master. He can and must teach the revealed positive law of God, and even natural morality, that is re-enacted and re-inforced in the order of revelation, as an essential basis of all true religion; but he cannot change one tittle

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of the natural or the revealed positive law. In his capacity of teacher and judge he may, and must, interpret the law and decide how far and when it may be applicable or not to certain cases. For instance, the Pope, as Christ's appointed teacher of the flock, must teach the obligation of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill;" and yet he may so interpret the law as to teach that organized society may, by judicial process, kill a murderer, and that in such case killing is no murder. In all such cases the Pope does not pretend to dispense from the law of God, but simply interprets and declares, which right reason itself is very frequently able to do without any prerogative of infallibility, that, in such cases, the law simply does not bind in the intention of God the lawgiver.

The Pope, then, can teach nothing contrary to right reason, to natural morality, to natural justice—nothing to impair the obligation of contracts, or to absolve subjects from their lawful allegiance; for the only authority he enjoys is to do the very opposite, in teaching the obligation of all these things, as a part of the law of God. And if in the middle ages the Popes very rarely and with great reluctance declared tyrant kings, and oppressors of their people, and violators of their oaths of office, to have forfeited their right to the allegiance of their subjects, they were but acting in their acknowledged capacity of the supreme judges of Christendom; and with gravest and maturest deliberation, after fullest hearing of the case, after exhausting fatherly remonstrance and reproof, they simply decided a delicate case of morals for peoples who sought their judgment, and had the will and the power to put it into execution. And at the same time, in the exercise of their apostolic power, they finally cut off these unworthy and sacrilegious children of the Church from her communion; and the common law of Christendom held that an excommunicated tyrant, guilty of the nefarious crimes against justice and religion, that alone could provoke such a sentence, should no longer reign over a free and Christian people.

The present Pope, since the definition of the Vatican Council, viz., on July 20th, 1871, received a deputation of the *Academy of the Catholic Religion*, a literary and theological Society of Rome. He exhorted its members to do their best to refute with all possible care the statements of those who made it their business to misconstrue the Infallibility of the Pope; and he declared it to be a pernicious error, to represent the Infallibility as comprising in itself the right to dethrone sovereigns and to release their subjects from their allegiance. "This right," the Pope said, "has indeed been exercised by Popes in extreme cases; but the right has absolutely nothing in common with Papal Infallibility. It was a result of the *jus publicum* then in force by the consent of Christian nations, who recognized in the Pope the supreme judge of Christendom, and

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constituted him judge over princes and peoples even in temporal matters. The present situation is quite different. Nothing but bad faith could confound things so different and ages so dissimilar, as if an infallible judgment delivered on some revealed truth had any analogy with a prerogative which the Popes, solicited by the desire of the people, have had to exercise when the public weal demanded it. Such statements are nothing but a mere pretext to excite princes against the Church."

We may hope that, remote as seems the danger of any collision between the rights, or rather the duties of conscience, and the civil government of England, in spite of all Mr. Gladstone's apprehensions—a collision that his expostulation at all events, is more likely to provoke than to prevent, in exciting unduly the fears and the jealousy of the civil government and provoking persecution—such danger is still much more remote in our own favored land, where the rights of conscience are so well understood, and held so dear, that it is incredible that a majority of the people will ever consent to their violation. Happily, among us there is no personal government of a Cæsar to become jealous of the dignity and liberty of the Church. And well may we rejoice in the fact; for Christ has tried Cæsar in every age, and has nearly always found him wanting. May we not then be thankful that we have done with Cæsar, and that *we* can say, with none to make us afraid: "We have no king but Christ?"

Let us be thankful that under the protecting ægis of our beloved country we are protected from the unnatural, unjust and violent union of Church and State, which the Prince Chancellor of the German Empire and some of the Cantons of Switzerland would bring about; and that we enjoy that liberty which Christ demands for His Church—the liberty to carry out His great commission and the liberty to govern herself, and protection for such property as she may legitimately acquire, and which she needs, to pitch her peaceful tents, and to erect her sanctuaries of piety, charity and learning. If any man, whether Cæsar or serf, were to invade any one of her sanctuaries, would not the whole power of the republic, if need were, be there to repel the invader? Let us, then, invoke blessings on the land that acknowledges the rights and the liberty of Christ the King, in maintaining the sacred rights of property, and the far more sacred rights of the sanctuary of man's soul —his rights of conscience. It was for this reason that the late Pope Gregory XVI., weary, no doubt, of the vexations of many a great and many a petty Cæsar, said that he was more truly Pope in this than in any other land. Let us love, then, this land; not only because it is our own, but also because here Christ's Shepherd is most free to exercise his high and holy office. Let us pray that

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this rational liberty, protected by the strength of union, may endure forever—"*Esto perpetua.*" And throughout the ages may the Republic ever have the blessing of Christ the King.

EDWARD MCGLYNN.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

1. VITA JESU. *Dionysii Carthusiani Opus.* Printed at Strasburg in 1473.
2. PUBLIC LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By H. J. Coleridge, S. J. Vol. I., II. London, 1875.

We have taken these two works as the heading of our article, not because we have any intention of critically examining their contents, but because one of them is the oldest, the other the newest work in print, on their common subject, which we have looked at.

One of them is a not very thick volume, in that small folio shape much used in the very early days of printing books. The text is the usual black letter, with large capitals colored by hand, ornamenting the commencement of sundry chapters, while in other chapters you see the blank spaces that should have been so adorned, and were not. Nearly every line presents some form of those contractions which shortened the labor of the penman as he toiled over the pages of his manuscript, and which, though puzzling enough to a modern reader, were then familiar to every one who opened a book. The paper is coarse and strong, and very slightly tinged with the yellow of age. The moths, however, have made their mark; yet not so as to interfere with the print, which is delightfully clear, and still as black as if the book had come from the press only five years ago. Is the manufacture of such printing ink one of the lost arts? We do not see it in modern books.

The other work is from the facile pen of a learned English Jesuit; a son, we believe, of Coleridge the poet and philosopher, and a brother of a distinguished English judge. It is in the ordinary English octavo shape, with such paper, and binding, and clear legible print, as will not fatigue the eye to read nor the hand to hold, nor will the purchase of it drain the purse. Its merits and its cheapness will doubtless secure for it a wide circulation.

Between these two works, printed four hundred years apart in time, how many thousands of volumes on the same subject have been given to the world? To say nothing of the countless editions of the Bible, of the New Testament, of the Gospels, in the various languages of mankind, how many works of the Christian Fathers, of

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the early Christian Apologists, and of other Christian writers of later times, down to the invention of the art of printing, on this same venerable theme, have been called from the libraries where they lay in manuscripts, almost as forgotten as the dead in the tombs, and were made to live again, by the magic power of this wondrous modern art. Has any year of the last four centuries failed to give life to some new work, perhaps to scores of them, on this same ever thrilling subject? The stream still rolls on. To judge by the numerous announcements of still other new works which the booksellers' circulars of France, England, America and Italy announce for early publication, there is very little likelihood that the stream will run dry in our day.

In truth there is no subject better entitled, for many reasons, to claim the attention of earnest men in every age, than this. Of all the events that have occurred in the history of the world, there is none to be compared, either for importance or for far-reaching and long-enduring influence, to the establishment of Christianity eighteen centuries and a half ago. Its advent inaugurated a revolution such as neither the force of arms, nor the skill of statesmanship, nor the boldest efforts of mere philosophical teaching, could have effected. The most learned, polished, and civilized nations of the earth yielded to it. They surrendered their national traditions, their heathen mythologies, and their Pagan worship, for the new faith and the new worship; and ever since have counted it their greatest honor, to be numbered among the followers of the Crucified One, and to be styled Christian. The history of Christianity becomes henceforth and in its truest sense the history of the civilized world. Its history is the history of the intellect, the heart, and the conscience of humanity. Ignore it, and the historic page is blank. The issues of the past cannot be understood and set forth in their true light, as the issues of the present cannot be discussed and decided, without recognizing and awarding full force to the unceasing influence of Christianity in moulding character, and in restraining or spurring on men to action.

To the historian as to the fervent believer and to the bitter opponent, the chief figure in Christianity is Christ Himself, who stands so prominent that all others are dwarfed beside Him. Around Him its history turns. He is the very soul of it, in a sense infinitely beyond the degree on which the founders of schools of any kind, philosophic, scientific or religious, have ever been known to influence, or can influence their followers. His every word is sacred; His acts and the events of His life are called to mind, and made the theme of devout meditation; His teachings are reverently commented on; His precepts are to be obeyed, and His example to be followed. His person is the object of adoration and of love.

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From the beginning it was announced that His is "the only name given to man whereby we can be saved." Worshiped by the Christians, to Him they have ever prayed, to Him they give thanks for favors and blessings received, and from His omnipotence and mercy they hope to obtain whatever of grace and blessing they need for consolation, strength or courage. That one among His followers is most perfect, who most truly is imbued with his Master's spirit and most exactly walks in His footsteps. Christ is everything to them, in life and in death, for this world and for the next. It is the faith of three hundred and fifty millions of the inhabitants of this globe.

On the other hand, Christ stands with equal prominence in the eyes of the opponents of Christianity, by whatever name they are called. They see in Him the central figure, or rather the embodiment of Christianity, and they never fail to make Him the special target; for from Celsus to Renan it has ever been so. Whoever attacked Christianity felt bound to attack the person of Christ specially.

What was the general tenor of argument followed by Celsus, and the other early Jewish and Gentile opponents of Christianity, and what the special points they strove to make against our Saviour, may be learned in some measure from the works of Origen, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and other early Christian writers, who repelled these assaults. We say, in some measure; for unfortunately, of those early Christian works, a great part has perished. Of the heathen writings we have little more than mere fragments. To judge by these fragments, the civilized world is a gainer by the loss of them. Anything weaker, viler, fouler, can scarcely be imagined. The veriest infidel of to-day would turn from them with nausea. What effect they had in their own centuries, we can understand from one fact: the world rapidly became Christian.

We are more familiar with the spirit of the attacks in modern times. In the last century the attacks were marked by a virulence and coarseness above measure. Led on by Voltaire, D'Alembert, and others of that school, and accepting from them the pass-word: *Ecrasons l'infame*, (*crush the miscreant*,) the infidel opponents of Revelation were profuse in their use of insulting sneers, mocking witticisms, atrocious slanders, and frantic denunciations. Against our Lord they never failed to pour forth bitter and blasphemous tirades. The echoes of their foul language may still be heard from the lips of Garibaldi and some others taught in that school. Their scholars are not all extinct. But Satan seems to have felt that he made a blunder in that mode of attack. At least, he has, since then, entirely changed the order of battle. Did he find that he had miscalculated the power of the influences, natural and supernatural,

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which rule men? Did he see with dismay, that those coarse outbursts of virulence and blasphemy disgusted men; and that the recoil from them was all in favor of the religion he was attacking?

Anyhow, the present style of attack is quite different: Christianity is now spoken of with words of seeming respect, and its beneficial influence on the world is confessed and lauded. Sometimes, its *quasi*-truth is acknowledged. Was it not the natural, perhaps the necessary development of the religious side of man's nature, called for by the force of things at a certain stage or phase of the progress of the world, superior to every phase, known or unknown, that preceded it, admirably suited to the exigencies of the time of its existence, but itself to be superseded in due time by some other phase or form of religion, something more philosophical and better, when humanity shall have advanced to a more elevated stage of perfection, and shall see truth more clearly than now?

Christ our Lord they speak of in tones of dulcet sweetness. They admire Him. They see clearly that He rose far above His age. He was superior to Socrates, Plato or any other philosopher of antiquity. He surpassed them in the clear intellectual insight into truth, and in His wondrous perception of the needs of mankind, and of the possible modes of meeting them and satisfying them in some measure. The moral code He established was far superior to any the world had hitherto ever heard from the lips of a teacher. He possessed a wondrous force of character which gave Him power to impress on the minds of His immediate followers the thoughts and purposes which filled His own mind and heart, and of stirring them up to a wonderful degree of heroic and life-enduring enthusiasm for their fulfillment. Nay more—what is far more wonderful—he could and did perpetuate and exercise that power and influence on successive generations of men, for centuries after. Undeniable facts like these prove Him to have been truly a phenomenal man, unequalled as yet by any in the history of humanity. If Comte, Renan, and such men of our day surpass Him, it is only through the force of exterior advantages. They have in their favor eighteen centuries of progress and accumulated experience; eighteen centuries during which the human mind has not been standing still. From the standpoint now happily reached, they can discern the truth more clearly than even He, with His marvelous insight, but standing on a level centuries lower. They can take more expanded and more correct views. Hence, they are able to point you out His uncertainties, His mistakes, His failures and His errors. They will trace the influence of these onward in the history of His religion among men; and they will show you where and when, to these original errors and mistakes made by the Founder of Christianity and lying at its root,

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men have since added others perhaps more pernicious. Whatever is good in Christianity, whether of origin or of development, they approve; whatever in it was suited to the circumstances and needs of man, they commend. If still suited, they wish to see it carefully cherished and preserved. But whatever was untrue, or has become unsuited, they will put aside. In all this they claim to stand up impartially for truth, and for what is beneficial to mankind. As true men, having the strength of their convictions, they must labor strenuously to do so. But they will do it with words of gentleness for the excusable, perhaps the unavoidable errors of the past, and especially with words of reverence, of veneration even, for the Great Founder of Christianity.

It is the *Hail, Rabbi*, and the kiss in Gethsemani, over again.

This modern style of attack, so artful and insidious, is, we are sorry to say it, not without visible effect. Works of this school profess such reverence for religion and religious subjects, seem so candid and impartial in treating them, and are so full of religious forms of speech, that the reader fails to see the true purpose and aim. When the "Ecce Homo" was published anonymously several years ago, was it not a matter of doubt and of argument among many, anything but infidels, whether the brilliant unknown writer really intended to explain and defend Christianity, or to contribute his portion to the grand work of overturning it?

Our Protestant brethren are suffering terribly from such attacks. They have no arms fitted for the encounter. The old time war cry—The Bible, the Bible alone, the Bible interpreted by itself, the Bible interpreted by every man for himself—is valueless now. It neither strikes terror into the enemy, nor gives courage to the heart of him who uses it. It never had any value to count, save where men accepted beforehand and clung tenaciously to the belief of their fathers as to the integrity, the inspiration, and consequently the divine authority of the Bible; and where they similarly accepted, and, at least in a general way, retained without questioning, such interpretations of the Scriptural texts as had been sanctioned by their parents and teachers. Such traditional teaching gave something of definiteness to their belief. But where that was cast aside, and a man struck out for himself—as indeed the fundamental principle of Protestantism required him to do—he usually found himself very soon afloat on a sea of doubts and uncertainty as to the proper number of books in the Bible, as to the accuracy of the text, as to the inspiration and authority of the whole, or what might yet be left to him. He was tossed to and fro by varying and undecided opinions as to the meaning of the text. The present state of the Protestant mind is one of uncertainty sad to contemplate. It is due to the fact, that what only a

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few did formerly, almost every thinking mind, at all conversant with the literature of the day, is now forced to do at the imperative command of modern science.

The geologist assures him, that since the discoveries of geology as to the past vicissitudes of the earth, the old time-honored interpretation, which his fathers gave, and which he held as to the meaning of the beginning of Genesis, is all wrong, and must be put aside. Perhaps he is willing to put this point alongside that other point, which astronomy made two or three centuries ago, as to the meaning of certain texts of Scripture which had been generally supposed to bear on the question of the motion of the earth or of the sun. But for all this, it is a shock to his own powers of accurate interpretation of Scripture. Possibly it shakes the certainty of his belief in the inspired accuracy of the Sacred Writer. This is but the beginning of his tribulation. The archæologist cometh, with the ethnologist, and the philologist and others, to assure him that they have abundant evidence, part of it contemporary, from the antiquities of Egypt and Mesopotamia, India and China, showing that in those lands men were living in organized nations before the date which his Protestant Bible assigns for the Deluge, nay, even farther back than the date for the Creation. His Bible chronology goes by the board, and he is left like a ship at sea that has been forced to cut away her masts. Ere his mind grows calm again and he can reconcile himself to the new state of thoughts, the paleontologist comes, to throw on his scientific canvass weird, shadowy figures of the prehistoric and the primeval man, who, he says, lived a wild savage life, clothed in skins, dwelling mostly in caves, living by rude fishing and hunting, and for a time ignorant of agriculture, perhaps destitute of language. He clearly roamed over the earth contemporary with the mastodon and the mammoth, long since extinct, away back in the geological periods of time, in the post-pleiocene, perhaps in the pleiocene, and even in miocene eras. These are the latest, and therefore the truest and most reliable of all geological discoveries. He looks at the ghost-like figures, bewildered and perhaps alarmed. Nor are his nerves at all quieted by the scientific chorus of Darwin, Huxley and others, as they sing, that man was not created by God at all, but was developed out of an ape or some other animal, in virtue of the law of struggle for life or of some other inflexible natural law; that man has no spiritual nature whatever, but is wholly made up of particles of matter; that life, and thought, and conscience, are all the production or necessary consequences of the action and interaction and changes among these particles and atoms of matter; that they are all as much regulated by law as the flowing of water down the hillside, or the motion of the moon in her orbit; and that all such

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changes producing the effects thought due to the presence of a soul, are themselves but the effects of other precedent causes; the whole, one and all, occupying their appropriate places in the grand series of events which are following each other in this material universe—a series, the commencement and ending of which are both unthinkable, and we need give ourselves no concern about them.

Is it wonderful, that in this conflict between his religious belief and science, where, on one side there stand the text—the substance and the authority of which he is by no means sure of—and his powers of interpretation, which he has already learned to distrust, the more he studies the matter; and on the other side, this array of forces of modern science, marching on *en echelon*, with seemingly the confidence of assured victory; the Protestant finally either becomes skeptical, or gives up the whole question as something on which no one can arrive at certainty, and settles down in dim persuasion that doctrines are nothing, that the essence of Christianity is morality, and a vague belief that religion is a very respectable, good thing, especially for women and children.

The position of the Catholic is very different. We believe in Christ and the Holy Church which He founded, and to which He gave full authority to teach, in His name, unto all men and for all time, all things whatsoever He commanded. She is for us the pillar and ground of Truth. From her teaching we learn the doctrines of Divine Revelation. On her authority, or rather on the authority of Christ speaking through her, we believe them. The Scriptures we hold to have been given by divine inspiration, for our edification and instruction; and not, by any means, as a manual or text book, from which to learn the doctrines of Revelation. A text book or manual would of course state these doctrines clearly, fully and in something of a logical order. The simplest inspection of the Bible will show that it is as far removed from this as possible. The very form and character of its contents prove that it was never intended as such a manual. In the Bible the doctrines and precepts of Revelation are of course often alluded to, are often referred to more clearly, are sometimes stated explicitly. Some texts are clear, so clear that the meaning can scarcely be mistaken. Others are not so clear, and others again are so obscure, or so abstruse, that the daring or unskillful may wrest them to their own destruction. Our ability to understand any passage may depend on its own explicitness and clearness, on our own power of mind and acumen, or on our thorough acquaintance with the peculiarities of the special writer, the language or dialect in which he wrote, the manners and customs and habits of thought of those he was addressing, and to whose minds he would, more or less, accommodate his words.

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The special circumstances of the time and place must have their weight, and should be known, if we would determine with accuracy and precision the original meaning of any passage of Scripture. Where the Church has defined that a certain passage bears a certain meaning and defines a certain doctrine, we accept that definition as final. But this has been done only in a very few instances. For the rest, we know that God cannot contradict Himself and cannot contradict in Scripture any doctrine which He has taught through His Church. Any interpretation of a text, therefore, which contradicts a doctrine defined or taught by the Church, must be set aside at once as an erroneous interpretation, because it contradicts a known truth. Interpretations of a text which are conformable to the teaching of the Church, are not censurable as to doctrine. Whether they express correctly the meaning of the passage of Scripture, depends on the clearness of the text, which may forbid any other interpretation, or whether this is the meaning in which it appears, from concordant interpretation of the Fathers, that this text has been traditionally understood from the beginning. Otherwise the question must be settled by other rules of criticism.

What we have now said concerns such texts as refer specially to doctrine and morals. There is, however, in Scripture much of historical narrative, and of poetry. The two are sometimes united; or the earliest garb of historical narrative was poetry. Poetry calls for a freedom of expression, which may delight the imagination and give pleasure to the feelings. Oriental poetry goes far beyond our modern poetry in the boldness and the frequency of its tropes, metaphors and other figures suited to Eastern minds and Eastern customs. Then such illustrations gave force, emphasis, beauty, perhaps clearness, to the words, in the minds of the hearers. To us, the same illustrations and ornaments might fail in producing such an effect. Our languages are different, and our habits of thought almost as different. Illustrations most proper and effective in their case might not be understood, or might be even misunderstood by us. Where an illustration is drawn from a fact of nature as viewed or understood by the hearers, and therefore perfectly legitimate in their case, it might well happen that we would take what is simply and really only a poetic or oratorical illustration, for the assertion of a truth. Such was the case in relation to sundry passages of Scripture, which, if taken literally, would mean that the earth stands still, and the sun moves. They were understood literally, and were even quoted in that sense, until the progress of astronomy proved that the sun stood still, and that the earth moved. Then it became evident that the former mode of interpretation was a mistake, that these texts did not assert a fact, and were only poetical or oratorical figures, in which the ordinary

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usus loquendi—the popular phrase or form of language, based indeed on a misconception of facts—was used to convey more forcibly and intelligibly a divine truth.

Let us illustrate our meaning, and the character of the question, by a supposition which is not too extravagant. The Poet Laureate of England, or our own Longfellow, might well indite a few poetic stanzas, speaking of the rising of the Orb of day, of his majestic ascent to the meridian, of his gradual descent along his path in the western sky, of his lingering awhile over the broad prairie, and of his final setting amid the glory of golden and purple clouds. This might be done exquisitely. None would find fault with it, none would misunderstand it. But if those same stanzas fell into the hands of a people holding to the olden Ptolemaic system, and as yet rejecting the Copernican theory, lately presented to them and still unproved, it might very well happen that they would quote the poet as agreeing with them. They might perhaps be brought to understand that this is a poetic conception and license of speech; but it would be difficult to make them realize that the same freedom of speech would be heard in the prosaic conversation of daily life, and would even be found on the pages of scientific books teaching, *ex professo*, the Copernican theory. And all this, without a suspicion anywhere, that the sincerity of their belief in the Copernican system was thereby imperiled, or in the slightest degree put in doubt.

Such latitude in the use of expressions allowed in our modern prosaic matter-of-fact languages, might well prepare us for similar, if not far greater latitude, in the figurative and glowing poetry of the ancients. In such cases, the Catholic student is in no way disturbed by the discussions of critics and the ultimate decision arrived at, whether it be one way or another. To us these questions are to be decided, if they ever can be, by the canons of criticism and by the aid of any light of truth that can be thrown on them. The authority of religion is not involved in them. Our belief of any or of all the doctrines of our holy faith, is not based on any such weak support as our feeble critical ability to decide questions which may have vexed the learned for centuries. It is based on the authoritative decision of that Church which Christ our Lord established for the very purpose of teaching us divine Truth.

This much for that multitude of questions which, so far as they seem to touch religion, involve only the interpretation of texts of Scripture. There are, however, other questions presented of a different character, inasmuch as some of them directly contradict, or indirectly but logically impugn, doctrines defined and positively revealed by God. For example, some of them deny that God

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created the universe. Huxley seems bent on maintaining that in man there is no spiritual soul. In such cases, we know that the so-called scientist is in error. It is not true science, but a falsely called science, which pretends to correct the teaching of God himself. The scientific world itself, in the long run, generally does execution on such theories. The path of science as it marches on, is marked, as it were, by the dead bones of countless theories, each one of which in its day was hailed as an advanced truth, destined to crush the superstition of Revelation. Such, for instance, was the theory very much in vogue twenty years ago, of the plurality of the human race—a theory tending to deny the doctrine of original sin, and of redemption. Its popularity was at the highest, when Agassiz supported it with his theories of the various centres of creation. Now, in less than one generation, it is so completely dead that we scarcely find a reference to it. The Theory of Development is just now all the rage, and has demolished its predecessor. The arguments hailed only twenty years ago as irrefragable and overwhelming, now only call for a smile. The tide of scientific opinion is running in an exactly opposite direction.

The tide may run for a time in one direction, or in another. The Catholic, like the inhabitant of a city by the sea, knows that his port of Divine Truth ever stands in the same unchanging place, unmoved by these passing currents. The bark that would find safety in its tranquil haven, may have to stem these currents before entering.

But, however, tempting the theme, we must not let our pen run off into questions of the conciliation of the conflicts of some modern so-called scientific theories and the Truths of Divine Revelation, as presented and taught in the Catholic Church. On some other occasion we may feel at liberty to do so. At present we propose to take up the central truth of all Christianity—the Doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour—and to consider how it stands now, amid the multitudinous attacks of modern advanced thinkers.

The subject is not inopportune. The seemingly respectful tone of these attacks, their seeming candor, their assumption of deep learning, and the circulation of them everywhere, have produced, as we intimated, a visible and deplorable effect. Many pulpits, claiming the title of Christian, are heard denying and arguing against His Divinity; many others give a very uncertain sound; and still others appear studiously silent, as if unwilling to offend the hearers who created them and by the breath of whose nostrils they live, by broaching a subject on which there exists among them an irreconcilable difference of opinion. Were it not for the Catholic Church, belief in the Divinity of the Incarnate Son of God, our Re-

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deemer, would soon die out among men, perhaps would already be counted among the dreams of the past. She it is who now, as in all times past, proclaims each day her faith in the true Divinity of her Founder, THE WORD MADE FLESH, the Only begotten Son of God, the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, who became man, and was crucified for us on Calvary.

It is not easy to sum up in a few sentences the many, and often contradictory, statements made by so many writers in their attacks on the doctrine. We will throw them into the form of an historical statement. This form is sometimes affected by themselves. It gives distinctness to their statements, and it will allow us to grapple with various points separately and in their proper order. We may presume them to speak thus:

1. The Jewish people, at and for some centuries before the birth of Christ, was intensely monotheistic. The idea of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead was unthought of by them. The idea that a man born of a woman in their own land, and living among them, could be God, because in Him dwelt the Second Person of the Divine Trinity, or for any other reason, could never have entered their minds. It would be directly antagonistic to their most sacred doctrine, and to all their habits of thought.

2. Jesus of Nazareth was born a Jew, was trained and educated as a Jew, and never in all His life went outside the Jewish world, He was sincerely and deeply religious. It would have been specially repugnant to Him to entertain any such doctrine. He certainly never could have invented it. It is positive that He never taught it. It was unknown to Him.

3. It was equally unknown to His Apostles, who were also all of them Jews and, like Him, trained in the school of Jewish religious thought. They never taught it.

4. The early converts to Christianity, whether of the Jewish race, or from Gentilism, not having been taught it, did not hold it. The Jews, in becoming Christians, did not consider themselves severed from their own race; for they continued to frequent the Temple while it stood, to observe the Mosaic law; and this so tenaciously, that they ultimately formed a Christian sect of their own —the Nazarenes—which continued to exist in the fourth century. They would ever naturally hold the Jewish idea of the unity of God. The Gentile converts held the same. They gave up Polytheism, and came to believe the one true God, Creator of all things.

5. It was only long after the death of the Apostles that the Christians, sprung from Gentilism and trained in the philosophic schools, probably of Alexandria, originated this idea of the Divinity of Christ. They found in the teachings of Plato, then universally respected, a certain parallelism of words and thoughts,

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which served to prepare minds for the announcement of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and to give it something of a seeming support. The prevalence of polytheistic ideas took away from their minds all antecedent difficulties, so strong in the Jewish mind. The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was but a practical corollary of that of the Trinity. This doctrine, establishing something of a connection between Christianity and the most popular philosophy of the day, gave a dignity and an importance to Christianity, before the learned world, which otherwise it could not have possessed. For the Christians it was more than an offset to the ignominy of the Cross. The Christian philosopher and apologist found in it full scope for eloquence and for philosophic argumentation, and an ever ready reply to the assaults made on Christianity from the character and the fate of its Founder. And it admirably satisfied the craving of all Christian hearts for something to strengthen and console them amid the taunts and galling insults, to which they were daily subjected, because they were the followers of a despicable crucified Jew. With this doctrine in their hearts, all such shafts fell harmless to the ground. Hence the doctrine was acceptable, spread rapidly; first among the learned and philosophizing classes, of course, and then from them among the mass of Christians of every class. Finally, despite the opposition of Arius and others, it was defined at the council of Nicea in A. D. 325.

6. From that date on, the Divinity of Christ has been the accepted and cherished doctrine of Christianity. But the time has come when the progress of historical criticism, the more scientific discussion of religious truth, (if indeed there be such a thing as real objective truth in religion,) and the investigation of the origin and growth of religious ideas and systems among the different races of men, have enabled scientific minds now to undo this error of fifteen or sixteen hundred years standing, and to reach results more in accordance with the advanced and advancing teachings of pure reason.

This we offer as a fair summary of the historical statements which the opponents of Christianity put forth with an air of confidence, as a decisive argument against the doctrine they are assaulting. We do not, of course, pretend to enter into the minor details, in which they frequently differ among themselves and contradict each other. We group the whole in broad outline.

The first statement does not touch the question at issue, and its accuracy has been controverted. The second statement goes on the supposition that Christ simply gave a fresh development to the existing Jewish religious ideas of His day, and did not go outside of that system. Above all, it ignores the thought that the world received through Him a new revelation from Heaven, of divine

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truths hitherto unknown to men. This is in perfect accordance with their own theory that any divine revelation, as Christians understand the word—the miraculous imparting of knowledge to the world by God, whether of Himself, or through an inspired envoy —being a miracle, is absolutely impossible. But in an argument with Christians, to assume this theory, which Christians do not admit, or to assume that no divine revelation was made through Christ, is to beg the question,—a feat these advanced thinkers are very much given to perform. However, we shall show that Christ did, in fact, teach this doctrine of His Divinity, that the Apostles taught it, that the earliest Christians held it, and that so far from being the philosophizing figment of a later day, originating long after the time of Christ and the Apostles, it is in fact the original central doctrine of Christianity, around which all other doctrines are grouped in logical order and connection.

Whether or not, before the advent of Christ, the Jewish people possessed any intimation of the Doctrine of the Trinity, or of a plurality of persons in God, or of the Divine character of the Messiah whose coming they looked forward to, are for our subject questions only of secondary importance. If the reply be affirmative, the facts would indeed be a valuable argument in favor of our doctrine. But if negative, it can avail our opponents nothing. Obviously the antecedent ignorance of the Jewish people on these points would be no ground why at a later day, when Christ had come, He might not and should not enlighten their ignorance, and declare to them the truth hitherto unknown.

But in fact, the reply has been given in the affirmative by writers who specially studied the question. The modern Jewish school of thought has been for centuries intensely anti-Christian on these points. Their continued discussions with the Christians in every age, and their efforts to elude the cogencies of Christian arguments founded on passages of the Old Testament, have driven the Jewish controversialists into one groove, which ever since the establishment of their theological and Rabinnical school at Tiberias, in the fifth century, has become more and more rigid. What we wish to ascertain is not what do these later Rabbis say; but what did Jewish Rabbis think and say, before and about the time of our Saviour. To ascertain this, we must go back to such fragments of their sayings and teachings as have been preserved in the Talmud, the Targums and other early Jewish Works. Not to speak of others, this has been done by the late ex-Rabbi *Drach*, who published the results, in his work: *De L'Harmonie entre l'Eglise et la Synagogue* (Paris, 1844). It is certainly strange to find those old Doctors in Israel giving to the future Messiah, time and again, the very incommunicable name of God, *Jehovah;* and in their ex-

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planations of Genesis speaking of *God*, of the *Word of God*, and of the *Holy Spirit of God*. It would amply repay one to study out the points which Drach makes, and to ponder and wonder over the quaint Rabinnical quotations that garnish his pages. But we leave the subject to those who may have a special turn for such studies. We have now neither the space, nor the type. We proceed to consider what is more important—the question involved in the second proposition.

Did Christ our Lord, in teaching His disciples or the crowds that listened to Him, declare the doctrine of His own divinity? This is the key of the question. The first evidence is manifestly to be sought in His own words, as given to us by the sacred Evangelists. What, then, does He say of Himself?

I. He declares Himself greater than every person and everything most sacred in the eyes of the Jewish people. He is greater than the prophet Jonas, (Matt. xii. 41,) greater than Solomon in all his wisdom, (Matt. xi. 42,) greater than the most Holy Temple (Matt. xii. 6). Prophets and just men yearned to see Him and His works, and to hear His teachings, and attained not the object of their earnest expectation (Matt. xiii. 17, Luke x. 34). He is greater than Moses, who wrote of Him, (John v, 46,) than Abraham who rejoiced to see His day, who saw it and was glad (John viii. 56). He is greater than John the Baptist, who was sent to announce Him, and who was greater than any born of woman (Matt. xi. 10–11). He is the Son of David, whom David in Spirit calls Lord (Matt. xxii. 43). He is Lord even of the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 8).

II. He claims the right to exercise, and does exercise the power which His hearers held God only could exercise. They believed that God only could forgive sins. He claims this power as His own. "The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins" (Luke v, 24). He exercises it. "Be of good cheer, son, thy sins are forgiven thee" (Matt. ix. 2). He transmits it to His disciples. "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them" (John xx. 23).

So truly does He wield this power that He is Lord of Paradise, and can assure it to the repentant robber. "Amen, Amen, I say to thee; this day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise" (Luke xxiii. 43).

The Jews worshiped the true God—Creator of heaven and earth —just and merciful, who will reward the good and punish the wicked, and whose divine power and authority will be made gloriously manifest in His judgment of the world. Christ claims for Himself the authority of sovereign Judge. He at the end of the world shall send His angels to gather out of His kingdom all scandals. He shall cast out them that work iniquity, and shall make the just to shine as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father (Matt. xiii. 40,

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41, 42, 43). For unto Him hath all judgment been given by the Father (John v. 22). Unto this judgment He shall come in the glory of the Father and attended by the angels as His servants. He shall sit upon the seat of His majesty, and all nations shall be gathered together before Him, and His judgment shall be absolute and irrevocable (Matt. xiii. 41; xvi. 27; xxiv. 30; xxv. 31–46; xxvi. 64). Ought not this to be enough? And yet we have scarcely crossed the threshold. We have but a glimpse of the glory that shines within the divine Temple of Truth.

III. Throughout His ministry He teaches, not as the Scribes and Pharisees who declare the law as given of old. He speaks with His own original authority. To Him the highest mysteries are but natural truths, clear to Him as those of the world around. He issues His commands as one having power. If He does away with the traditions and rules of the Synagogue, He establishes new precepts of His own authority: precepts which shall bind all mankind, and are of equal force with the laws given of old by the Almighty through His Servant Moses. And the warrant for all this is: "But I say to you" (Matt. v. 21–48).

IV. He foretells the future, not awaiting an hour of vision or inspiration like the prophets of old, and as if raised beyond and outside of Himself, but because He knows all things (John xxi. 17). There was nothing hidden from Him in all nature, not even in man (John ii. 25), not even the secret wishes of man's heart or the secret thoughts of his mind (Matt. ix. 4; xvi. 8; Mark ii. 8; Luke v. 22).

This is not in Him a borrowed knowledge, for He is the light of the world (John viii. 12.) He is the wisdom of God that sendeth the prophets, and which no adversary shall be able to resist and gainsay (Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49; xxi. 15). He is what no man before Him could claim to be,—the Way, the Truth and the Life (John xiv. 6).

V. He styles Himself explicitly the Son of God (Matt. xxvii. 43; John ix. 35). And this not as man may be in a vague sense; not as all men are by their possession of reason and intelligence, nor as some men are by the possession of sanctifying grace, and the holiness of their lives; but in a special sense peculiar to Him alone.

His disciples acknowledge it (John vi. 70). The devils cry out to Him: What have we to do with Thee, Jesus, Son of God (Matt. viii. 29). It is His own title. By it He is distinguished from the prophets. *They* are the servants of the house-holder, whom He sent to the husbandmen. *He* is the Son, the real true Son, whom the Father sent to them in the last place, and of whom they said, "This is the heir: let us kill Him, and we shall have the inheritance" (Matt. xxi. 33–38).

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VI. This Sonship is not a Sonship vaguely or improperly so termed. It is a truth—a mystery which flesh and blood cannot teach, but which is revealed from heaven, and such that they are blessed to whom it has been revealed (Matt. xvi. 16–17).

It is real and true. He is the Son of God, the only Son of God; the Son of the Blessed God; the only begotten Son of God (John iii. 16–17), by giving Whom—"that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting"—God has given the most signal proof of the immensity of His love for man (John iii. 16).

VII. The mystery of the character and qualities of this Sonship is clearly set forth in many passages of His teachings. He has not been called and sent by God, as Moses and the prophets were, but He proceeds from God (John viii. 42). He came out from God; He came forth from the Father (John xvi. 27, 28; xvii. 8). He will leave the world and go again to the Father. He cometh down from Heaven, where He was before, and whither men shall see Him ascend again (John vi. 33–63). The Baptist bore witness that this is the Son, whom the Father loveth and into whose hands He hath given all things, and testifieth what He hath seen and heard (John iii. 31–35). Christ Himself declared that no man hath seen the Father. He said to the Jews, "You are from beneath, I am from above; you are of the world, I am not of this world" (John viii. 23). "I am not come of myself, but He that sent me is true, whom you know not; I know Him, because I am from Him, and He hath sent me" (John vii. 28, 29). So clearly and so emphatically did He present this thought, that He could not be misunderstood. Martha summed up the instruction she and others had received, "Yea, Lord, I have believed that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, who hath come into this world" (John xi. 27).

VIII. This pre-existence in eternity, in the bosom of the Father, which she acknowledged and which is implied in the passages we have quoted, is still more distinctly declared in others. He existed before Abraham. (John viii. 38.)

The Father loved Him before the creation of the world (John xvii. 24.) And He prays to the Father, "Glorify Thou Me with Thyself, with the glory which I had before the world was, with Thee" (John xvii. 5.) He claims for Himself, most emphatically even the incommunicable name of God, JEHOVAH, the distinctive name of the one true God. "Amen, Amen, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I AM" (John viii. 58.)

IX. He establishes what in the language of to-day is called, if we may use it in this sacred theme, a *solidarity* with God. God gives grace, and no man can come to Christ except the Father draw him.

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Christ is the fountain of grace; He giveth living water, whereof they that drink shall not thirst forever, and shall come to everlasting life (John iv. 10, 13, 14). When He shall be lifted up from the earth on the cross, He shall draw all things to Himself (John xii. 32). He applies literally to Himself the prophecies which Isaiah (xxxv. 5) and Malachi (iv. 5; iii. 2) uttered concerning Jehovah the Lord of hosts; and shows how they must be really and literally fulfilled in Himself.

Yet while teaching thus strongly the mysterious union which exists between the Father and Himself, He is equally careful to indicate the distinction that exists between them; a distinction as mysterious as the union. He hath not come of Himself. The Father hath sent Him (John vii. 28). All that He has, He holds from the Father. He does nothing of Himself: as the Father hath taught Him, these things He speaks (John viii. 28).

His doctrine is not His own, but the teaching of Him that sent Him (John vii. 16). And He speaks emphatically, "Amen, Amen, I say unto you, the Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing; for what things soever He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner (John v. 19). If he has life in Himself, it is because the Father hath given Him to have it (John v. 26). He and the Father are two witnesses whose testimony may not be refused (John viii. 16, 17). They are distinct and yet in unity. "I and the Father are one" (John x. 30). Whosoever sees Him seeth the Father, because He is in the Father and the Father is in Him (John xiv. 9–11).

This union is manifested in works. "My Father worketh until now; and I work" (John v. 17). Whatsoever things He doth, these the Son also doth in like manner (v. 19). "The Father raiseth up the dead, and giveth life: So the Son also giveth life to whom He will" (v. 21). "As the Father hath life in Himself, so He hath given to the Son also to have life in Himself" (v. 26). No man can snatch aught out of the hand of the Father: no man shall pluck the sheep out of the hands of the Son (John x. 28–29). No man knoweth the Son but the Father: neither doth any one know the Father but the Son (Matt. xi. 27). The Father sendeth the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, in the name of the Son (John xiv. 26). The Son sendeth the Paraclete from the Father, the spirit of Truth, who proceedeth from the Father (John xv. 26; xvi. 7).

The Father glorifieth the Son, (John viii. 54,) and He is glorified in the Son (John xiii. 31, 32). All things whatsoever the Father hath, are the Son's (John xvi. 15; xvii. 10). The works which He does are done by the Father who abideth in Him (John xiv. 10). Whatsoever you ask the Father in My name, He will give it you (John xv. 16; xvi. 23). "Whatsoever you ask the Father in My name, that will I do" (John xiv. 13).

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Finally, Christ receives from men the same homage and worship which they gave to God. "You believe in God; believe also in Me" (John xiv. 1). The great commandment is to love God with our whole heart, and our whole soul, and with all our strength. Christ claims that we love Him more than father or mother or relatives—more than our very lives. Adoration is due to God alone. because of His divine majesty and power, and infinite perfections, Christ proclaims it. Yet to honor Him, is to honor the Father; and He allowed the man born blind, to whom He had given sight, to fall down and adore Him (John ix. 38). He allowed the pious woman to adore Him (Matt. xxviii. 9), and after walking on the waters and calming the storm, He allowed His disciples that "were in the boat to come and adore Him, saying: "indeed, Thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). And when Thomas, convinced of His resurrection, answered and said unto Him: "My Lord and my God," He did not chide the Apostle: on the contrary, Jesus said to him: "Because thou hast seen Me, Thomas, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and have believed" (John xx. 28, 29).

It would be easy to quote many other equally remarkable expressions of Jesus Christ, concerning Himself and His relations to God: but these are sufficient. Made familiar to us from our childhood, we are not so sensibly struck, as a stranger would be, with their unusual and mysterious character. No messenger or servant of the true God has ever used such expressions. Neither Moses, nor Samuel, nor David, nor Isaiah, nor Elias, nor John the Baptist, nor any one of the Apostles or Evangelists, nor any holy man of God since their time, has ever dared to speak of himself in this manner. In the use of this language concerning Himself, Christ stands alone of all men that have walked on earth.

What is the intrinsic meaning of His words? What is the meaning of that SONSHIP of which He so often speaks, and which He vindicates to himself so exclusively? What does He mean by His being seated at the right hand of the Power of the Father? Why thus picture Himself to us, as placed on the right hand of God the Father, seated with Him on the very Throne of the Deity in Heaven, while patriarchs and prophets, and all the saints of God, and all the angels of Heaven, praise Him and minister unto Him? Does this mean that He is true God, equal to the Father, and adored by the Heavenly court as the Father is, and that He claims the same worship from men on earth? May we not, rather, ask: Can the words be made to mean anything else than this?

But, it is objected, if Christ really meant to teach the doctrine of His Divinity, why did He not distinctly state it, in so many simple, unmistakable words? Why did he not say clearly: *I am the true*

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God, who have come down from Heaven, and have taken to myself a human body and a human soul. I am God incarnate." Why has he always stopped short of this, saying only: "*I am the Christ, the only begotten Son of the living God.*" Does not the studious avoidance of the direct statement, and the studious use of other words, prove that, whatever may be the meaning of the words He used, they were at least chosen and used for the very purpose of excluding the assertion of a real divinity?

This is an objection often heard. Yet, strong as it appears, it is only a bubble, that will burst at the first touch. If we cite in reply to it, as we well may, certain passages of Scripture, which imply the possession by Christ of divine attributes, we are generally met by minute questions of refined critical interpretation, or by further remarks impugning the accuracy with which His words have been recorded; and thus raising the question of the authenticity and the authority of the Gospels. Into this question the present is not the proper time for us to enter. We here assume both; so far at least as the genuineness of the expressions of Christ quoted by us is concerned. We take it for granted that He really did use them. But we will so shape our answer as to rely on facts of history, rather than on the interpretation of certain texts.

What then, we ask, is the real meaning and import of the phrase, *Son of God*, so often used by Christ, and exclusively applied to Himself.

We maintain that this expression, *Son of God*, used by our Saviour, was then, and for that people, a distinct and clear avowal of his Divinity, and not a falling short of such avowal, as the objection asserts; and furthermore, that the form of words proposed instead, as more explicit, was not used by our Lord for the simple reason that such words would have led His hearers into error on another point.

To seize the full and true meaning of words, we must know something of the mode of thought peculiar to those addressed, and of the subjects which occupied their minds when the words were spoken. For instance, twenty years ago, if a politician announced to his constituents that he was for extending to every man in the land the rights of American citizenship, he would at once be understood to oppose Know-nothingism, and to deprecate any change in the then existing naturalization laws: for these were the questions then agitating our political world. Eight years ago, the same words would have been understood as favoring the extension of the right of voting and of eligibility to office, to the lately emancipated negroes. For a new question, unthought of at the earlier date, had arisen. It was a question so different from the former one, that many who spoke the words sincerely, as

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against Know-nothingism, were utterly unwilling to repeat them as in favor of the negro. And this without inconsistency, and while they were positive that they had not, in the meanwhile, changed their political convictions. Thus we see that the true import of words depends on something else than their mere utterance. The character of the speaker and the hearers, and the circumstances of the times, are all to be taken into account. How many errors and mistakes are due to a neglect of this principle!

The Oriental mind is keen, subtle and active—we might say, of a decided metaphysical cast. At least it was eminently so fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. It retains something of that character yet, despite centuries of the tyranny of Islamism. A cynic of other religions might sneeringly intimate, that he looked on them as industriously occupied in splitting hairs.

The Western mind, on the contrary, prides itself on being quite practical and matter-of-fact, in dealing with the questions that come before it. An Oriental would say that it is dull and obtuse: so obtuse, as often to embrace two systems at the same time, without perceiving contradictions between them, visible to him at a glance; and so dull, that in practice a course of action may be followed even for a long time, without any suspicion on our part that it conflicts with maxims or theories to which we profess to adhere. He wonders that we make so little account of intrinsic contradictions and logical absurdities. He admits and admires our boldness and power in outward action: he thinks little of our capacity for reasoning. He will stroke his beard complacently as he says that we have the empire of matter, but the Orientals retain that of the intellect.

Seven centuries ago, the scholars of the West gave themselves up to metaphysical studies, with as much, perhaps more ardour, than ever the Orientals did. We have the fruits of their labors in the hundreds of folio volumes, containing the works of the mediæval Scholastics, and filling the lower shelves of our libraries. Who reads them now? Is it possible to translate them into a modern language? Where will we find words to express the refinements, and the delicate shades of abstruse thought, and the shadowy distinctions, which were their playthings or their weapons in intellectual warfare? One would have to do now with our English tongue, what the Scholastics did with the Latin—coin a multitude of new words for special use, and modify considerably the meanings of old ones.

Our habits of thought are very different from those of the Orientals in the age when Christ spoke, and for centuries before and after. It is a singular fact, that all or nearly all the errors and heresies which the Church of God had to combat in the East, during the

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first four centuries of Christianity, turned on the attributes of God, on the Trinity, and the Person of Christ—all of them the result of this rage for abstruse metaphysical speculations. The errors and heresies and religious questions originating and discussed in the West (save among the Scholastics) touch, on the contrary, the human side of Christianity—the forgiveness of sins, man's need of grace, his free-will, the authority of the Church, and the number and value of the Sacraments to be used by man. This distinction is striking, and indicates a marked difference in mental characteristics.

We doubt if that difference were ever greater in practice, than we have made it now. We have a happy knack of throwing ourselves into any question that may arise, and of discussing it, paying little or no regard to the bearing of the terms we use on any other question. The first question settled, we are quite ready to enter on another with equal zest, feeling ourselves not at all committed by the words we have used in the previous discussion, and disposed to exercise a similar liberty of terms in our present discussion. We argue, for instance, in favor of the existence of a Personal God. We mean by the words, and we contend that there really does exist, a Supreme Being, eternal, intelligent, self-existent, and all-powerful; who created the universe out of nothing, and who rules it. We mean that He really exists in Himself, and apart from that universe of created things, which are but the works of His hand. We contend that He is not the mere sum total of all existing things, as some Pantheists teach, or the sum total of the forces or laws that rule the universe, as others hold; that He is not another name only for nature, whatever is meant by that very vague word. We repudiate the assertion that He is perhaps nothing more than a mere ideal conception, created and existing only in man's own intellect—a personified summing up of our moral and religious notions, cravings and instincts. All this we argue against; and when we have proved satisfactorily the existence of a Personal God, we are ready to pass on to the consideration of his Divine Nature, and profess ourselves ready to discuss the Doctrine of the Trinity. But here the Oriental will step in and tell us that this is no longer for us an open question; for we have already decided it. We have already committed ourselves to the Jewish and Socinian idea of the Godhead, and, by our own language, have excluded the Trinity; we have argued for the existence of a *Personal* God. If we believed the Trinity, we should have said, a *Tri-personal* God.

This may seem to us the trifling of hypercriticism, deserving only no more than a passing smile. To the Oriental mind, however, it is a serious matter. What we have written is but the remark and remonstrance made to ourselves by an acute, clerical friend from

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Aleppo, who was very much shocked, when once in conversation with him we happened to use the accepted English phrase *personal God*, translating it literally. His mind seized at once on the doctrinal meaning of the word Personal, and followed it out to its logical consequences. We on, the contrary, used it, as it is customarily used, only in a loose conversational sense, without any thought of being tied down to the consequences, at once and almost instinctively drawn by the Oriental mind.

Bearing in mind this special trait of the Oriental intellect, then roused to activity by the contest between Religion and the Eastern and Grecian systems of Philosophy, let us take up the words of our Saviour and weigh them well, bearing especially in mind the questions of that time, as seen by the Jewish mind. We shall see—we can scarcely fail to see—how distinctly they sometimes express, how logically they at other times imply, the great doctrines of Christianity concerning God and Christ. We shall see that this is the sense in which they were then understood by His hearers, whether disciples who yielded belief, or Jews who refused to receive His teaching.

The doctrine of Christianity is, that in the one true eternal God there are three distinct persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. In this divine mystery of the Holy Trinity there is neither a division of the one Godhead, nor a confounding or mingling of the three Divine Persons.

Moreover, the Second Person of this Divine Trinity, God the Son, became man by taking to himself a human body and a human soul; was born of a Virgin mother; taught in Judea; and died on the cross for the redemption of man. He was known among men as JESUS OF NAZARETH. He was God and man.

Both of these doctrines are asserted or implied in the teachings of Christ, whenever he declares that he is the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father; who was with the Father before the world was created; who was in the Father, and the Father in Him; who was one with the Father, and yet distinct from Him; who had come down from Heaven into this world, and would return to Heaven again.

The first thought or logical truth, that presents itself to the mind, as we contemplate the relation of sonship, is the identity of nature. The son must be a person distinct from the father, but of the same nature with the father. This is obvious to every mind. The son of a peasant is another peasant, the son of a noble is another noble. But to the Oriental mind, especially to the Semitic, and more especially to the Jewish mind, this idea stood out in bold relief. The importance they gave to the matter of descent, the care with which their family genealogies were preserved, their very distinction into

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tribes, led them to give special prominence to this thought. The son of Aaron was a Priest; the son of Levi was a Levite: the son of David was of royal blood.

When Christ declared to them that he was truly the Son of God, the first thought that flashed across the minds of His startled and astonished hearers was this: "Who ever before preached to us that the true God hath a Son, a Son like the Father, and possessing the divine nature of that Father? The false gods whom the heathens worship, have sons, who are false gods like their fathers. The Persians believe that divine sons give birth to other divine sons. The heathens are ever speaking of such things. But we worship one true God, the only God, who revealed Himself to our fathers as a jealous God. When was it ever said before, that He too had produced a Son of His own divine nature? What does this man really mean? Does He claim that He is really such a son of God, and equal to the Father in nature and honor? Can He mean this?" When they heard Him go on to speak of being with the Father before the world was made,—from eternity; of His coming down from the Father and His return to the Father; when He told them that they knew not whence He was, and could not understand the Divine mode of His generation; that only the Father knew the Son; when he claimed union with the Father so intimate that the Father worked in Him, and He in the Father; and claimed that all men should honor the Son as they honored the Father—these and His other words made it impossible to misunderstand Him. That the Father was God, they knew. It was the most sacred doctrine of their nation. But that there is a Son of God, partaking of His Divine Nature, this Jesus of Nazareth who is speaking to them, they are not willing to believe. And what are those other words that He uttereth at times, about the Spirit of God whom the Father will send, and whom the Son will send? Is this another Divine person? Are there more persons than one in God? We cannot comprehend what He says. But that He does say it, and insist on it, our own ears bear witness.

That the Jews so understood Him, is clear from their own words and acts. "They sought the more to kill Him, because . . . He said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God" (John v. 18). They repeat the charge. "For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God" (John x. 33,). When He stood for trial before the high priest, and held His peace until, in response to the solemn adjuration, He broke that divine silence and emphatically avowed Himself the Son of God, His words were still taken in the same sense. For "the high priest rent his garments, saying: He hath blasphemed; what further need have we of witnesses?

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Behold, now you have heard the blasphemy: what think you? But they answering said: He is guilty of death" (Matt. xxvi. 63–66.) And still again, in the same sense did the Jews say of Him to Pilate. "We have a law, and according to the law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God" (John xix. 7).

It is impossible to make a mistake here. Words and acts alike forbid it. They are as clear as the sunlight. The Jews did understand Christ to claim for Himself a true, veritable Sonship of God, which made Him a partaker of the Divine Nature, equal to God, thus making Himself God. This was the blasphemy of which they accused Him, and for which they condemned Him.

Had He claimed to be only a prophet or messenger of God, they would have hailed Him with joy. It was what the nation yearned for. Had he even announced Himself as an angel of God coming in the form of a man to do God's work among them, the idea would not have been strange to them. Had not angels again and again appeared among men, to Abraham, to Jacob, to Daniel, to Tobit? There was no difficulty. They would have welcomed and honored Him. The higher His grade in the angelic host, perhaps the higher would be the honors to be paid to Him; the more earnest and joyous their welcome. But when He claimed to be the veritable, eternal SON of the ETERNAL GOD—when He was clearly understood to claim a participation of the very divine nature of God—this was a trenching on the glory of the jealous God of their fathers, a blasphemy which could be fitly punished only with death. They would have been right, were the claim untrue. A blasphemy of deeper dye cannot be imagined, than such a claim, unless Christ be in truth the Divine Son of the Living God.

This is evidently what they understood Him to teach. So earnest were they, that they charged Him repeatedly with this blasphemy, and again and again took up stones to put Him to death; and finally did crucify Him, thinking they were giving glory to God.

Did He ever intimate that they misunderstood Him? Did He ever explain away His strong expressions? Quite the reverse. On one occasion, when they charged Him with blasphemy and sought to stone Him, (John v.,) He chides them for not believing Him. He exhorts them to believe, and He develops His meaning in several of those strong, unmistakable expressions which we have already quoted. On a second occasion (John x.) He arrests their headlong fury for a moment, as He did at other times, by an apt quotation from the Scripture; He again fixes their attention, and then goes on to insist more strongly than before on the doctrine which had offended them—"The Father is in Me, and I in the Father" (John x. 38)—so strongly, that their fury bursts forth

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again. They seek at once to take Him, and He escapes out of their hands. So, too, on a third occasion, before the high priest. Not only did Christ, when adjured in the name of the living God, avow Himself the Son of God; but He went on to declare explicitly, that hereafter they should see Him sitting at the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven to judge the world (Matt. xxvi. 64). In the day of God's Judgment of the world, they would have visible evidence of the grand truth which now they denied, and for announcing which they were about to condemn Him.

Christ takes back no word He has spoken, abates not one iota of the claim He asserts, to be the Son of the Father. His words are truth, and everlasting life. He has come to His own: His own receive Him not.

How the Jews understood His words, we have seen beyond all doubt. Their words and their acts made it perfectly clear. We now see that, on His part, Christ confirmed them in that sense; and by insisting on it, gave a second and more emphatic expression to it. He was in truth the Son of God, one with the Father in the possession of the Divine nature.

How His disciples understood him, and what they held this Divine Sonship to mean, will be made equally clear, when we come to examine how they spoke and what they taught concerning His Divinity.

We may add here that the phrase, *Son of God*, occupies a prominent place in the early Christians' writings, and is used especially in their discussions with the Jews. The same fundamental idea, distinction of persons and community of nature, between the Father and the Son, is ever understood; sometimes it is plainly expressed. Thus in the Epistle to Diognetus, an early Christian work, the unknown writer of which says (chap. xi.) that he was a disciple of the Apostles, and had become a teacher of the Gentiles, we read (chapter v.) concerning the ministry of Christ, the Son of God, sent by the Father unto this world: "As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him: As God, sent He Him; As Saviour, sent He Him." The king's son is a king. The Son of God is God. Similarly, Justin Martyr, in his *First Apology* (chap. 63), says: "The Jews know not that the Father of the universe has a Son: who also, being the first begotten Word of God, is even God." Athenagoras, in his *Plea for the Christians* (chap. x.), gives expression to the same thought. This is the essential philosophic idea of Sonship, the very thought to which the mind of the hearer was directed. The term, *Son of God*, was a phrase the full meaning and import of which the Jews would understand clearly, and perhaps much more readily, than they would the other term, *Word of God*, less

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familiar to them, but one which became more acceptable to the Greeks and Hellenizing Christians; and which, having the sanction of the Gospel of St. John, and expressing his belief, will in its turn call for our consideration, when we treat of the testimony of the beloved disciple as to the Divinity of his Master.

It is evident, therefore, that the words of Christ: "I am the Christ, the Son of God," so far from falling short of a full and explicit declaration of His divine nature, were precisely those which conveyed to the minds of his hearers a distinct statement of it, and which, furthermore, expressed the doctrine that his Divine Personality was distinct from that of the Father; and, by this statement, led them on towards a knowledge of the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

Had he said: "I am the Christ, the incarnate God," His hearers would indeed understand Him to declare His own Divinity. But they would have learned nothing of the distinction of persons in the Godhead. Ignorant of this doctrine, they would have held that God the Father, of whom alone they had knowledge, had become incarnate. They would have held that Jesus of Nazareth was God the Father, and not God the Son. The words used by Christ guarded them against this error.

Indeed, at a later day, by over-much subtilizing on the doctrine of the Trinity, and thus doing away with the proper distinction of the Divine Persons, sundry eastern Christians were led on to coalesce into a sect called the Patripassians. Their chief error was holding, that it was the Father who was made flesh, and was born of the Virgin Mary; who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was crucified for our redemption. The strongest arguments against them were drawn by the orthodox Christians from the words of Christ Himself, as He teaches the distinct personality and the proper works of the Son of God.

We have shown, however imperfectly, that the words of our Saviour contain ample proof of His Divinity. The same doctrine may be established from the character of His miracles. The teachings of the Apostles supply still other evidences of it; and the abundant testimony at hand to show that the early Christians of every class—the immediate disciples of the Apostles—believed it, supplies historical evidence, which fully refutes the assertion, so confidently made, that this doctrine of the Divinity of Christ originated only at a later period, in the minds of certain philosophizing Christians. But to treat these points with the fullness which they are entitled to, would demand far more space than is now at our disposal. We may treat of them hereafter. Our readers will acknowledge that we have already taxed their time and patience sufficiently for this first number of our REVIEW.

P. N. LYNCH.

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MODERN PHYSICISTS AND THE ORIGIN OF MAN.

1. Addresses of Professors Tyndall and Huxley before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1874.
2. GENTILISM: *Religion Previous to Christianity.* By Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J., New York: D. and J. Sadlier & Co., 1876.

The hostility of the majority of modern physicists to Christianity shows itself plainly in their theories of the origin of matter and of man. They are professedly indifferent to the bearing of their views upon the statements of Sacred Scripture; and they attempt to rule those statements entirely out of the discussion; but in this they only reveal the more clearly their real animus. For, however diversely the statements of Scripture may be construed on some points, they declare, as all agree, that matter is not eternal nor self-existent, that man has his origin not in any "potency" inherent in matter, but in the creative will of God, and that man has not developed into the possession of intellect and of will, but was endowed with them at the moment of his creation. Around these statements and corroborating them, has gathered, in the course of ages, an accumulation of confirmatory evidence in comparison with which the proofs, that support the most firmly established facts of physical science, are weak. These statements, therefore, are, to say the least, entitled to respectful consideration. They are "in possession," and before a writ of "ouster" can be issued against them and executed, a title superior to theirs must be conclusively shown. In other words, the burden of proof rests upon those who impugn, directly or indirectly, the statements of Scripture. When the hypotheses of physicists declare, or imply, that man was not created, but was evolved from a "protoplasm," by a power inherent in matter; that, by the operation of that same power, the protoplasm was carried through successive stages of development, until it became an anthropoid ape, then a savage man, and at last, after millions of years, an intellectual Celt or Saxon, it is entirely legitimate to reply, "We refuse to accept your theory, because it contradicts divine revelation."

We know very well, that this is decried as dogmatism. Whether it be dogmatism or not, it is a logical answer. There are certain axioms, upon which mathematical science rests. When results are shown to be in accordance with those axioms, they are accepted as determinate conclusions. Suppose a scientific dreamer should adopt a hypothesis, which contradicted those axioms or their con-

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sequences, and, when confronted with the contradictions, should reply, "I rule mathematics entirely out of my field of thought; if mathematics comes in the way of my speculations, so much the worse for it," such a scientist would be considered a fit inmate for a mad-house. Yet he would not be a whit more irrational, in his method of arguing, than are many modern physicists in the posture which they assume towards Christianity. For Christianity is a FACT; and a fact of greater moment, than all the physical facts which scientists gather around their speculations about matter, its forces, forms, and modes of existence. Christianity, therefore, cannot be thus unceremoniously thrust out of view. Around Christianity, too, other facts have clustered, which must be considered and duly disposd of, before the way can be opened for even commencing the summary procedure which many, perhaps a majority, of modern scientists advocate.

If these savans were of one mind either as to the facts, which they include within the field of their speculations, or as to what they infer from those facts, their treatment of Christianity would be less obviously irrational, if not more excusable. But they disagree both as to facts and conclusions.

There is another point, which should always be borne in mind in estimating the importance of the theories of physical scientists, viz: that. in their investigations, they use the inductive method.

They are shut out, therefore, by the very method which they employ, from reaching certainty in their conclusions. The utmost they can claim is probability. Induction is very well in its place, useful for arranging and classifying ascertained facts. But by induction nothing can really be proved. Induction starts from particulars; the conclusion, consequently, is always broader than the premises upon which it rests.

Besides, the inductive method is applicable only to the relative and finite. It is as absurd, therefore, to attempt by induction to reach conclusions respecting the absolute and infinite, as it would be to expect a stream to rise above its source. Induction starts from a hypothesis, in other words, a guess. It empirically arranges about the hypothesis the results of investigations into physical phenomena, facts, real or suppositious. If the facts agree with the hypothesis, the hypothesis is held to be correct. Yet all those facts may possibly be explained, quite as well, by some other hypothesis entirely different; or, in the lapse of time, other facts may be discovered, which prove the hypothesis untrue.

The history of the physical sciences records many instances of this; many, too, that are quite recent. We mention, as examples, the theory that chemical compounds are formed by the combination of the ultimate particles, called atoms, of elementary sub-

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stances; a theory now generally regarded by physicists as untenable, yet still almost universally employed to explain chemical reactions. Again, until quite recently the change in the lungs of the color of the blood was explained by the oxidation of the iron contained in it; and the heat of the body was attributed to the union in the lungs of the oxygen of the inspired air with the carbon of the blood; yet it is now known, that these theories are in fact untrue. Again, previous to the last century the very existence of oxygen was unknown. Yet this is one of the most active, indeed we may say, the most active, and all-pervading of all elementary substances—if there be elementary substances, and if oxygen is one of them—neither of which is at all certain. It enters into the air we breathe; it forms eight-ninths, by weight, of all the water on the face of the globe, or that floats as vapor above it; it forms, no one can tell, what proportion of the globe itself, and it combines with every known substance, one only excepted. Its discovery, it is scarcely too much to say, upset the whole fabric of physical science; it completely revolutionized chemistry, the most venerable of all the physical sciences excepting astronomy; it did the same thing to mineralogy; it totally changed, or rather re-created the theories of combustion, respiration, nutrition, of the growth of plants and animals, of the metamorphosis of tissues, and of every thing that belongs to physiology. Now what has happened may happen again. Scientists now strongly suspect that oxygen is a compound and not an elementary substance, and that there is a good deal still to be learned about it. And, what has been said about oxygen and chemistry, might be said with equal truth about other established (?) facts and theories of the physical (so-called) sciences. Some day—no one knows how soon—they may all be upset by some unlooked for discovery; and the accepted doctrines of "protoplasms" and "continuous development," may be discarded with as little ceremony, as have those of "monads" and "germ-cells."

As we have already said, it is impossible to arrive at certainty by the inductive method. Yet physicists seriously propose by this method of argumentation to thrust God out of His own created cosmos; to sweep away all the convictions of men in regard to His personality and His glorious attributes; to deprive man of what gives all its real value to life, the consciousness of immortality; to resolve his intellect and will into the action of molecular particles of matter, and to make of man himself a mere clod of earth. The attempt is as unscientific, as it is impious.

We have no controversy with the inductive method, when it confines itself to the investigation of physical facts; but, when it attempts to obtrude itself into the sphere of philosophy and theol-

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ogy, and to thrust its inductions, its theoretical inverted frustra of pyramids, always wider at the top than at the base, into the places occupied by truths, determined long ages ago by philosophy, or made known by divine revelation, we treat it as an intruder. Certain modern scientists, or sciolists, complain of this as presumption; but the presumption is all on their own side.

There is not, cannot be, any real antagonism between the final results of physical science and the defined dogmas of revealed religion; but the meaning of divine revelation as regards the origin of matter and of man is substantially determined, whilst the utterances of the physical sciences have not yet, by any means, been fully and clearly interpreted. Investigators of the material universe have not even found the keys—much less learned how to use them—to unlock the closed doors, which now prevent entrance into many of Nature's apartments; and they are utterly ignorant of what treasures of knowledge may there be stored up. When they shall have observed and studied *all* of Nature's facts, and shall have come to an agreement among themselves, both as to the facts and their relations, it will be time enough for them to invade the sphere of the spiritual and supernatural, and to begin to dogmatize about religion. And when they do this, they must change their method of thought, and adopt that of pure science, i. e., philosophy. And then, too, they will find that there are mysteries which even the profoundest philosophy cannot resolve, and which will ever remain inscrutable, except so far as divine revelation enables man to apprehend them.

The fact is, modern physicists totally misconceive the real nature of their functions, as investigators of material facts and phenomena. They seem to imagine that it belongs to them, by experiments in their laboratories and dissecting rooms, to work out questions of metaphysics and pure philosophy; and, going still higher, of religion. Just the opposite is the truth. Their mission as physicists is simply to gather and collate facts, which, when handed over to philosophers, become the raw materials which *they* must work up and determine the relations of, and their philosophical significance. Nor can even philosophers accomplish their work, unless they first obtain the key to the problems, with which they have to deal, from divine revelation. The natural world is mute and dumb, or, if heard speaking at all, its words are riddles, except when the existence of God, as the personal, absolute, self-existent, first cause and last end of all things, is taken as the key to understanding these, otherwise, incomprehensible utterances. That done, Nature has no longer a sphynx-like character, but becomes vocal with intelligible and harmonious praises of the wisdom and might and beneficence of the Creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is in them.

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Modern scientists, not unfrequently, unconsciously testify to this. We find such unconscious, unintended testimony cropping out in Prof. Tyndall's writings. Speaking of "states of consciousness," he describes them as "mere symbols of an outside entity, which produces them and determines their order of succession, but the *real nature of which we can never know.*" He then makes the following acknowledgment:

"In fact the whole process of evolution is the manifestation of a power absolutely inscrutable to the intellect of man. As little in our day as in the days of Job, can man by searching find this power out. Considered fundamentally, it is by the operation of an *insoluble mystery* that life is evolved, species differentiated, and mind unfolded from their preponent elements in the immeasurable past."

Again, speaking of his own conception of a "cosmical life," etc., he says:

"All we see around us, and all we feel within us, the phenomena of physical nature as well as those of the human mind, have their *unsearchable* roots in a cosmical life, if I dare apply the term, *an infinitesimal span of which only is offered to the investigation of man.* And even this span *is only knowable in part.* We can trace the development of a nervous system, and correlate with it the parallel phenomena of sensation and thought. We see with undoubting certainty that they go hand in hand. But we try to soar in a vacuum the moment *we seek to comprehend the connection between them. An Archimedean fulcrum is here required, which the human mind can not command, and the effort to solve the problem, to borrow an illustration from an illustrious friend of mine, is like the effort of a man trying to lift himself by his own waistband.*" * * *

Referring still to the connection between nervous action and the "parallel phenomena of sensation and thought," he affirms:

"*There is no fusion possible between these two classes of facts—no motor energy in the intellect of man to carry it without logical rupture from the one to the other.*"

These utterances taken by themselves, and without regard to the general animus of the majority of modern physicists with whom Prof. Tyndall is in avowed sympathy, might well be construed into an acknowledgement of the imperfections and limitations of the methods employed by physical scientists. Prof. Tyndall makes his admissions in no such spirit. In the face of his own acknowledgment, that the field of physical investigation is hemmed in by metes and bounds, over which the human intellect unaided cannot leap, he yet tells us:

"I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in.....Matter.....the promise and potency of every form and quality of life;".....the human understanding.....is itself a result of the play between organism and environment through cosmic ranges of time;"....."so too is the feeling of awe, reverence, wonder—and not alone sexual love .....but the love of the beautiful, physical, and moral, in nature, poetry and art;" and "also *that deep-set feeling which, since the earliest dawn of history, and probably for ages prior to all history, incorporated itself in the religions of the world.*"

Can anything be more astounding than this declaration of Prof. Tyndall, in the face of his own previous acknowledgments of the impossibility of arriving at any certain conclusions on these sub-

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jects, by the processes of physical investigation, and his still further confession that the mysteries they involve are irresolvable by the human intellect?

This brings us to another point to which we direct attention. We refer to the assumption, which runs through Prof. Tyndall's whole address, (and in this he is a fair type and example of most modern scientists,) that because there *are* problems in the life of man, and the existence and action of matter, and of mind, irresolvable by the human understanding from the stand-point of the merely natural, there is, therefore, no higher stand-point from which, and no higher faculty impartible to man by which these problems can be comprehended. In other words, Prof. Tyndall ignores not only the existence of the supernatural, but all possibility of its existence. In like manner, he ignores the possibility of man by faith comprehending, what is incomprehensible by his natural understanding. But, in this, Prof. Tyndall proves himself an illogical reasoner. For, to use his own simile, the fact, that a man cannot lift himself by his waistband, does not prove that another cannot lift him; and so the fact, that man, in the exercise of his natural understanding, is not able to resolve the problems referred to, does not prove that he cannot comprehend them, when divinely aided and taught.

It might be reasonably supposed that in this theory there was no room for religion. Prof. Tyndall, however, makes room for it, and finds an "immovable basis" for it "in the religious sentiment, in the emotional part of man." Nor should it, he generously declares, be "derided by scientists" who have "escaped" from it "into the high and dry light of the understanding." "To yield this sentiment reasonable satisfaction, is the problem of problems at the present hour."

All this sounds to us like sarcasm, though we know that Prof. Tyndall does not intend it to be so construed. Yet, how he can talk seriously about an "immovable basis of the religious sentiment," when he makes that "sentiment" to be nothing more, than "a result of the play between organism and environment," is more than we are able to comprehend. In this he shuts out the very possibility of God being the object and final end of "religious sentiment," and makes that "sentiment" a purposeless, objectless feeling, a mere delusion, a phantom more unreal than the lakes and mountains and palaces, which fancy shapes out of the clouds painted by the setting sun. To this "sentiment" "reasonable satisfaction" should be "rendered." But this is nothing more than might be said respecting the physical feeling of hunger, or the sentiment of human friendship; both of which have definite objects, while religion has none, that we can discover. Nor has religion a

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right to determine for itself what this "reasonable satisfaction" should be. That is a problem whose solution belongs to those who stand entirely outside of "all religions," and above them; who, to repeat Prof. Tyndall's words, "have *escaped* from them into the high and dry light of the understanding." Here is a still further utterance on the same subject:

"Grotesque in relation to scientific culture, as many of the religions of the world have been, and are—dangerous, nay destructive, to the dearest privileges of freemen, as some of them undoubtedly have been, and would, if they could be again—it will be wise to recognize them as the forms of a force, mischievous, if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge, over which it holds no sway, but capable of being guided by liberal thought to noble issues in the region of emotion, which is its proper sphere."

Mr. Tyndall has felt greatly hurt by what he considers unfair inferences in regard to his posture towards Christianity. He has been called an "Atheist," and he protests that he is not. We do not regard him as an Atheist, using the word to designate one who positively denies the existence of God. Mr. Tyndall neither denies nor affirms it. He simply ignores it. To use St. Paul's language, he does not like to have God in his knowledge. What his ideas are of religion, and of the sphere it may occupy, have already, to some extent, been made apparent, we think, by the quotations already given from his Belfast address. The following however is apropos, and will perhaps help to a still clearer understanding, it not of his ideas, at least of their vagueness and contrariety.

"I would set forth equally the inexorable advance of man's understanding, and the unquenchable claims of his emotional nature, which the understanding can never satisfy. The world embraces not only a Newton, but a Shakespeare—not only a Boyle, but a Raphael—not only a Kant, but a Beethooven—not only a Darwin, but a Carlyle. Not in each of these, but in all is human nature whole. They are not opposed, but supplementary; not mutually exclusive, but reconcilable. And if, still, the unsatisfied human mind, with the yearning of a pilgrim for his distant home, will turn to the mystery from which it has emerged, seeking so to fashion it, as to give unity to thought and faith, so long as this is done not only without intolerance or bigotry of any kind, but with the enlightened conviction that fixity of conception is unattainable, and that each succeeding age must be held free to fashion the mystery in accordance with its own needs—then, in opposition to all the restrictions of materialism, I would affirm this to be a field for the noblest exercise of what, in contrast with the knowing faculties, may be called the creative faculties of man."

Here, under a rhetorical show of liberality towards religion, everything is really taken away from it. The "knowing faculties" have nothing to do with it! "Fixity of conception is unattainable!" We acknowledge ourselves utterly unable, too, to understand how that which has no intellectual basis, and lies entirely outside of the "knowing faculties" of man, can, by any stretch of generosity, be regarded as a field for the noblest exercise of even our lowest faculties, much less of our "creative faculties."

We pass, with a bare mention, Prof. Tyndall's selection of representatives of religion—Raphael, Shakespeare, Beethoven and *Carlyle*.

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We are surprised that he did not finish his inverted climax with Voltaire and Tom Paine. We pass this by, however, and direct attention to another point.

The "creations" of Raphael and Shakespeare live only because of the objective truth, which they embody and express. It is that, and that only, which gives them their force and beauty, their power to command admiration,—their immortality. Without that, they would have passed long ago from the thoughts and memory of men; without that, indeed, they could not have been produced. So, too, it is with Carlyle's "heroes," and his travesties of history. Underneath all their wild and wicked imaginings there is a certain amount of truth, which constitutes the basis on which they rest, and gives them whatever of strength and vitality they have.

But religion, according to Prof. Tyndall, has nothing whatever to rest upon. For the "immovable basis," which he assigns to it, is a sentiment without an object or an end—a mere phantom. The "religious sentiment," then, instead of being one which should have "reasonable satisfaction," should be sternly repressed, stamped out of existence, as a something, which in some unaccountable way has become a part of man's nature, but which perpetually interferes with the free activity of his "knowing faculties," and continually deludes him into holding as realities, what are most unreal illusions.

Analyzing Prof. Tyndall's rhetorical references to religion, as closely as such vague generalities can be, we make the following deductions:

1. Religion is purely a creation of the human imagination.
2. Religion has no objective basis of truth.
3 "Fixity" and certainty of religious belief are unattainable.
4. There are no supernatural truths cognizable by man.
5. Those who discard religion, or in other words, "escape" from it "into the high and dry light of the understanding," are the true philosophers.

It is not at all our purpose to attempt a refutation of the address of Profs. Tyndall and Huxley; but simply to bring out, as plainly as we can, their real posture towards Christianity. There is need that this be done; for, of late, quite an effort has been made to create the impression, that, as regards this, these gentlemen have been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented. We shall have occasion to refer again to Prof. Tyndall; we now turn to Prof. Huxley. His position can be very easily determined from his address at Belfast. He announces:

1. "That we have really no knowledge of external things, and that the only thing which is certain is, that they cannot be like what we imagine them to be; that the only certain knowledge we have of that efficient cause is, that it is in no sense like the picture we present to our consciousness."

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2. That "as regards animals, the only view which can be scientifically adopted" is that, "although they are sensitive, and although they are conscious, yet they do act mechanically, and their different states of consciousness, their sensations, their thoughts (if they have any), their volitions (if they have them), are the products and consequences of their mechanical arrangements."

3. "Undoubtedly, I do hold that the view I have taken of the relations between the physical and mental faculties of brutes applies in its fullness and entirety to man; and if it was true that the logical consequences of that belief must land me in all these terrible things (Fatalism, Materialism, Atheism), I should not hesitate in allowing myself so to be landed. I should conceive that if I refused, I should have done the greatest and most abominable violence to everything, which is deepest in my moral nature."

Thus positively and dogmatically Prof. Huxley states his theory and backs it up by the assertion, that it is the only one, which can be scientifically adopted; and yet, in a previous part of his address, he says—referring to consciousness, its origin and its relation to the physical structure of animals and men—"I am afraid that the matter is wholly incapable of demonstrative proof."

The logical consequences, which Prof. Huxley lightly brushes aside, are obvious. They do involve Fatalism and Atheism. They imply, if not a positive denial of God's existence, at least a denial, that any evidences of His existence are to be found in the natural world. They brush entirely away all ideas of a Divine Providence, all-wise, all-powerful, free to will, and to act, in the world which He has created, preserves and rules over. They involve a denial of all certainty of knowledge of external things, and they sweep away entirely the belief of the Christian world in regard to the origin of matter, and of mind, and of evil; they deny in fact the existence of evil, and of moral responsibility. They go further still. They rule out of existence, except as mere delusions, not only all religious truths and theological dogmas, but also the whole system of criminal jurisprudence; and would—if they could be reduced to a practical shape—uproot, from its lowest foundations, the entire structure of society. A prisoner, brought before a criminal court, might consistently plead that he did commit the act charged against him, but that it was simply an act of unconscious cerebration. A murderer might plead that the fatal blow was only the muscular motion of his arm produced by involuntary nervous action. Prof. Huxley's declaration, that he would do "the greatest and most abominable violence" to his "moral nature," if he "refused," from regard for their "logical consequences," to hold the views he enounced, seems to us senseless. For, conceding the possibility of the existence of such a thing as a moral nature in man, it is impossible to conceive what claim or authority it can have, or how violence can be done to it, if man's thoughts and volitions are nothing more than the products and consequences of the mechanical arrangements of the particles of matter, which enter into his body or his brains.

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We turn now to Prof. Tyndall's latest publication, "Martineau and Materialism." It is the preface to the forthcoming edition of "Fragments of Science," and is designed to be a refutation of the charge brought against him of irreligion and materialism, and also a counter indictment, for narrow-mindedness and bigotry, of all who maintain the claims of divine revelation upon human credence.

The first thing, that strikes a reader of this beautifully written but sophistical production, is the tone of lofty contempt for all who dare to attach the slightest importance to the statements of Sacred Scripture. "The Mosaic picture of the genetic order of things has been not only altered but inverted by scientific research." "Notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which the picture has been reduced, it is exhibited fresh every week to millions taught to believe it as divine." These are not Prof. Tyndall's words, but he quotes them with full approval. With this is coupled an encomium upon the infidel Anglican "Bishop of Natal," who, "for openly avowing doubts, which, it is said, others discreetly entertain, suffered persecution" for "his public fidelity to scientific truth." Nor is there wanting a seasonable word of advice to sensible Christians, and of rebuke to "ultramontane" Catholics.

"The liberal and enlightened portion of Christendom must, I take it, differentiate itself more and more, in word and act, from the fanatical, foolish and more sacerdotal portion. Enlightened Roman Catholics are more specially bound to take action here; for the travesty of heaven and earth is grosser, and the attempt to impose it on the world is more serious, in their community than elsewhere.....Their spiritual guides live so exclusively in the pre-scientific past, that even the really strong intellects among them are reduced to atrophy as regards scientific truth. Eyes they have, and see not; ears they have, and hear not; for both eyes and ears are taken possession of by the sights and sounds of another age. In relation to science, the ultramontane brain, through lack of exercise, is virtually the undeveloped brain of the child. And thus it is, that as children in scientific knowledge, but potent wielders of spiritual power among the ignorant, they bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of the more intelligent among themselves."

Along with this is an utterance in regard to education, by which those Catholics may profit, who delude themselves with the notion that their children may safely receive from skeptics or non-Catholics instruction in the physical sciences.

"Such is the force of early education, when maintained and perpetuated by the habits of subsequent life; such the ground of peril in allowing the schools of a nation to fall into ultramontane hands. Let any able Catholic student, fairly educated, and not yet cramped by sacerdotalism, get a real scientific grasp of the magnitude and organization of this universe;.....let him bring the thoughts and conceptions which thus enter his mind face to face with the notions of the genesis and rule of things which pervade the writings of the princes of his Church, and he will see and feel what drivelers even men of strenuous intellect may become, through exclusively dwelling and dealing with theological chimeras."

Prof. Tyndall reiterates his declaration that he does not utterly repudiate religion; but his idea of religion is a mere vague feeling of wonder and awe in the presence of impenetrable mysteries, not

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a whit more rational, than the feelings of a savage on first seeing a locomotive.

"Breaking contact with the hampering details of earth, this feeling associates man with a power, which gives fullness and tone to his existence, but which he can neither analyze nor comprehend;"....." but when I attempt to give the power which I see manifested in the universe an objective form, personal or otherwise, it slips away from me, declining all intelligent manipulation. I dare not, save poetically, use the pronoun 'he' regarding it; I dare not call it a 'mind;' I refuse to call it even a 'cause.' Its mystery overshadows me; but it remains a mystery, while the objective frames which my neighbors try to make it fit, simply distort and desecrate it."

This "mystery" he reiterates is entirely unknowable; it exists, but it is inscrutable; it stands entirely outside the sphere of human thought; it has no medium or means of revealing itself to the human intellect, no attributes, no reason or purpose, no end; respecting it man cannot "profess to *know*" anything; all he can claim is "I *feel*."

It is unnecessary to point out the fallacy of these utterances. Because no microscope or telescope can make this power visible, because no scalpel can dissect it, nor any inductions of physical science demonstrate it, Prof. Tyndall rules it out of the sphere of thought, and concludes that it cannot be known. The conclusion does not follow from the premises; it is a pure assumption, which logic does not require the Christian to disprove. The burden of proof rests upon Prof. Tyndall; the responsibility of which, however, he does not make the slightest attempt to meet. He contents himself with saying that he knows nothing about it. He declares that he is not a materialist; but the reason he gives is one which has no force. "Were not man's origin implicated," he says, "we should accept without a murmur the derivation of animal and vegetable life from what we call inorganic nature. The conclusion of pure intellect points this way."

Professor Tyndall is not a materialist in the popular, ordinary acceptation of the word; not because he allows room in his theory for the action of the divine will, but because his conception of matter differs from that which commonly prevails. Tracing the growth of a human being in the womb from the ovum to the babe "appearing in due time a living miracle with all its organs and all their implications," he holds, that all that the human being is and can become—its mind and will, its thoughts and volitions—"comes from an egg" which he "holds to be matter," and only matter, "as much as the seed of a fern or of an oak;" and he recognizes no power outside the matter of the fern seed, and the acorn, and the egg, and antecedent to them, in virtue of which they become respectively the fern, the oak, and the self-conscious, intelligent human being. "Matter," he says, "I define as that mysterious thing by which all this is accomplished. At the question "how did matter come to

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have this power?" he abruptly stops, with the declaration, "on this I never ventured an opinion."

But just here is one of the evasions, of which modern physicists are constantly guilty. They have no right thus to stop short. When they deny, or ignore, the existence of God and His creative will, and undertake to explain the existence and action of matter, of the mind and the will; when they scout and scorn the statements of divine revelation; when they deny the very possibility of a divine revelation having been made, and scoff at the men, who believe in it, as "drivellers," they cannot dismiss the question with the reply: "On that we never ventured an opinion." It meets them as a challenge which they cannot evade, except at the alternative of being classed with braggarts, who scoff at their antagonists at a distance, but fly from the field of battle, when the issue is made up and the onset sounded. If God is not the Creator of matter, however you define it, the Author and Bestower of all its potencies and powers, the First Cause of all its motions and operations, of every form it assumes throughout the universe, how comes matter to exist at all, and how comes it to have any "powers or potencies?" Until physical scientists are prepared to answer these questions, they are bound to confine themselves simply to the facts, to which their empirical processes are applicable, and to leave untouched, as outside their field of investigation, the questions of origin and creation, of human consciousness, and of human responsibility, which they boast they will "wrest" from theology. Their confessions that these questions are "inscrutable" by their processes, and "unthinkable" according to their manner of thought, only prove that they have forgotten the maxim: "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

As enforcing and still farther illustrating what we have said, we here quote from a letter of Parke Godwin's, in reply to an adverse criticism of his views by Mr. Yeomans, editor of the Popular Science Monthly:

There are "two capital distinctions which it is always important to keep in view, when estimating the scientific validity of a doctrine. The first is that many questions determinable by science are not yet determined by it; and until they are so determined, are to be regarded only as conjectural opinions, more or less pertinent or impertinent..... They are suppositions to which the mind resorts to help it in the reduction of certain appearances of Nature to a general law; and, as such, they may be simple, ingenious, and even beautiful; but thus far they are no more than suppositions not proved, and therefore not entitled to the authority of scientific truth.

"You are probably too familiar with the history of scientific effort—which, like the history of many other kinds of intellectual effort, is a history of human error—not to know, that while hypothesis is an indispensable part of good method, it is also the part most liable to error. The records of astronomical, of geological, of physical, of chemical, and of biological research, are strewn with the *debris* of abandoned systems, all of which once had their vogue, but none of which now survive, and many of which are hardly remembered. Recall, for a moment, the Ptolemaic cycles and epicycles; recall Kepler's nineteen different hypotheses, invented and discarded before he

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found the true orbital motion of Mars; recall in geology Werner and Hutton, and the Plutonians and the Neptunians, superseded by the Uniformitarians and the Catastrophists, and now giving way to the Evolutionists; recall in physics the many imponderable fluids, including Lamarck's resonant fluid, that were held as real as the rocks only a few years ago; recall in chemistry, not to mention the alchemists and phlogiston, a dozen different modes of accounting for molecular action; recall in biology the animists and the vitalists, the devotees of plastic forces, of archei, of organizing ideas, and of central monads, all of them now deemed purely gratuitous assumptions, that explained nothing, though put forth as science.

....." Indeed, nothing is more easy than to make theories; but the difficulty is to get them adopted into Nature as the satisfactory reason of her processes. But, until they are so adopted, they are nothing more than the scaffolding of science—by no means the completed structure. Now, have the Darwinian and the Spencerian hypotheses been so adopted? Can we say that any questions on which such cautious observers and life-long students as Darwin, Owen, Huxley, Wallace and Agassiz still debate, are settled questions?..... With what propriety then can a merely provisional conclusion be erected into an assured standpoint, whence to assail traditionary beliefs as if they were old wives' fables?

" More than that, a theory may be far more advanced than any of those; may be able to account satisfactorily for all the phenomena within its reach, as the Ptolemaic theory of the sidereal appearances did, even to the prediction of eclipses, or as the emanation theory of Dr. Young, and yet turn out altogether baseless. Nature is a prodigious quantity and a prodigious force; with all her outward uniformities, she is often more cunning than the Sphynx; and, like Emerson's Brahma, she may declare to her students:

'They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass and turn again.'

"We have looked into her face a little, measured some of her ellipses and angles, weighed her gases and dusts, and unveiled certain forces far and near—all of which are glorious things to have done, and some of them seemingly miraculous: but we are still only in her outer courts. Humboldt's 'Cosmos,' written thirty years ago, is said to be already an antiquated book; and Compte, who died but lately.....could hardly pass a college examination in the sciences he was supposed to have classified forever. Let us not be too confident, then, that our little systems of natural law will not, like other systems of thought spoken of by Tennyson, 'have their day.'

" The other distinction I had in my mind .....was that, while there are some problems accessible to scientific methods, there are others that are not; and that any proffered scientific solution of the latter, either negative or affirmative, is most likely an imposition. What I meant was that science, according to its own confessions, that is, according to the teachings of its most accredited organs, pretends to no other function than to the ascertainment of the actual phenomena of Nature, and of their constant relations. The sphere of the finite and the relative, i. e., of existence, not of essence, and of existence in its mutual and manifested dependencies in time and space, circumscribes and exhausts its jurisdiction..... .Does science assert for itself higher and broader pretensions? Does it propose to penetrate the supernatural or metaphysical realms?.....Does it intend to apply its instruments to the measurement of the infinite, and its crucibles to the decomposition of the absolute?

"You, as a man of excellent sense, will promptly answer, No! But then, I ask, is thought, whose expatiations are so restless and irrepressible, to be forever shut up to the phenomenal and relative? Is it to be forever stifled under a bushel measure, or tied by the legs with a surveyor's chain?..... In other words, I contend—and here I hit upon the prime fallacy of many *soi disant* scientists—that science has no right to erect *what it does contain into a negation of everything which it does not contain.* Still less has it a right to decide questions out of its confessed province, because it cannot reach them by its peculiar methods, or subject them to its peculiar tests."

It is not necessary, therefore, for the Christian philosopher to

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follow skeptical physicists, step by step, in their investigation, and point out, one by one, the mistakes in their experiments. From the standpoint of physical science and by the inductive method, it is as wild for them to undertake to comprehend the supernatural and the infinite, as it was for the Titans of heathen mythology to attempt to climb into Heaven by piling Pelion upon Ossa. No chain which physicists can forge, nor sounding line which they can twist, will suffice to measure the heights or fathom the depths of Infinitude. Moreover, when they pass beyond the field of investigation of the phenomena of nature, and turn their thoughts to their first origin and cause, they must perforce leave behind them their scalpels and microscopes, their chemical reagents, and weights, and measures, and, with them, their inductive method; and they must build their ratiocinations upon premises, which presuppose and necessitate assent to what most of them deny.

They can no more escape from this, than the mathematician can escape from the axioms of mathematics. For the relative and the finite require the absolute and the infinite as a necessity for their own existence.

Thus nature, vast and powerful as she is, declares her own limitation and dependence, and consequently the existence of a Divine Creator. Nor does nature's own harmony allow a doubt, but that, when her utterances are more truthfully interpreted in detail, they will all be found entirely to accord with this general testimony. No fact of the material world, when its limitations and relations come to be fully understood, will fail to fit into its proper place in the Cosmos of the Universe; nor will its voice be at all discordant in the grand anthem of praise, which goes up unceasingly from the heavens and the earth, in honor of Him who created them.

Yet, though this is so, it is the duty of Christian controversialists to enter the provinces over which skeptical scientists usurp dominion, to point out their mistakes, and thus re-conquer, for truth and for God, the territories in which these scientists claim supremacy.

In this work Father Thebaud has engaged, in the book the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. It evinces extensive and laborious research and close thought; and is a valuable addition to modern Christian apologetic literature. It is fully up with the times.

The latest results of archæological, ethnological, philological and historical study are carefully analyzed and digested, and made to pour a flood of light upon the actual condition of man in the earliest times, as regards civilization and religion. The treatment of the subject, throughout, is vigorous and scholarly; adverse theories and objections are candidly and fairly stated and confuted; authorities are numerously cited. The work is philosophical, rather than polem-

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ical, and will be read, with profit and pleasure, alike by those who wish to acquaint themselves with the subject merely as a matter of archæological interest, and by Catholics and Protestants who desire to study it in its relation to Christianity.

It was our purpose, at the outset, to give a very full synopsis of the book; but this is not possible in the space yet left us. The most that we shall attempt to do is to state some few points in the first part of the argument. The work is mainly devoted to the proof and elucidation of two propositions, either of which, when established, entirely upsets the Darwinian and Spencerian theories of the origin of man. These propositions are:

First, that man was not evolved from a lower form of existence into that of humanity.

Second, that man's original condition was not that of a brutal savage, from which, by a long process of self-evolution and without divine assistance, he has been developed into what he now is; but that his original condition was that of an intellectual, civilized being.

The first of these propositions Father Thebaud touches upon only incidentally, and only in the introductory chapter of his work, devoting himself in the body of it to the proof and elucidation of the second proposition. The establishment of this, however, compels the admission of the other. For if man's condition at the earliest period of which we have any evidence of his existence, was not that of a savage, but one high up in the scale of knowledge and intellectual power, morality and religion, from which he subsequently descended rather than ascended, the fact shows a fatal gap in the chain of inferences on which the evolution theory depends. For one of the links of this chain—and one without which continuity is impossible—is that man started *as* MAN in the lowest condition of savage life, but one remove from the brute. That assumption disproved, the whole theory falls to the ground.

Father Thebaud discusses his subject not from a biological, but from a historical stand-point. His reasons for this, and also the general plan of his book, are well set forth in the preface. He says:

....."The historical treatment of the subject ought not to be discarded. It ought, on the contrary, to be more insisted on than ever; for human history cannot contradict natural science, and what it obliges us to accept, has to be accepted. It is true the gentlemen who give to man a really fabulous antiquity, altogether unacceptable to Christians, imagine they can place themselves in a position of safety with respect to the direct testimony of history, by the assertion, that man could have no annals nor monuments, when he was yet unconscious. For, in their opinion, the natural passage of man from the original "protoplasm" to the state of a well-developed "ape" must have required millions of years of complete unconsciousness; and how many ages more must have been necessary for a "Simian anthropoid" to acquire the art of sharpening flint into an arrow, and a stick of hard wood into a club, not to mention the farther, greater progress, supposed by the invention of a covering of

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leaves for their nudity? During all this time, of course, the ancestors of man were unconscious. And, finally, the commencement of records, rude at first and of the simplest kind—first proof of real consciousness—supposes another long series of years.....

"This, of course, supposes that the whole system of evolution has been proved without fear of contradiction. This will scarcely be maintained by even the most fervent 'scientists.' And, what is more, we will venture to assert that such a demonstration never will be forthcoming. But we will not insist on this. Our purport is very different—we say: We assert, that if things had taken place as the evolutionists assure us they have, the first records of mankind would be those of rude people just emerging from barbarism. In point of art and culture, in point of ideas and language, chiefly in point of religion, we should find in their social state the most rude elements of a "childish" and "growing" soul; we should be able to trace the steps by which, from the first notions of a coarse religious system, they would have arrived at the point of *inventing God and all His attributes.* This would have been, in the sense of evolutionists a mere subjective theory, perfectly independent of any objective Divine Essence, and having nothing in common with the certain belief that the reason of man can know God, and demonstrate to man His existence. They assert it has been so, and that historical man began everywhere by being a barbarian. Here we join issue with them, and one of the great purports of this volume will be to establish solidly the fact, that man appeared first in a state of civilization, possessed of noble ideas as to his own origin, the Creator, One Supreme God, ruling the universe; etc. We intend to prove historically that he invented none of the great religious and moral truths by the process mentioned above; but that these came to him from heaven. We will endeavor to show the first men everywhere monotheists, generally pure in their morals, dignified in their bearing, and cultivated in their intellect. Should this be well and firmly established, the whole monstrous system of man's evolution falls to the ground. Still more will this be the case if it be proved, besides, that the supposed "continuous progress," which is the mainstay of their theory, is a dream, a non-entity, that, on the contrary, man only progressed in the wrong direction, going from monotheism to pantheism, from this to idolatry, and from this to "individualism" in religion; that this seems to be the law which has governed mankind until the Redeemer came to bring back man to truth, and to found at last a true and strict religious society, not confined to one nation like Judaism, but universal.

"Progress is a fine and catching word, but its greatest admirers are themselves bound to confess that, historically, it has been distinguished by many an overthrow; the edifice in process of construction has often crumbled into ruins, and the savage Goth has spurned with his foot the graciously-moulded Grecian statue, the last and perfect expression of art. No sensible man can admit a continuous progress in history. Yet it is of the nature of evolution to be 'continuous,' since history cannot contradict natural science. If evolution is once interrupted it ceases entirely to be, and must start afresh. But we intend to go much farther than this, and to prove our previous assertion: that nations, after having reached a certain point, always 'progress backward,' and lose gradually the steps in advance they had made. This at least seems to be the historical law for the times anterior to Christianity."

Father Thebaud's idea of the relation of revelation to physical science may be gathered from the following:

...."We assert that the revealed word of God was not certainly given to teach us science; but not a single phrase of it, rightly understood, can be opposed to true science, and that there is much in it which has anticipated science..... Whatever may have been the individual thoughts of the true prophets of God, whatever else they may have personally attached to the words they uttered, the words themselves had a deep meaning, intended surely by the Divine Revealer to illumine the future discoverers of his laws, and to show them that whatever they might discover He had created."

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The discussion of the references in Genesis, in Job, and in the Psalms to the origin of the universe, the creation of light, the formation and condensation of vapor, etc., and to metereological processes, evinces extensive knowledge and study of natural phenomena, as well as of sacred scripture, on the part of Father Thebaud, and is expressed in language of great beauty and force. The conclusion arrived at is, that "the more science advances, the more the accuracy, even of expression, of these scientific hintings of Holy Scripture, shows that, often at least, the words themselves could not have come but from the lips of God." We commend a careful reading of this part of Father Thebaud's book to those who, like Prof. Proctor, think that the account of creation in Genesis is simply allegorical, written to suit the ideas of men who were in a "puerile" state of mind.

The discussion of the configuration of the earth, designed for one race of men, existing in numerous nationalities, but preserving a unity of sentiments, ideas and of religion, we must pass by, and also the discussion of the process of the disintegration and dispersion of mankind. On this latter point much light has been thrown, through discoveries recently made by the excavation of ancient ruins in Persia, and by the progress of ethnology and comparative philology. The results of these, Father Thebaud has condensed with great skill and clearness of method. The conclusions which he reaches at the close of his introductory chapter, and which the body of his work is designed to prove, he states as follows:

"The end, therefore, God had in view in prescribing to the earth its configuration, and in giving to mankind one progenitor, first in Adam, and then in Noah, was kept in abeyance; and instead of unity, division came to be the great feature of the globe itself and of the human family. The ocean.....intended.....for a universal element of intercommunication, became an impassable abyss over which men cast their shuddering eyes, when they looked out upon its shores. The rivers, and the mountains from which they gushed forth, instead of being highways and public roads, were turned into barriers of division, behind which the timorous and hostile tribes looked askance at each other, and thought only of overreaching their neighbors changed into enemies. That "articulate speech," so celebrated in Homer as the great characteristic of God-like man, and by which he is raised so high above the lower animals, the mind's medium of exchange, the instrument of sweet intercourse, the great bond of unity, whilst remaining in itself one, was split into thousands of idioms, every one unintelligible to those who spoke any one of the rest; and thus reduced every insignificant tribe to the sad condition of looking on all mankind out of their own small community as if it was really deprived of speech, and composed of deaf and dumb animals. Religion, finally, the worship of a common Creator, deprived of authoritative teaching and of a central light, became the greatest source of division, and would of itself have made of earth a real hell, inflamed incessantly by the burning fire of fanatical hatred and war."

These statements Father Thebaud confirms in the body of his work by a complete, thorough digest of the results of archæological studies. The manners, customs, and political condition of the most ancient peoples of Greece, Egypt, India, and Central Asia,

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and their religious ideas and practices, are all brought under review, and submitted to the most searching analysis, the result of which fully substantiates the statements made above.

Before entering, however, upon this work, Father Thebaud clears the way for a successful treatment of his main subject, by discussing succinctly a previous question, namely, the supposed primitive barbarism of the human race.

For, as he pertinently says, when it is established that nothing has been really proved by the numerous geological and archæological discoveries, made lately in Western Europe, in opposition to the comparatively modern origin of our species, "then it will be clearly understood that history and tradition have not lost any of their real value, and that we can listen to their voices without fear of being deceived by them."

Father Thebaud discards the consideration of the zoological question with regard to the origin of man; and wisely. For with the diversities and contrarieties of opinion among modern physicists, both as to the facts from which they argue, and the inferences fairly deducible from those facts, and their repeated admissions, that both the phenomena of physical nature and those of the human mind have their "unsearchable roots" in a cosmos of which only "an infinitesimal span is offered to the investigation" of man, and that this infinitesimal span is only "knowable in part," their speculations may be summarily dismissed as having no substantial basis. Besides, geological investigation furnishes negative proof against them.

"For," says Father Thebaud, "if man had really been evolved from the brute by an indefinitely long process of a succession of specific changes—the product of natural selection—geology would have proved it long ago." "The forms of a great number of extinct species are forever preserved in a fossil state. The specific characteristics of all these formerly organized and living beings are so precise that naturalists introduce them in their classifications." "But you search in vain among them for a single fossil, which shows that it was in an incipient stage with respect to any of its future organs. Not one of the innumerable organisms, which according to the Darwinian theory must have existed 'prior to their ultimately reaching the well-defined characters of species now known to us' has been found among the remains embalmed in the 'universal place of sepulchre for all former beings—the rocks and drift deposits of former ages.' And this is true, not only of the Darwinian 'ancestors' of man, but of all classes of animals, of whatever kind they may be supposed to have been."

The so-called "Stone-period" is one of the points most strenuously insisted upon by the supporters of the theory that man's first condition *as* MAN was that of a brutal savage. The following statement of the facts, most strongly relied upon in connection with this theory, is made by Father Thebaud:

"On both banks of nearly all the rivers of Western Europe, often at a distance from the shores, are seen ranges of hills, running parallel with the streams. If these topographical elevations are looked into closely, deposits of coarse gravel below, and sand above, generally are found, varying in depth, but descending mostly to a depth of

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from ten to twenty feet. These strata are always—sometimes as high as one hundred feet, often less—above the actual bed of the river. Over the whole a coating of argillaceous clay is spread. In many localities in England, France, and other European countries, two kinds of heterogeneous substances are found embedded in the gravel, the sand, or even the clay. First, pieces of flint—never anything else—worked, or rather clipped unartistically, in the rough shape of pointed cones, rounded clubs, or flattened spears, arrows, awls, &c., never to be inserted in handles of any kind; and secondly, often together with these, the undoubted remains of huge animals, some of them of extinct species, others of actually existing kinds, but living in countries farther north or south, together with extinct species of plants.

"These deposits are generally met with *on both sides of the rivers, mostly at a distance from them;* and it looks really as if the whole intermediate distance across, in the entire length of the stream, had been originally filled with the same deposits, which must have been swept away to the sea, or into caves often discovered in the neighborhood choke-full of the same objects. When this occurs near the mouth of rivers, the great distance between both ranges of hills, the depth looked down into from the tops of surrounding heights, strikes the beholder with awe, when he knows that such an enormous quantity of material has been swept away by the current and buried at the bottom of the ocean. It is useless to add that the insignificant bed of the actual stream adds to the effect produced on the imagination by the conception of the past. These few words, we think, have placed the difficulty before us in all its strength. We are now in possession of the leading facts. Our limits will not admit of our going into any minuter detail."

The most strenuous upholders of the "primitive barbarism" theory must admit the candor and fairness of this statement. Any explanation which shows, that the facts, it recites, are not inconsistent with the denial of the universal barbarism of mankind, when these stone implements were made and used, will be an equally satisfactory explanation of the "bone-caves" and "lacustrine" remains.

The answer of Father Thebaud is clear, and to our mind entirely conclusive. He analyzes, arranges and discusses the facts, with great ability and much candor; points out clearly their bearings and relations; cites the opinions of the most learned savans respecting them and their collateral facts; shows the absent links in the chain of inferences of the evolution theorists; directs attention to other facts, which are entirely left out of view by these theorists; and supports his own conclusions by arguments from admitted geological, metereological and archæological data. Those, who desire to read a discussion of this subject of a "stone-period," at once lucid, candid and in the interests of Christianity, will find it in Father Thebaud's book.

We will attempt a synopsis of the argument, or rather a statement of its main points. We shall freely employ the language of Father Thebaud, but will not do him the injustice of placing quotation marks to the detached sentences and clauses, which, for the sake of condensation, we interweave with our own:

1. The advocates of the "primitive barbarism' theory assume, without proof, that these newly-found depositis are universal, or, at least, co extensive with the deposits which mark well-determined geological eras. Formerly they made in geological treatises a part of what was correctly called the Drift. And this was in accordance with

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the facts. For no great portions of the globe are covered with this now celebrated coating of clay above an underlying of sand and gravel. It is found only along watercourses and is therefore a phenomenon of drift and nothing else. It comes evidently from floods, of the violence of which we now have scarcely any conception. Consequently the assumption that it must have required incalculable periods of time, to first form these deposits and then to excavate the intervening valleys, is entirelygratuitous and without foundation,

The term "drift," therefore, did not suit the "primitive barbarism" theorists. They accordingly invented a new geological era and a new name, terming these deposits the "Quaternary Deposit." The design of this is obvious. The well-known Primary, Secondary and Tertiary strata are nearly co-extensive with the earth itself; and the impression produced by this new term is that, contrary to the truth, the deposits referred to are equally extensive.

2. The remains of immense mammalia—elephants, bears and tigers, etc., the congeners of which in our days look like young cubs compared to those prototypes—astonished the beholder, and gave a stronger idea of the weakness, inferiority and rough life of "primitive-barbarian" man. But simple reason tells us that if the life of our first ancestors (all of them) had been such as is described, mankind would have disappeared long before the extinction of such fearful enemies.

3. The artistic difference between the rough palæolithic flints and the polished stones of the neolithic period exhibits a gap which tells but indifferently in favor of the believers in continuous progress Either there has been a strange severance of continuity, or the men of the first period were better artists, and not such rough barbarians, as the remains we possess of them seem to attest. The supporters of primitive barbarism acknowledge the existence of this gap, and express the hope that the intervening links necessary to fill it up, may yet be discovered. But perhaps the expected discoveries may bring to light the fact that these men, besides their flint instruments, had others proving a higher intellectual status than has been accorded to them. The upholders, therefore, of the primitive barbarism theory, are in the position of persons who have jumped at conclusions, which the facts as yet known are not sufficient to sustain.

These coarse tools found, do not give the measure of the intellect of that portion of the human race which existed at that time, and in that locality. Many things have been lost, which might have given us a different idea of their intellect. They must have been far superior in intelligence to all those monsters, and they must have had other tools and weapons than any which have been unearthed, to oppose successfully such huge and ferocious enemies. Otherwise they would have perished before these animals became extinct. But the Darwinians themselves maintain that they did not; for if this had happened, according to their theory, we could not have descended, as they contend we have, but of which they can furnish no proof, from these primitive savage men. Thus this hypothesis contradicts itself.

4. In fact, recent discoveries prove that these "primitive" men of Europe not only worked on stone, but also on bone and ivory. We have in their remains not only rude hatchets and adzes, but implements adapted to domestic uses and personal ornaments, and spirited sketches in intaglio, in which the animals then existing are drawn with wonderful precision. And these sketches, some of them highly artistic and beautiful, must have been made in the palæolithic age, not in the neolithic; because, in the latter age, those animals had disappeared. The man of that period, then, in Europe, would not, after all, have been as barbarous as he is commonly represented.

5. Quite recent discoveries in Egypt and adjoining countries prove that they are literally filled with stone implements of the so-called palæolithic and neolithic ages, but all evidently belonging to the true historic period; to all centuries, in fact, from the first Egyptian dynasties to the Ptolemies. They are invariably mixed up, too, with copper, bronze, and even, sometimes, iron implements.

6. There are to-day men to whom the use of iron and bronze instruments is unknown, and but a few centuries ago there were extensive regions exclusively inhab-

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ited by men in the lowest condition of savage life, while other regions were occupied by the refined peoples of Europe; and it is indisputable that these different conditions of mankind have existed from the earliest periods of which we have any historic knowledge. The assumption therefore is too violent, too contradictory to well ascertained facts, to merit acceptance, that because man was once in a state of barbarism in Europe, that that was then his condition everywhere, much less his primitive condition.

7. The type of the men whose remains have been found in the so-called quaternary deposit has been determined mainly by the labors of Dr. Pruner-Bey; and his conclusions have received the assent of many of the most eminent anatomists particularly of France. The study of the skeletons, that have been found, shows that the men of this "Stone period" were far superior to their pretended prototype, though much inferior to other races existing at the same time in other parts of the world. They belong plainly to that branch of the human family called Mongoloid by Dr. Pruner-Bey, Quatrefages and Max Müller (much more extensive than the former Mongolian race), called Allophyllon by Dr. Pritchard, Turanian by many other writers, and Hamitic by De Maistre, Lord Arundel, and others. Dr. Pruner-Bey (and many eminent savans have adopted his opinion,) thinks that in the skeletons in his possession he can recognize four principal races, which can be assimilated to four existing races at the present time, namely, the Lapps, the Finns, the Esthonians and the Esquimaux of Behring straits.

This is only a bare statement of some of the points in the argument. There are others, of minor weight of themselves, but important, as giving increased significance to those we have stated; which we are compelled to omit. In enforcing and illustrating these points, Father Thebaud makes copious use of the most recent discoveries and studies in paleontology and archæology, citing numerous authorities, and with great discrimination sifting and collating their statements and conclusions.

We had intended giving an exhibit of Father Thebaud's discussion of the facts brought to light by late archæological and philological investigations, which corroborate the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind at the erection of the tower of Babel; but we must omit it. Suffice it to say that he shows, by multitudinous proofs, beyond all possibility of contradiction, as it seems to us, that the statements of Scripture respecting the curse pronounced upon Ham in his descendants, and respecting the tower of Babel and the dispersion of the human race, must be accepted as genuine history. He traces the migrations of the Hamitic or Turanian or Mongoloid races; he shows that whilst the descendants of Shem and Japhet remained for a time in Central Asia, leading a simple but refined life, as is proved by the evidences of their civilization and their religion which have come down to us; that the Hamitic races were the first to migrate; that they rapidly degenerated into a savage condition; and that their descendants have remained generally stationary, or nearly so, until this day. These are not simply unsupported assertions. The sciences of philology, archæology, comparative anatomy, and ancient history, are all laid under contribution; and the results of the study of these subjects by the most eminent savans are freely and discriminatingly employed.

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We have only touched upon the topics comprised in the first third or fourth of the book, in what may be called the preliminary discussion. This, of itself, would make an invaluable treatise. It is remarkably free from the mere technicalities of science; and is so well arranged as regards topics, and written in such clear and simple style, that any person of intelligence interested in the subjects which it treats, will read it with pleasure and profit.

In the body of his work Father Thebaud investigates the civilization, the literature and the religions of Central Asia, India, China, Egypt, Greece and Italy. He shows that men, at first, were not barbarians, but highly civilized; that they at first existed in a tribal condition; that monarchies were established afterwards, and that even under those monarchies the tribal condition still, in a great measure, continued; that there still remain evidences of the refinement, simplicity of life, and purity of morals and religion of primeval man; that the first religion was pure monotheism, from which men fell into pantheism, then into the worship of different powers and forms of the natural world, and then into grosser forms of idolatry; and that, with this religious decline, there was a corresponding decline in morality, and also ultimately in civilization. We may mention, as chapters of special interest, those in which the ancient literature of India and Persia are discussed, and that also in which the literature and religion of "Pelasgic Greece" and Heroic Greece, and the fundamental religious ideas of the Greek philosophy and of the Grecian and Latin poets, are subjected to a searching analysis.

This part of Father Thebaud's work is worthy of a separate article. We trust that some one, abler and more conversant with the topics treated on, will discuss this portion of the book, at some future time.

Our main object, in criticising the addresses of Professors Tyndall and Huxley, and in cursorily reviewing the introductory chapters of Father Thebaud's "Gentilism," has not been to refute the former nor to attempt to enforce the views of the latter; but, rather to exhibit the striking difference between them in regard to the certainty, and the character of the conclusions arrived at. If a reader of the addresses at Belfast asks himself, "to what end do all this glittering rhetoric and specious argumentation tend?" the only consistent answer, he can give, is, "to no certainty whatever: I know nothing, and cannot know anything, about the questions discussed; they are 'irresolvable,' 'inscrutable,' 'unthinkable,' 'unknowable,' according to the declarations of Professors Tyndall and Huxley." But, if that reader will then turn to Father Thebaud, and will give his book a thoughtful and unprejudiced perusal, he will rise from it with clear, definite knowledge, and rational, well-

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grounded conclusions. Nature will be to him no fortuitious concourse of atoms, whose origin is "unknowable;" no mute and dumb sphynx, but a real COSMOS, vocal with intelligible and accordant utterances. Even where their meaning may not be fully understood, they will be felt and known by him, who has the gift of faith, to be in perfect consistency with what has been already definitely determined. Man will not then be degraded to the plane of inorganic matter, but will appear, as he is, a being glorious in his endowments, destined to immortality, the head and crown, under God, of all creation; his high hopes and inextinguishable aspirations not illusions, but grounded on reality, and possible of fruition; and Christianity will be, not an accidental form of an emotion which has neither purpose, nor object, nor end, lying entirely outside of the sphere of human reason, but a revelation from God, opening up to man's intellectual vision, cleared and strengthened by faith, a glorious reality, such as "the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man," but which God "hath revealed by His Spirit."

GEORGE D. WOLFF.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

1. PRESIDENT GRANT'S SPEECH AT DESMOINES. Delivered at the Reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, Sept., 29th, 1875.
2. THE ANNUAL MESSAGE of the President of the United States to Congress. 1875.

Catholics have been building churches for the worship of God according to the dictates of their conscience, in which that worship is performed with all reverent solemnity; they have been building asylums for the orphan, the aged, the insane, those whom society has depraved or seeks to ruin; they have been building colleges, seminaries of learning, schools of every grade, making for the education and relief of their people exertions such as none of the sects have ever done; and they have meanwhile been doing their duty as citizens, as promptly and as fully as any of their fellow-citizens.

Suddenly they are arraigned as evil-doers, and a cry, sounded at first by a disappointed bookseller, has been reëchoed till the Chief Magistrate of the Republic departs from his constitutional line of duty to invoke, for their annoyance and molestation, the powers of Congress in a proposed modification of the Constitution of the United States.

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What evil have they done that the great charter of the land should be moulded to war especially on them; that bolts should be forged that will pass innocuous over the heads of every other religious body, and strike the Catholic alone? Surely Catholics are as ardent supporters of American liberty in 1875, as they were in 1775, when John Wesley and the Wesleyans denounced it, and the American Catholics with their priests, once all Jesuits, supported it to a man; and stood by the cause sturdily, when men like Arnold made their Protestantism a pretext for deserting the cause.

Has the Catholic Church in the United States anything in its present existence or its past history that can make the Catholic feel that in the presence of his fellow-citizen he should hang his head in shame? Surely not. From the very first discovery to the present her history is full of heroic self-devotedness, of earnest endeavor to minister to all men, to civilize, to instruct, to console, to enlighten.

The earliest explorers of our coasts were Catholics, and when they first landed, they planted the symbol of the cross, and so studded their maps with names from the Church Calendar, that we can trace their course by them. The lapse of years, the vicissitudes of war, the incoming of settlers with new-learned views, have not effaced them. When America took her rank among the nations, she claimed as her bounds the River of the Holy Cross and the River of St. Mary: beyond the estuary of St. Helen. It was the same in the interior, from St. Regis to the western river of St. Joseph and the rapids of Sault Ste. Marie. Catholicity had recorded her early presence as discoverer and explorer on the soil of the Republic of a century ago. Each accession of territory brought in new proofs of Catholic discovery, exploration and settlement: St. Augustine on the South, St. Louis on the West, the City of the Holy Faith, and California with San Francisco, as in a mediæval painting, amid a group of saints.

When European settlements began on the coast, Catholic Spain endeavored to colonize and conquer Florida and the northern shore of the gulf; succeeding at last in establishing a feeble settlement in Florida after a terrible deed of blood. Dominican missionaries at once began to instruct and civilize the natives. Cancer, a hero of the noblest type, laid down his life, to witness that the Church took no part in any cruelty of his countrymen. Missionaries of other orders followed to labor and to die. Dominican, Jesuit, Franciscan, planted the crops in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and even on the banks of the Rappahannock, before Raleigh thought of American expeditions. New Mexico was colonized and churches built by Indian converts, before the Pilgrims left England for the Low Countries. The labors of the missionaries

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remain, and the earliest records of the Territory are found in the writings of the devoted heralds of the cross. Schools were established and Indians learned to read and write, as documents from them in Spanish archives remain to prove.

On the north France settled Canada, and her missionaries rivalled those of Spain in their zeal and heroic fortitude. With no weapon but a crucifix, they threaded the interior of the continent, revealing its wonderful elements of greatness, its mineral wealth, its mighty rivers and teeming soil. Often in peril, often perishing by the hand of violence or the very exhaustion of nature, none were deterred by the fate of loved and revered companions, but they kept steadily on; Franciscan, Jesuit and secular priest laboring and winning souls; cultured men abandoning, for Christ's sake, the very presence and sight of civilization in their high and noble purpose. More than one of these missionaries, in his apostolic journeys, passed from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi and Texas to return by sea, making the circuit of all that the United States was a century ago.

They contributed, too, to the well-being of settlers; not only by their Christian ministry, but by developing agriculture, and the resources of the country. They introduced the orange, the sugar-cane and the vine at the south; they raised the first wheat crops of Illinois; discovered the salt springs of New York, the oil springs of Pennsylvania, and worked the first copper on Lake Superior.

When English colonies came, Catholics settling Maryland, Terra Mariæ, made it a home for the persecuted and gave all Christians equal rights; but found too soon that toleration was deemed in many parts "an evil egg," and disfranchised in a colony they had founded on the principle of justice to the the red man, and religious liberty to all, the Maryland Catholics passed a century of oppression, the severity of which the ancient statutes attest. The little settlement of Catholics in Maryland, with St. Mary's as a capital, is the nucleus of the present Catholic body in the United States; the French and Spanish feebler element on the borders merging into it as in this century it acquired its wondrous development. The Catholics of England and her colonies owned no special gratitude to James I. or his son, but in the civil war they found a deadly fanaticism against them in the Puritan party; and this, while it may not have weighed in their hearty support of the Cavaliers, or induced it, made them extremely obnoxious. The only battle of the English civil war fought in America, took place in Maryland; and the Maryland cavaliers, chiefly Catholics, were crushed by the Parliamentarians. The power of the new ascendency was not weakened after the Restoration; while the fall of James II., bringing in a new anti-Catholic element, led on both sides of the Atlantic to

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legal enactments of the most oppressive nature. The Maryland Catholics were disfranchised in the colony they had founded; loaded with double taxes, deprived of arms, excluded from the witness box and made as low as the negro slave. Yet most of them were gentry; and as the younger members were frequently sent abroad to obtain polish and culture in European colleges, their numbers included some of the most accomplished men in the colonies. Every Jacobite movement and every suspected movement increased their burthens, till weary of what seemed past endurance they proposed to the French king to settle in Lousiana. Formalities and delays of bureaus deferred action so long that the Maryland Catholics abandoned the project. The wiser heads among them read the signs of the times. A struggle was at hand, and in the day of need, Maryland might welcome the able heads and brave arms of her injured sons.

Virginia at an early day caught the alarm from Maryland; and she, with few Catholics on her soil, held up in terror her long list of penal laws; and the proclamations of her governors show how active they were in seeking to prevent any priest from entering the colony.

New England, with all the Puritan bitterness against Catholics found the feeling quickened by the proximity of French colonies, with a population weak in point of numbers, but strong in energy and dash. Penal laws of great severity were soon passed, threatening long imprisonment to any priest who ventured upon the soil. The bigotry was so deep that it drew many miseries on the New England colonies. The French in Canada, conscious of their real weakness and of the difficulty of defence, sought a friendly intercourse with New England. They proffered free trade, but so great was the fear of any Catholic influence that the offer was rejected. When the time came when the colonies were likely to be involved by European wars, the Canadians proposed that in the event of war the colonies should on both sides refrain from hostility. This proposition was rejected. As a last effort, the Canadians asked that Indians should be used on neither side: but even this was refused. To the excited and bigoted mind of New England, the French colonies were a stronghold of Catholicity, which it was their duty to destroy; and there was to be no truce or peace with them. The demolition of Catholic Churches, the profanation of altars, pictures and statues in structures dedicated to Catholic worship, was ever a leading thought, and it was carried out on many occasions. In the expedition against Louisburg, the chaplain of the New England forces bore an axe on his shoulders to carry out the unchristian work. Bitter as the feeling was in England, the conduct of New England in desecrating churches was pointedly rebuked.

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New York, settled by Dutch Calvinists as earnest in their faith as their New England brethren, showed less virulence. Laws prohibited the exercise of the Catholic worship, but practically there was little restriction. Yet though nearly one-half the population of Holland, then as now, was Catholic, no trace of any Catholic emigration appears. The Dutch relations with Canada were friendly, and to the settlers of New Netherland Catholics will ever feel grateful for the charity extended by them to missionaries like Jogues, Bressani and Poncet, while prisoners in the hands of the Indians.

When the Dutch colony passed into the hands of England, the Catholic Duke of York became Proprietor, and granted to Penn and others what became New Jersey and Pennsylvania. These colonies thus seemed to afford an opening for Catholic settlers; but though New York was for a time under a Catholic governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, in whose time the Colony had its first assembly, which passed a bill of rights establishing religious freedom, no considerable number of Catholic emigrants came in, and the few English Jesuits who labored there for a time retired when James fell. Then under William came a strong anti-Catholic feeling. Penal laws of the most stringent type were passed, and in the coming wars New York was led away to follow the course of New England; but after the massacre of Lachine and its retaliation in Schenectady, New York took counsel of common sense rather than of bigotry, and by agreeing to neutrality saved her frontiers from the Indian border wars that New England welcomed.

At the south, the Spaniards in Florida excited a fanaticism in South Carolina, and the invasions of the Catholic province were marked by bitter manifestations whenever victory attended the arms of Carolina. Missionaries were slaughtered amid their neophytes; Christian Indians were driven as prisoners to Charleston to be sold as slaves; only one man, the Quaker Archdale, attempting to check the practice. At St. Augustine religious edifices were not spared, and an indignant Englishman reproaches his countrymen with destroying a fine library, and not even sparing from the flames the Holy Scriptures themselves.

The whole spirit of the country was thus anti-Catholic to a greater degree even than in England. Hence during the earlier part of the eighteenth century there was very little Catholic emigration. The Catholic body in Maryland received no accessions; a few, chiefly Germans and Irish, settled in friendly Pennsylvania, where from the first they had been covertly protected; elsewhere there were Irish and Scotch Catholics sent over and sold, or redemptioners who sold themselves to pay their passage to America: and at a later date the unfortunate Acadians were torn from their

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homes, and scattered along the coast from Massachusetts to Georgia.

The Catholics in Maryland had from the settlement of the colony enjoyed the ministrations of some Jesuit Fathers; and as Maryland youths went abroad to receive a college education, some entered the order to return in time to labor in their own colony. This little body of priests in Maryland thus before long had some native members. Besides them there were no other priests in the colonies, except a few Franciscans whose labors extended from the early days of the colony down to the commencement of the eighteenth century. These priests occasionally visited Catholic families in Virginia, and more freely penetrated into Pennsylvania and even New Jersey, reaching New York, however, only just before the outbreak of the revolution.

Churches there were none. The modest chapel under the same roof as the house quietly avoided observation. Nor were there schools for the disfranchised, overtaxed Catholics.

Meanwhile France, occupying the valley of the Mississippi, endeavored to hold the Ohio, and close in by forts on the colony of New York. A terrible struggle was at hand for the mastery of North America, and a strong anti-Catholic feeling was aroused throughout the whole land. The French threw up a fort at the source of the Ohio, before English colonists knew clearly whether the spot was in Pennsylvania or Virginia, and priests were saying mass in the chapel of Our Lady just over the mountains. There were similar forts at Niagara and Crown Point. Poor Catholic indentured servants soon learned this, and struck through the wilderness by the first underground railroad for these spots, where they could once more enjoy the blessing of taking part in the Awful Sacrifice. But their flight only deepened the feeling against those who remained.

The struggle of Canada was desperate and heroic. Almost abandoned by France she fought every inch of territory till hope vanished. Then England ruled from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. But the spirit of bigotry which she had evoked and fostered was not soon laid. To govern the conquered realm of Canada was a question for English statesmen. They could not treat the whole Canadian population as they had done the Acadians, and make a desert of land reclaimed by a century and a quarter of toil. Sound policy counselled concession. The Canadian Catholics were to be encouraged to remain by the promise that their religious rights should not be infringed. Church, and convent, and hospital were to stand; the wayside cross was not to be demolished; the priest might say mass openly beneath the English flag. The Jesuit and Franciscan alone fell under the ban, and even with

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them, it was only decreed that no new members should be received; the Fathers were left in quiet possession of their houses, and in the discharge of their mission duty, till the last survivor expired.

This course of the British government came like a thunderbolt on the colonies, which had helped with blood and treasure to reduce the hated Catholic settlement. The fruit of their victory was gone. After all their sacrifices, they were to behold Catholicity actually protected and upheld by the strong arm of England. Of all the grievances which rankled in the colonial heart, none excited deeper feeling against England than what they could not but feel to be an act of deepest treachery towards them. The very bigotry and intolerance that England had fostered now turned against her, and nerved men to break off all the ties of kindred, nationality and government. In the northern colonies, that bordered on Canada, the feeling was especially intense; and when the struggle was imminent, the first colonial flag run up at New York in place of the English colors bore the words: "No Popery."

Anti-Catholic bigotry kindled the flames of the American Revolution: but when the delegates of the colonies met, there were statesmen fit for the great mission. The spirit of the country was nobler, broader and better than that of the isolated communities. The Catholics from Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; the Jesuits, or rather ex-Jesuits, for the society was no more, with their flocks on from Virginia to New York; as well as the Canadian priest in far-off Illinois, with his flock of French and Indians, comprising all the Catholics in the country, with their clergy, at once took sides earnestly and heartily in the national cause; and two Catholics, a priest and a layman, formed part of a delegation sent to Canada to win that colony to alliance or neutrality, but found their labors thwarted by the anti-Catholic bigotry of Jay. There were no tories, no falterers and final deserters among them; none to shout for Congress, while they carefully carried a British protection for emergencies. The Catholics were to a man, with their clergy, staunch and true, which can be said of none of the sects; for the Methodists following the course of their founder, Wesley, were all on the Tory side, and nearly every other denomination was divided. Strange that in a Fourth of July address in 1875, a Wesleyan minister should be boasting as though his fellow believers had been all Whigs in 1775, and denouncing Jesuits; when in 1775 every Jesuit and every man of their flocks was a Whig, and even the Canadian Jesuits, so friendly to the American cause as to incur censure. Catholics bore their part bravely—the Carrolls, Fitzsimmons and others—in Congress or State Legislatures; Moylan and Barry, with

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many a humbler hero, in the army and navy. But the struggle was an unequal one. America, in her need, looked for aid to Catholic France.

A revulsion at once took place. For a time bigotry was silenced. The French officers who first came over won friends everywhere; the French army and fleet with their chaplains were welcomed, and even the selectmen of Boston took part in Catholic services, to the intense delight of the Tory paper in New York, which taunted them with their sudden conversion. The influence extended. Rhode Island dropped an anti-Catholic law. Pope's day ceased to be kept in New England, and the celebration of that long-kept November holiday was, we may say, abolished by a fiat of George Washington.

When America finally triumphed by the aid of her Catholic ally, the war which had begun with a long nurtured hatred of Catholicity closed with a most friendly feeling towards a Church to which the ancestors of all had belonged for centuries.

Some of the States had constitutions adopted in the outset of the struggle; and these, as in the case of New York, were deeply tinged with the spirit of that day. The States that drew up later their fundamental charters were more liberal, and made all religions equal in the eye of the law.

The establishment of the Republic found the Catholic body centered in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, with a few owing their origin to the British Isles and their colonies, amounting in all to about 45,000; while the French in Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, numbered not over 10,000 more. They were under the care of a small body of priests; most of whom, if not all, had been members of the Society of Jesus before its suppression; they were, as secular priests, subject to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District in England, but had not during the war been able to communicate with him. The Catholics in the West, of Canadian origin, were in the diocese of Quebec, and the priests in charge subject to the bishop of that see.

Left isolated by the war, these Catholics desired an independent organization, and addressed the Holy See on the subject. Rome acted with her usual caution. She wished to give no offence to the government of the new Republic, to do nothing that could offend any susceptibility, or excite prejudice. Through the nuncio at Paris and the American representative in France, the Pope, in 1783, asked the consent of Congress to the creation of a Vicar Apostolic or Apostolical Prefect in some city. The scheme of government laid down by the Articles of Confederation gave Congress no power to act in regard to religious matters, and the reply left the Pope free to act according to his own prudence. The

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American Catholics were, in 1784, placed temporarily under the Rev. John Carroll, as Prefect Apostolic, Franklin recommending him earnestly as a man of superior ability, a zealous priest, and a sincere patriot. The wishes of the Catholic priesthood and people had centered on the same man, and when the Pope subsequently established the see of Baltimore, Nov 6, 1789, Carroll became Bishop of Baltimore.

He had everything to create. Emigration began to the new land of freedom. Little bodies of Catholics appeared at all the larger ports. Seminaries, colleges, schools were needed. It was the day of religious schools. Throughout the country there were Catholic schools; doctrine was taught with the letters; and men held that the best citizens were those trained in the religious spirit. This idea was exactly that of the Catholic Church; and, from the moment her children in the United States acquired freedom to this day, she has, in unison with this genuine American system, labored to give the State good citizens by making good Catholics. Georgetown College was founded, the pioneer of all the Catholic universities; schools were established beside the rising churches, and preparations made to found a divinity school. And in this great work help came from an unexpected source. Infidelity overturned the ancient monarchy of France, placed Christianity under a ban, and sent the clergy to the scaffold or to exile. Many priests, eminent for learning, zeal and piety, fully conversant with the laws of the Church, and familiar with all its ritual, came to America and were gladly welcomed by Bishop Carroll. Zealous priests came, too, from Ireland, men of devotion and learning: but, had the formation of the new church been confined to them and the American clergy, it might long have borne the character of the church in the British Isles, as modified by two centuries of oppression. Providentially an element came to raise it to the position it should occupy in a free State. The Catholic shook off the habits and language of inferiority so studiously imposed upon him.

The long European wars swelled emigration, and the Catholic Church for nearly fifty years increased without a check, winning the good will of the citizens of all denominations; new bishoprics being established in 1808 at Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and Bardstown; and the diocese of Baltimore, which had embraced the whole United States, was divided. A colony of Carmelite nuns came from Europe, a Visitation convent and a community of Sisters of Charity sprang up in the East, with similar organizations in the West; giving to America the example of convent life, women nobly devoting their lives to education and works of charity.

This halcyon period lasted, we may say, during the first half-century of our national existence. There were occasional controver-

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sies, sporadic ebullitions of old prejudice; but the infidel doctrines of the French Revolution made Protestants in America disposed to regard Catholics favorably, as fellow-combatants against the great anti-Christian army.

After the restoration of peace in Europe, emigration to America increased very rapidly, especially from Ireland; and then began, on the British Isles, a movement among the Catholics to obtain from the English government an emancipation from the slavery, to which the penal laws reduced them. Their demand aroused the most bitter anti-Catholic element, and the press teemed with denunciations of Popery, with violent philippics, heated controversy, and even forgeries.

In America, while the Catholics sympathized with their fellow-believers abroad and met to encourage their undertaking, on the other hand Protestants, drinking deep from the English literature of the day, began to look with alarm at the increase of Catholicity in the land. The half-century of good conduct in the Catholic body went for naught. By the help of aids to vision from abroad, they began to discover a terrible state of things in their midst. A blind fanaticism succeeded the half-century of good feeling, and a systematic warfare against Catholicity was begun, and has been carried on with a pertinacity, a skill in raising new issues and misstating the case, which has few parallels in history.

When Catholic emancipation was won in England, the Catholic Church in the United States had spread throughout the land, and in almost every state there was a considerable body of believers. Louisiana had come in with a Catholic population and a bishop's see; Florida with a few Catholics and her old traditions. In 1833 the first Provincial Council, ever held north of Mexico, met at Baltimore. Archbishop Whitfield presided, surrounded by Bishop David, coadjutor of Bardstown, Ky., Bishop England of Charleston, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, Bishop Dubois of New York, Bishop Portier of Mobile, Bishop Kenrick, coadjutor of Philadelphia, Bishop Rése of Detroit, and Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, convened with all the forms required by the canons and usages of the Church in a Provincial Council, to form laws better adapted for the great ends in view, the increase of piety and the due celebration of divine worship, the elevation of clergy and laity, and especially greater union and harmony among them.

It was the first Provincial Council held in any English speaking country since the Reformation, and the first held in any country during the century. America thus led the way to the revival of this ancient usage, and thus prepared for the holding of a General Council.

In view of the coming attack on the Church in the United States,

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this organization was all the more necessary to bind all parts together, and enable it to cope with the unscrupulous enemies about to assail it.

The Church had thus a life of its own, with theological seminaries at Baltimore, Emmittsburg, Barrens, Mo., and elsewhere; colleges at Georgetown, Baltimore, Emmittsburg, Cincinnati, and some other points; with academies, asylums for orphans, for the deaf and dumb, hospitals and schools in all parts of the country, most of these being under the direction of religious orders, Jesuits, Dominicans, Lazarists, Sulpitians, Visitation and Ursuline Nuns, Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Loretto; and in the recent terrible visitation of the cholera, the devotion of the Catholic priesthood and sisterhoods had been so eminent, that its influence exalted the individuals in the public eye, and invested them with a halo that was galling to bigots. To their eyes something must be done to diminish the influence. Catholic sisters and clergy had acted the part of good Samaritans; they were to be stoned as an example.

The moral tone of the country was higher then than now, the Protestant clergymen of more dignity and purity of life. The old Puritan spirit had not been altogether lost, and this state of affairs enabled the unscrupulous enemies of the Catholics to appeal to a strong feeling, when they opened the campaign against the Catholics by charges of great immorality in the convents and religious institutions. The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, the most shameless imposture in the history of American literature, was thrown upon the public, accusing the nuns of the Hotel Dieu, Montreal; and though the utter mendacity of the work was exposed by a Protestant editor of New York, William L. Stone, many of the Protestant clergy upheld the book, and Stone was attacked in prose and verse for what was deemed unnecessary honesty. This vile book was followed by others, one, "Six Months in a Convent," being connected with the riot, in which a mob, roused to frenzy by intemperate preachers, attacked and destroyed the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

This deed of violence caused a revulsion, and a new plan of action was adopted. Men seemed to forget truth and honesty. A so-called reprint of the Rhemish Testament of 1582 appeared, and a number of clergymen attested that it was reprinted exactly from the original of 1582; yet an examination will convince any bibliographer that these gentlemen had not the original edition before them, but printed from a well-known anti-Catholic work.

Men who could so far forget truth and honor were not likely to hesitate. At this time, too, the Bible Society took decided ground as a sectarian, anti-Catholic body. It had already mutilated the Bible by omitting the deutero-canonical books, but had continued to

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print Catholic versions in French, Spanish and Portuguese, for distribution among Catholics. Now these were suppressed, the plates broken up, the piles of unissued copies burned, and Protestant versions issued, with all the errors and mistranslations of the King James carefully reproduced. A general system of proselytizing among Catholics was initiated, and has been persevered in to the present time. Societies for benevolent purposes, the relief of the poor, sailors' aid societies, the almshouses, and other eleemosynary institutions of the State, asylums for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, and school organizations as they then existed, were all made instruments for depriving Catholics of all opportunity of being imbued with the doctrines and principles of their own faith, and of instilling into them a shame for it, and for inculcating direct Protestant teaching. In many parts the State actually seemed to abdicate its high office, and to become merely part of the machinery of Protestant Home Missionary Societies for the "conversion" of Catholics. By party tactics and special legislation, the voice of Catholics, in any locality where their numbers had increased, was cleverly neutralized, so that the work of State proselytism should proceed unchecked. This policy has been steadily pursued to the present day; and this mania for proselytizing Catholics is the source of all the troubles that have arisen. A general system of education that would have satisfied Catholics and Protestants, and trained up religiously a generation of citizens, was possible forty years ago, but is now almost out of the question. Even in the State of New York, where the Catholic population must be nearly one-fourth, the Board of Regents of the University, the head of the educational department of the State, is, and always has been, exclusively Protestant: no Catholic has ever been appointed, and some of the members always are Protestant clergymen. In the city of New York, where the Catholic population is nearly, if not absolutely half, a Board of Education, chosen by the people, might contain some Catholics; hence, by special law, the appointment of the Board is vested in the Mayor, and that official at once appointed more than twelve Presbyterians and but one single Catholic, and yet the Presbyterians are now complaining of some act giving privileges to a Catholic school.

This is the day of small politicians; but America will yet produce statesmen as of old, and some one among them will before long examine this question of State Proselytism — Should the State enter this field of proselytizing, or should it, like the "Society for Propagating the Gospel" in Boston, declare distinctly and clearly, that it is no part of its business to lure young or old from one Christian denomination to another? He will, by examination of statistics, show his countrymen, how this wholesale proselytizing

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has increased immeasurably the dangerous classes of the community, by a result not difficult to see. It is a trite saying, that it is easier to pull down than to build up. It has been easy to make weak and ignorant Catholics ashamed of their faith, abandon its sacraments and aids to a better life, cast aside respect for its ministry, and neglect to contribute to its support; but it is not easy to implant into such minds, once imbued with religious doubt, a new faith that will bring any moral influence over them. In most cases they become utterly irreligious, and plunge recklessly into vice, amid the temptatious of great cities, and the corruptions of our political system. This result is due also to the fact, that with the increase of wealth, and the broader line between rich and poor, Protestantism is rapidly ceasing to be the religion of the poor, or to exercise even its former limited influence among them. It can pervert, but it cannot produce from its perverts moral, God-fearing citizens.

Proselytizing was now thoroughly systematized. The early schools of the country had been religious; but as the non-church goers increased, numbers of children were unprovided for. To instruct these the Public School Society in New York, and similar organizations elsewhere, were formed, avowedly only to supplement the Church Schools, as acts of incorporation attest. These schools, though of no denomination in particular, were Protestant and intensely sectarian; the books often being most unjust and offensive to Catholics. Gradually in New York the Public School Society's schools took the lead, and the Protestant Church Schools declined, especially after the discovery of a fraud practised by the Bethel Baptist School. And finally, all aid to Church Schools was dropped. To revive the old New York system, Catholics asked that their schools should be put on the same ground as the Protestant Public School Society's Schools; or that those schools, on receiving aid derived from taxes paid by Catholics and Protestants, should furnish education satisfactory to Catholics as well as to Protestants. This led to the famous Public School Debate before the New York Common Council in October, 1844, in which Archbishop Hughes, pleading the Catholic cause with eloquence, zeal and moderation, became known to the whole country as one of the ablest men of his day. The petition of the Catholics was denied: an agitation began; the cry was then raised, and has since continued, that the Catholics wished to drive *the* Bible from the public schools. Both political parties in the coming election pledged themselves to resist the Catholic appeal for free unsectarian education, or the restoration of the old New York system of religious schools. The Catholics voted an independent ticket, and their numbers and unity so influenced the result that both political parties seemed ready to make some concessions to justice. The present system of State Schools

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was established, and, though fair in intent, has been brought under the control of the Protestant proselytizing sects so as to be actually bitterly sectarian. The old cry of "The Bible," is raised from time to time; but in all the discussions it is somewhat curious, and by no means creditable to the logical acumen of courts and legislative bodies, that the term "The Bible" has never been defined. If it is defined, The Bible must be the books received by the majority of Christians throughout the world, in the original text, or a text based on the best manuscripts, or a translation from such a text. The book forced into the schools by the proselytizing spirit has none of these characters, and it can be denied that *the* Bible has ever been in them. The volume now issued by the Bible Society does not contain all the books received by the majority of Christians; it does not contain all the books found in the Bible as issued by James I., and still issued by authority in England; nor in the old Geneva Bible, which the Pilgrim Fathers brought to America, and clung to so fondly, while they looked with scorn on the King James. The Bible Society's volume is based on the so-called "Received Text," which is utterly unsustained by the older manuscripts, and was, so far as the New Testament is concerned, hastily prepared by Erasmus from very incorrect and defective codices. The very Lord's Prayer in this so-called Bible is admitted by all scholars to be spurious; and if spurious, as all American translators have admitted, certainly blasphemous; yet in the sectarian spirit of proselytism, it is forced into the schools.

The School Question coming into the legislative bodies, has, since 1840, made the Catholic question a political one; and Catholics have had to meet the proselytizing spirit by attempts to free the schools from Protestant sectarianism; and where the attempt is seen to be hopeless, by erecting schools of their own, and submitting to the iniquity which taxes them to educate their neighbors.

The charge of immorality brought against Catholic institutions had fallen; the charge that they neglected education had fallen. The Church was steadily increasing; new dioceses were formed, and each gathered its own institutions of charity and learning. The German emigration, which had begun to attain a vast extent, brought many Catholics; and the emigration from all lands brought much skilled labor, that came into active competition with American mechanics. Out of these various influences arose a mongrel party, called the Native American, which objected to Irish Catholics as Irish Catholics, to American Catholics in general, to all foreigners, especially Catholic, who cheapened American labor. This agitation then begun, culminated in 1844, just about ten or eleven years after that Maria Monk campaign. The recurrence since, at periods of about ten or eleven years, of an anti-Catholic agitation,

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springs from several causes. The Protestant clergy in the United States, for a body educated and expected to appear as gentlemen, are, excepting the popular clergymen of the day in large cities, the most wretchedly paid set of professional men in the country. Their salaries do not average five hundred dollars, far less than a successful and industrious mechanic earns. Their stipends, low as they are, are not secured; they depend on their congregations. Now Protestantism has properly no worship; it has no rite, essential to the worship of God. A man may be a good Protestant, read his Bible at home, and go to no Church. There is no service which binds him to attend under pain of sin: it is simply a matter of choice, a very good thing to go, and the proper thing for a man with a family; but there is no feeling of moral responsibility compelling him to attend. As a natural consequence, men grow indifferent; they go for a time, but as the preaching is the main thing, they easily tire, and drop off. In about ten years, by inherent causes, a paying Protestant congregation will be brought to a period of difficulty. A general arousing is needed to bring the lukewarm and indifferent to the churches, and to awake in them an interest in religious affairs. Protestantism has no distinctive positive tenets, as it has no worship; its strong rallying point, and its only one, is protesting against Rome. Hence every ten or eleven years a campaign against the Catholics is an actual necessity, to save Protestant churches from extinction, and the Protestant clergy from starvation.

The charge of immorality, which had been played so boldly in 1834, was less available in 1844. The movement was more political, and guided by unscrupulous politicians, whose coarse brutal tools were sufficiently fanaticized by anti-popery sermons and diatribes. A chance collision in Philadelphia led to fearful riots, in which the churches, schools and houses of Catholics were pillaged and burned; and a valuable library was committed to the flames. The city authorities were paralyzed, inefficient or secretly hostile, and the strong arm of the State alone checked the course of arson and murder. The malcontents ere long renewed their violence as a distinct rebellion against authority, to be again crushed by the strong hand of the law. This spirit of violence found an echo elsewhere in deeds of violence; and New York, where the so-called Native Americans had just elected one of the publishers of Maria Monk to the mayoralty, was saved from similar scenes only by the firmness of the outgoing mayor, and the attitude of the Catholics.

When this storm passed away, the Catholic body in the United States numbered about a million and a quarter, divided into 21 dioceses, and one Vicariate Apostolic, that of Oregon. They had 675 churches, clustering chiefly in Maryland, Pennsylvania and

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Southern New York, in other parts scattered very sparingly; Arkansas having but two, Tennessee three, Mississippi, though a State originally settled by Catholics, only five; but the new Western States showing already large and increasing numbers. Of the clergy, 572 priests were engaged in mission duty, and 137 in seminaries, colleges and religious houses; 220 young men were preparing for the ministry; there were 91 colleges and academies; 94 charitable institutions. The increase in Catholic churches, since the former anti-Catholic campaign of 1835, had been from 272 to 675; of priests, from 327 to 709. The Church had an active press. The remarkably philosophic mind of Orestes A. Brownson, who had just entered the bosom of the Church, made his Review a vehicle for the soundest and ablest discussions of questions underlying all government and society, and for treating Catholic questions upon a basis and with a genius that could not be ignored, but that the statesman and the scholar felt himself compelled to read and to grapple: there were monthly magazines, weekly papers. Religious orders, which sprung up spontaneously from the very vitality of Catholicity, had dotted the land with their houses; not indeed the grand abbeys of the middle ages, which even in ruins command respect; but modest homes, where the rules of olden days were kept as rigorously amid the new scenes of a new land, as in hoary Europe. Augustinians and Dominicans carried one back to the Middle Ages, Jesuits to the period of the great Apostasy, Lazarists and Redemptorists to later centuries; while Carmelite, Dominican, Ursuline and Visitation Nuns, labored beside the more recent Sisters of Charity, of the Sacred Heart, of the Good Shepherd, of Notre Dame, of Loretto, of Mercy, of Providence, and of our Lady of Mercy.

The incessant struggle had accumulated the inherent force and energy of the Church to meet its pressing wants. It made men earnest, where they would have been careless; but the increase of churches, with their necessary schools, asylums, and other institutions, had overtasked the resources of the Catholic body, and their clerical labors had overtasked the priesthood. There was little room for the development of mere æsthetics. Hence the Catholic influence on the country at large, then, and even now, is slight. The tactics of parties exclude Catholics almost entirely from all higher offices in the country. We have had one Catholic among the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; a few, very few, members of the United States Senate; scarcely a single Cabinet officer; here and there a Catholic reaches the position of governor of a State, but too rarely to be noted. The army and the navy show many Catholic officers, whose record is of the noblest. In literature, science and the arts, we have made little mark,

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and are behind even the modest position of the country at large. At the earliest period, Matthew Carey and Robert Walsh occupied a higher position in general literature than any Catholic does at the present day. Even the wonderful ability and depth of Doctor Brownson in his Review, in his American Republic that should be a classic, and in his minor works, have failed to take their place among far inferior works, and are seldom noticed in writing or speech in such a way as to show their influence.

Archbishop Hughes left no great work to take its place in the literature of the country, great as was his influence in life; and the same may be said of Bishop England. Archbishop Kenrick, in his varied learning, enriched our Catholic rather than the national literature by his Theology, his Essay on the Primacy of the Apostolic See, and his version of the Bible. Archbishop Spalding took a more popular tone, and in lighter paths for Catholic readers there are names of merit, but few that will make an enduring reputation. In the field of history O'Callaghan, McSherry, Meline and others have indeed won a place by critical research, sound judgment and eloquent narration. In poetry Shea and McGee will be remembered by some of their minor poems which found their way to collections; but we have no poet to rank with Longfellow, Bryant and Whittier. Thebaud, in his Irish Race and still more in his Gentilism, lays claim to a higher position in the more serious school of general literature. Still it must be confessed that on the whole we are behindhand. Our college course is perhaps too elementary; and Catholics even more than their neighbors, perhaps, underrate literary culture, and in their anxiety to throw their sons into the world of business and care, deprive some of that learned leisure that is needed for great and enduring work. Among the clergy the science, learning and ability that might add laurels to the body are often kept unused by the severe toils of missionary life or by modest diffidence; and an occasional article in some magazine, unnoticed, and hence unappreciated, alone reveals what might be.

It must be admitted, too, that although industry, talent and probity have brought to many Catholics, in professional and mercantile life, great earthly rewards in wealth and means, these successful men have produced few men of such public spirit as we behold in the various Protestant denominations. While every college under Protestant influence shows its scholarships, professorships, special schools and libraries established and endowed by individuals, there is scarcely a case to be met with of similar Catholic liberality. It is still more rare to find a church or institution of any kind among us built or endowed by a wealthy Catholic. What has been accomplished hitherto has been mainly the work of the poor; but the wealthy Catholics seem sadly lacking in pub-

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lic spirit. Yet, the noblest monument a man could erect would be a church or an institution. There are monuments in our cemeteries, mere ornamental structures, evidences of family pride, which have cost more than would have built a beautiful church to stand for a century, where Mass would be said constantly for the founder. Better an hospital for the sick or afflicted than a palace for the dead; better something Christian than anything so essentially Pagan.

The Indian missions form the opening chapter of the history of the Church in the United States, and they continue to furnish matter for record. In spite of the changes of flag from France and Spain to England and the United States, Maine still has Catholic Indians descended from converts of the missionaries from Deiullete in the 17th to Rale in the 18th century. New York has Catholic Indians, fruits of the mission founded by Jogues, while the Dutch held Manhattan; Michigan and Wisconsin are in the same condition. But there were new fields in the Indians removed to the West. The Jesuits began missions among the Pottawatomies and Osages in 18—, and in a few years planted the Cross among the Flatheads and other tribes of the Rocky Mountains, DeSmet devoting his life to extend the missions, chiefly by means and by missionaries whom his fervor drew from Europe. New Mexico and California came in with Indian converts of the older Catholic missions, those in the former dating back to the sixteenth century. The Archbishop of Oregon and his suffragans still direct the missions they began as humble laborers in the vineyard. The Protestant denominations had not been idle among our western or transplanted tribes. Their success among the Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws had been marked in bringing those tribes on the path to civilization. In other places they failed, and the zeal of the people to support these missions, often barren of results, declined. The result may be seen in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued in 1861: out of seventy-seven missionaries engaged among the Indians, nineteen were Catholics; and the number apparently did not include the New Mexican and Californian priests who attended Indians as part of their settled flocks. This seems to have excited anti-Catholic zeal, and schemes were set on foot to break up or neutralize the Catholic missionaries as far as possible. The civil war paralyzed all for a time; but the project was renewed soon after the peace, and managed insiduously but effectually.

In 1870 the President, after appointing a board of commissioners and calling upon the Friends to aid in establishing honesty in the intercourse with the Indians, formed a plan of dividing the various tribes among the religious denominations of the country. This

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ostensibly was unobjectionable, and did not seem to be a movement intended to strike at the Catholics; yet that was almost the sole object. The Catholics, in 1861, supplied one-fourth the missionaries then engaged, and thus gave one-fourth the mission force. But in the division of agencies and superintendencies, not a single superintendency was assigned to the Catholics: sixteen agencies were given to the Friends, five to the Baptists, ten to the Presbyterians, two to the Christians, who never, that we can find, had any Indian missions; fourteen to the Methodists, eight to the Episcopalians, eight to other Protestant denominations, making sixty-three in all; while to the Catholics only seven were allotted: the Pueblos of New Mexico, who had been converted by Catholic missionaries before there was a Protestant settler within our territory, were allotted to the Christians, and have since been passed to the Presbyterians; in the same way the Catholic Kansas, Osages, Chippewas, Yakamas, Pimas and others, were placed under the control of agents appointed by other denominations; and these agents had the power to appoint missionaries, and to prevent the Catholic missionary from setting foot within his Indian reservation, and he could also punish the Indians for going off the reservation to attend a Catholic church, if the missionary erected a chapel on free ground. Tribe after tribe has appealed to government, but their complaints and appeals have been alike disregarded. The Catholic Indians were to be dragooned out of the Catholic Church, and if possible into some Protestant form. It is scarcely to be believed, yet it is a fact spread on the pages of government documents, that a Methodist agent thus placed over Catholic Indians complained to government and sought to have a priest punished, for telling the Indians that the agent's appointment by government did not empower him to administer baptism and act as a clergyman for them. The man was so confident that all ecclesiastical powers were conferred upon him by his appointment as agent, that he actually wished all gainsayers punished. He probably mistook General Grant for Henry VIII. in taking him to be the Head of the Church, and wished the offending Catholic missionary beheaded, like More and Fisher, for denying the Royal supremacy.

The Catholic hierarchy selected a gentleman to act at Washington in behalf of these dragooned Catholic Indians, and societies for their relief have been projected; but government has sternly refusen to do justice: the appeals are unheeded, as will be the recent request of Sioux Chiefs for Catholic missionaries. It is a sad spectacle for America to offer to European contemplation in the Centennial Year.

In this, as in the matter of education, the United States stands dishonored beside Canada. Though a province of England, which

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has an established Church, Canada fosters impartially the missions of all denominations with no unjust discrimination, and has never openly or by any subterfuge attempted to break up the Catholic missions. She has solved, too, the question of education, and of the religious needs of inmates of eleemosynary and penal institutions, so as to give full satisfaction to all; and the State is a State, not a department of a proselytizing society. In the British Provinces, New Brunswick alone, affected by a New England neighbor, doubtless, has copied a page from the conduct of this country.

The great civil war in the United States, was one produced by a state of feeling that Protestant clergy had fanned. Before it began Archbishop Hughes wrote, speaking of the Catholic body: "They take but an abstemious part in the great questions which have threatened the disruption of the country. They have entire confidence that the general wisdom and patriotism of the American people will be quite sufficient to preserve the Constitution and Union of the United States." Thus far it stands in print; but in his original copy he added: "If, unhappily, an event which is sometimes alluded to as a possible contingency—namely, a division of the country—should ever take place, the Catholics will have had no voluntary part in bringing about such a calamity. We trust that it will never occur. Should it ever unfortunately happen, it will not be by their co-operation." And what he said of the division, is true of the war. They had no hand in producing it. The Catholics in each section bore their part with their fellow citizens. North and South Catholic chaplains faced the dangers of the battle field, and Catholic Sisters tended the couches of the sick and wounded, as calmly and as nobly as they had faced the cholera, the typhus or yellow fever. Archbishop Hughes, like the first American Bishop, was an envoy of our government, and did efficient service in Europe. The Pope, when addressed by the President of the seceding States, counselled peace, and like many a Pope of old, proffered his services to restore harmony.

In the desolating path of contending armies, many Catholic churches and institutions were swept away: sometimes the desecration and destruction were wanton, sometimes unavoidable. The close of the war found the Catholic Church in the Southern States more disastrously situated than any other; and the misgovernment which has followed, has involved them still more. But with zeal unchecked she has, with the new freedom, begun her labors among the negro race; and as a Church which makes no distinction of color, but reveres, as saints, the negro Saint Benedict, and the mulatto Blessed Martin de Porras, she sees her success limited only by her limited number of missionaries to devote to the work.

In the North we are now feeling the result of the war, and of the

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impoverishment of the South. In the prostration of commerce, and the stagnation produced by excessive taxation and the results of inflation, emigration has fallen off greatly; and the Catholic body gains now mainly by natural increase. But the persecution of the Church in Germany has driven to our shores many excellent priests, secular and regular, and members of religious orders of women, who increase greatly the power to minister to the Catholic body. All do not reach us. Some, like the Franciscan nuns on the Deutschland, meet their death on the ocean, more nobly and bravely, than Bismarck or his imperial master will.

The civil war absorbed the public mind too much to allow the regular decennial campaign against the Catholics. Many of the Protestant clergy were drawn away by it to more lucrative positions, so that the necessity for it was not felt. But the ten years since the close of the war find all ripe for it. Yet the present campaign against the Church has some peculiar features. It is not Protestant so much as Methodist.

All our Presidents have been Protestants; several Episcopalians, some Presbyterians, Congregationalist, Reformed Dutch, Unitarian; yet no one ever felt that they were Presbyterian or Episcopalian, or even Protestant. The religion of the President was unthought of. Few even could tell to what denomination Mr. Fillmore belonged, though as ex-President he was nominated as a distinctively Protestant candidate by the Native Americans.

But with the advent of President Grant to the Presidential chair it has been different. That he is a Methodist is kept constantly before the public mind. He is actually priest-ridden. The bishops and ministers of his creed exercise an influence, that the Presbyterians never dreamed of coveting, while Jackson or Polk were in power; or Episcopalians under Washington, Madison or Monroe. Methodist influence prevails throughout. The Methodists, in the division of superintendencies and agencies, did not find that the poorest or leanest fell to their lot; and new employments like that of inspecting consulates were devised for Methodist clergymen, with secretaryships for their wives. Perhaps to blind the other Protestant denominations to this, they raised the war cry against Popery. Harper's Weekly began the campaign, and that old Methodist firm kept up its attacks long before the press of the Protestant denominations had begun to move, or before the Protestant clergy in pulpit or conventions showed any inclination to begin an anti-Catholic excitement. They have been ultimately led in; but the movement arose with the Methodists, who have at last crowned all by nominating General Grant for the third term, and doing this as part of the business of a religious convention.

Other denominations will resent this, or will bide their time and

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follow the same course; and America will in future see a series of priest-ridden administrations, according to the denomination to which the actual chief magistrate belongs.

As part of the programme, President Grant, in his Message of December, 1875, urges an amendment to the constitution, which shall compel all states to adopt a public school system, to forbid all "religious, atheistic or pagan" instruction in them, and to prevent hereafter all division of the school moneys among denominations according to the old New York system. It uses the undefined word sectarian, in the usual treacherous way; it being understood among the initiated that nothing Protestant is sectarian, and that everything Catholic is.

To use a homely simile, they would maintain that if a Catholic were, in disputing about this question, to be drubbed soundly by a Methodist, it would be a sectarian drubbing; but that if a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, and representatives of half a dozen other sects, all set upon him at once, it would be a non-sectarian drubbing. We must confess that we should consider it as intensely sectarian as there were sects engaged in it, and sectarian precisely to that degree.

The President also recommends an amendment to compel States to tax Church property. This step, too, was aimed at the Catholics. The burthens of the late war have made people seek all means to relieve themselves, and especially by abolishing all exemptions. In New Jersey, in 1875, an amendment to this end was proposed. Bishop Corrigan, of Newark, in a circular, called the attention of Catholics to it, and urged them to vote against it as a measure as yet uncalled for, and intended to be oppressive. A strong anti-Catholic feeling was excited; the amendment was passed by a very large majority; and now the various Protestant denominations are organizing to appeal to the legislature for relief. Like unskilled men, they hurled the boomerang only to wound themselves.

It is by no means unlikely, that in the decennial madness to which the nation is subject, amendments, such as the President suggests, may pass through Congress, and obtain from a majority such a sanction as will make them part of the organic law of the land; or, it may prove, that some States will hesitate to put out of their hands all future power to administer local concerns according to the better judgment of the people. New York, for instance, may hesitate to place herself in such a position, that she can never revive a system under which education prospered, and religious animosity was unknown; she may, rather than keep up a deep-seated and indignant protest against an ill administered system, wish herself free, when she chooses to adopt the course which Can-

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ada finds so satisfactory. She may read the motto on her old coins, "Liber natus libertatem defendo," and decline the invitation of the President to surrender irrevocably her power to adapt her educational system to the wants of the people.

The amendment proposed by the President puts religion on a level with atheism, and would scarcely meet the desires of the fanatical; the amendment introduced by Speaker Blaine has all the insidious cunning of the small politician. It is so worded that Protestant doctrines may be taught in the schools with impunity; but no Catholic doctrine ever can be. It will put the broad seal of the United States to proselytism, and make us the great *Souper* country of the world.

The recommendation to tax Church property was based, in the message, on statistics which are absolutely false, even as the figures are officially given; and in regard to Catholics these official figures are really fraudulent. Churches, schools, academies, asylums, are all included in the Catholic figures; but many colleges in the country, distinctly and avowedly under the direction of separate Protestant denominations, are not so counted. Moreover, there is a class of institutions such as the Bible Society, the A. B. C. F. Mission, the Tract Societies, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and others of the kind, whose property would reach millions, which are not, of course, charged to any Protestant denomination, but should be added to the sum of the different Protestant denominations.

The Centennial year thus announces to Catholics a two-fold attack: one that will make the obtaining of justice in regard to the schools impossible; the other that will endeavor to crush their churches, or confiscate them, every generation.

And in the population of forty millions, over which this chief magistrate presides, what is the Catholic body? A community numbering more than six millions, with a Cardinal Archbishop, and ten other archbishops, fifty-six bishops, 5,074 priests, 5,046 churches, with nearly two thousand schools, besides colleges, academies and high schools, and more than three hundred hospitals and refuges for the afflicted. It was shown on an examination, not prompted by them, that these eleemosynary institutions are conducted with the greatest order and effectiveness, yet at a percentage of expense for management that is marvelously small compared to that which obtains in most others, either state or denominational, in many of which officials obtain really more, than the objects for whom the money is given. The same holds true of the schools. In an age of extravagance, and in a reign of government extravagance, nothing can exceed the lavish extravagance in the outlay of money for public schools. It is no exaggeration

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to say, that, in many parts, the Catholic schools, educate the young so well as to compete without fear with the state schools, and yet at a cost to them not exceeding one-third, what each scholar in the state schools costs the state.

We have seen what the Church was in 1845, and what it is in 1876. The progress has not been merely in numbers. The general effect of a more numerous clergy has enabled new Religious from abroad or formed among us to become auxiliaries to the secular clergy in their parochial work. The retreats and missions, initiated, we may say, by Bishop Forbon Janson, have become general, and the lack of direct instruction in many cases is supplied by these exercises, given by Redemptorists, Jesuits, Paulists, Passionists, Dominicans—reviving faith, arousing the torpid, strengthening the wavering. The increase and diffusion of Catholic works has been very great, and is no longer confined to reprints and translations, but shows, constantly, accessions of books of piety and instruction, suited in language and thought to the time and country; for though truth is always the same, the objections to it differ, and many of the arguments and defenses in our older works are almost unintelligible, as they were framed to meet objections no longer raised, suppose our opponents to believe truths they have long since discarded, and have no reference to the now prevailing indifference to all definite religious thought.

With the increase of schools has come a vast improvement in school books; and those now prepared for Catholic schools are in many cases equal to any found in the country in their general beauty and workmanship, while in correct thought they are superior. These schools, too, have led to the suppression of much offensive matter in the ordinary school books of the day, where they had crept from bigotry or sheer ignorance. The calm, patient attitude of the Catholics has in these points effected reform; their attitude in regard to the vital point has been the same. Feeling as they do, deeply, that the present school system, as actually administered, is unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional, they have held no meetings, begun no agitation; they have neither petitioned legislatures, nor appealed to the courts. They have submitted to injustice, and quietly made sacrifices to do for themselves what government takes money from them to do, but does not. All the agiation, all the declamation, all the constitution-tinkering, is the work of the very men who have caused this deep injustice to be committed against the Catholics.

To secure freedom of worship for Catholics in penal and eleemosynary institutions, has been a great object. Several States have already placed Catholics nearly in the same position that England has done for years; other States still think it part of their duty to

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deprive Catholic inmates of all the worship and sacraments of their Church, and to compel them to listen to Protestant ministers. As it has not been proposed to make this course peremptory, by altering the Constitution of the United States to meet the case, we may hope that what George Washington, President of the United States, wrote, may yet come true, even in New Jersey: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of the civil government." "I hope," he added, "ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality; and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their goverenment, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

We have thus sketched the exterior rather than the interior life of the Church since its first appearance in America to this day, and especially the origin and influence of the campaigns against her during the last forty years, and the various pretexts on which her enemies have relied.

She has had in this century her bright examples of virtue and sanctity, in such of her children as Bishop Cheverus, Prince Galitzin, Bishop Flaget, Mrs. Seton, Miss Lalor, Rev. Mr. Nerinckx, Bishop David, Archbishop Neale, and many whose names are less familiar; her ardent missionaries in Father De Smet, Bishop Baraga, Archbishop Blanchet; her martyrs in the hundreds of priests and religious, who have laid down their lives ministering to the sick and wounded, when pestilence stalked abroad, and all fled from the stricken; she has her writers taught in the school of persecution to be honest and fearless, and who have so often passed through unjust accusation that they can be just to others amid a general excitement, as was the case when the son of an old enemy of the Catholics found, in his hour of trial, a solace in Catholic fairness, when Protestants almost denied him a hearing. She has her regular Councils, Provincial, or embracing the whole country, forming her body of Canon law, full of wisdom and instinct with the spirit of the best ages of the Church.

Here the Church has shown her inherent vitality. Composed of heterogeneous material, "of devout men from every nation under heaven," she blends them all into one body of American Catholics, attached to the country, making its prosperity their own, and ready to share its trials. In all she keeps alive the higher religious life, the desire to seek first the kingdom of God and His justice; and evolving from this her countless forms of devotion, the highest

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that of self-consecration to the entire service of God, in some of those religious communities which are the rich flowers in her garden. There is nothing, in this life or this vitality, that can do aught but tend to the greater good of the whole country; and the country, when not blinded as she is sometimes for a moment, attests this by the instinct, which in every case has impelled her, almost at once, to discard with scorn the decennial fanatics.

The Catholic Church, first to plant the cross on our soil; first to bedew it with the blood of martyrs; first to offer on it the Christian sacrifice and administer the Christian sacraments, has a great mission before her. Persecution she expects, injustice and oppression: these are not new to her. She sees in them the tokens of approval. "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away." This will not deter her from her path; they will but strengthen and unite. As things are now tending around us, in the decline of morals and religion, the substitution of secret societies for churches, in the war of natural science on faith, it is not rash to assert, that, fifty years hence, the Catholic Church will be on this soil almost the only compact Christian body, battling for the Scriptures and the revealed Word of God, or recognizing Him as the Creator and moral Governor of the Universe, a rallying point for all who shall claim to be Christians.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

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BOOK NOTICES.

THE INTERNAL MISSION OF THE HOLY GHOST. By His Eminence, *Henry Edward Manning*, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third Edition. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 31 Barclay St. Montreal: 275 Notre Dame St. 1875.

We call attention to this work, not to criticise it, but to express, however feebly, our admiration of it, and to commend it to the careful and devout perusal of such of our readers as may not have yet read it. What must strike every one at all familiar with the writings of the illustrious Archbishop of Westminster, is, their practical bearing on the life and thought of the present time. He had studied his age as few other men have studied it. He has carefully observed the workings of the mystery of iniquity under its manifold forms, in modern society, outside the church, and within her fold. He is intimately acquainted with the doctrinal, moral, and social errors and evils of the day. He knows them in themselves, in their causes, and in their effects. He has traced their more recent and alarming developments, such as Cæsarism, socialism, and materialism, to their first beginning, which was the rebellion of the intellect and the will against God, in the individual, and in society, especially at the time of the great apostasy of the sixteenth century. He has described in eloquent words the evils already caused by that apostasy, and the still greater evils likely to follow from it in the not distant future. He has done this, not once, but time and again, and in a variety of ways. He has done it in sermons, in pastorals, in letters, in speeches, in essays, and in books, always in the graceful style so peculiarly his own, with the frank courtesy of an English gentleman, but with the boldness, too, of a Christian bishop. There is no bitterness in his polemics. Intolerant of error, he is full of charity for the erring, especially those whose ignorance may be presumed to be invincible, of whom, he thinks, there is a very large class in England.

"I do not," he says, "charge all those who are out of the unity of the Catholic faith, with heresy. The English people are indeed in heresy, but I do not call them heretics. God forbid! They were born into that state of privation. They found themselves disinherited. They have never known their rightful inheritance. They have grown up believing what has been set before them by parents and by teachers; their state of privation has been caused by the sin of others, three hundred years ago, and by no act of rejection of their own. The millions of our people, the children, the unlearned, the simple, the docile, the humble, the wives and mothers and daughters, the great multitude who live lives of prayer, and of charity, and of mutual kindness, who never had an opportunity of knowing the truth—to call them heretics would be to wound charity. They have never made a perverse election against the truth, and I heartily believe that millions of them, if the light of the Catholic Church were sufficiently before them, would, as multitudes have done in every age, forsake all things to take up their cross and follow their Master."

But the Archbishop has not merely enumerated and described, in the manner already mentioned, the errors and the evils that afflict modern society; he has, with equal zeal and eloquence, pointed out the means by which they may be prevented or overcome. As regards those who are without, they must return to God. "There

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is no other hope. There is nothing but God on which the soul can rest, on which society can stand The most perfect legislation, the most refined human laws, the most acute human philosophy, political economy, benevolence, and beneficence in all its forms, all the social sciences of which we hear so much—all these are powerless without God. * * * * Neither adults nor children can be touched by the laws of states, except externally. The state may control the external actions of man—it can imprison, it can fine, it can inflict capital punishment; but it cannot convert the sinner, nor change the will, nor illuminate the intellect, nor guide the conscience, nor shape a character. All this is internal, not external; it is not mechanism, it belongs to the living power of the soul; and God alone, by truth and grace, can accomplish this work in man." They must withdraw from "the revolt which begins with the rejection of the Divine authority of the Church of God, and then goes on to reject evidences, next to reject doctrines, and lastly to reject Christianity."

As to Catholics, he has told them, in season and out of season, how they may guard themselves against the evil spirit that is abroad and around them in the world at the present time. In the volume before us, he seeks to impress upon them the duty of special wisdom to the Holy Ghost, which he thinks particularly necessary in these days. In a previous work published ten years ago, and now republished by the Messrs. Sadlier & Co., he explained the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost, that is, His union with and His operation in the Church, from the day of Pentecost. He therein showed how, by this union, the Church necessarily receives a communication of the perfections of this Holy Spirit; how it is made imperishable, because He is God; indivisibly one, because He is numerically one; holy, because He is the fountain of holiness; infallible, because He is the truth, and receives all the other endowments that make it a safe and authoritative guide in all that relates to faith and morals. The present volume, the author tells us, deals with the universal office of the Holy Ghost, in the souls of individual men, before as well as since the day of Pentecost: "Every living soul has an illumination of God, in the order of nature, by the light of conscience, and by the light of reason, and by the working of the Spirit of God in his head and in his heart, leading him to believe in God, and to obey Him." The presence of the Holy Ghost in the souls of the just, is the source of their sanctification; "He perpetually pervades their intellect with the light of faith, and their heart by the working of charity, and their will by the inspiration of His own; and from this spring the growth and ripeness of faith, hope, and charity, which we receive in our Baptism." This "ripeness" is accelerated by the "Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost," and perfected by the "Eight Beatitudes;" which last constitute the highest perfections of the saints, and give them a fore-taste of the joys that are in store for them

This brief outline gives an idea, but only an idea of the object or argument of the present work. To be rightly appreciated, the work itself must be carefully read and studied. It is eminently calculated to promote the object the distinguished author had in view in writing it; for, how can we be made to understand, as it gives us clearly to understand, that to the Holy Ghost we are immediately indebted for all that is beautiful in holiness, for all that is admirable in virtue, for all that elevates, and purifies, and adorns our fallen nature, and not feel our devotion to Him increase from day to day? The author is necessarily led to touch on some very difficult points of dogmatic theology; but he does so only in so far as is necessary to furnish convincing motives

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of action to the Catholic conscience. His treatment of them, however, is remarkable for a clearness and an accuracy, for a beauty of style, and a fitness and force of illustration, to be found in very few writers. Take as examples of the striking Appositeness of his illustrations the three following extracts, with which we close our too brief notice of this most interesting book. The first refers to the action of grace and free will; the second, to the grace of final perseverance; and the last to the manifestation and development of the supernatural habits infused into the infant soul in Baptism.

"But, as I have already said, the grace of God co-operates with us, or works with us. I cannot make this clearer than by putting before you, what I cannot doubt, most of you have seen. You have seen a lock in a river, and you have watched how, when the lock is shut, the water rises against the gate. It presses with its full weight against the gate, until a hand—it may be the hand of a child, with such facility it is accomplished—opens the gate of the lock; at once the flood pours in, the level of the water rises, the stream runs strong, and carries forward those that float upon it, almost without effort of their own. The grace of God, that is, the power of the Holy Ghost, is always pressing against our will, always in contact with our heart, moving us onward towards God, impelling us to good. And this pressure of the Holy Ghost against our will, waits only for our will to open: 'Behold I stand at the gate and knock. If any man shall hear My voice and open the door, I will go in to him and sup with him, and he with Me.' The Holy Spirit of God is waiting at the door all the day long; in every action we do, He is pressing upon our will to make us do good, and when we are doing good, to make us do better. But he waits for our will to correspond. He never forces it. The will must be willing. If we only open the gate, the full tide of His grace will flow in, and uniting itself with all our powers, will elevate our personal will above itself, strengthen it with supernatural force, and carry it onward with facility and speed."

"Perseverance is a gift of God. It comes from His sovereign grace and He gives it to those who co-operate with him; and on them He bestows it, as a free grace of His love. You know that if we were to shoot a thousand arrows at a mark, every arrow might hit that mark; it is physically possible. There is nothing to hinder such a feat. But we know, with a perfect certainty, that out of that thousand arrows many will never strike the mark; they will fall short, or go beyond, or swerve on either side. And why? Because that which is physically possible is defeated by some infirmity, either of the eye, or of the hand, or of our posture, or of our poise and balance, or something in the bow or in the string, or it is a current in the wind, or some undetected flaw in the circumstances of the action. Any one of these will divert the arrow's flight. So it is in all our moral life. That which we may do is often not done. It fails through our own defects. God indeed gives us sufficient grace to fulfil what is necessary for our salvation; and though it is possible for us never to fail, it is perfectly certain that in many things we shall fail. If, then, there were not a special grace of God watching over and taking up His work in us, it would fall from our hands. Through our weakness it never would be made perfect."

"The act of belief contains in it a light of the Holy Spirit of God, illuminating the reason, moving the will and kindling in the heart a love of the truth. This grace, which God gave in measure throughout the whole world before the Incarnation, He gives now in fullness to every regenerate child. It is given in baptism by the infusion of grace

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into the soul. Faith, hope and charity are infused into the soul of every baptized infant. As by nature every human soul has reason and memory and will, which three faculties are implanted in the soul by its creation, so faith, hope and charity are infused into the soul in regeneration by supernatural grace. They, thenceforward, reside in the soul, and as we call an infant a rational being because by nature it possesses reason, so we count a baptized infant one of the faithful because it possesses the infused virtue of faith. And this grace of faith, which is in us from our regeneration, is developed by exercise, just as the reason, which we have from our birth, is developed by culture. And, as the whole power of numbers lies potentially in the reason of a child as fire lies in a flint, needing only to be elicited, so in the soul of a regenerate child there is the power of faith, which needs only instruction and exercise to unfold it."

ESSAYS on various Subjects. By His Eminence *Cardinal Wiseman.* In six volumes. New York: P. O'Shea, 37 Barclay street.

Though these Essays of Cardinal Wiseman are, as their title states, on various subjects, still they are not without a certain general bond of unity. Thus the first portion (vols. 1 and 2) is devoted exclusively to the Bible and to the Church in her doctrines or liturgy. In it, amongst other things, the important text of the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" is discussed, in order to show that the rejection of the passage is not called for by sufficient reasons of Biblical criticism. Another essay calls attention to the defects of our present English Catholic Version, which needs to be revised once more, so as to rid it of some of Bishop Challoner's "corrections and improvements," which are such only in name, not in reality: and the principles are laid down which should guide whoever undertakes such revision. In three other copious essays the author, with the magical key of genius and erudition, unlocks the hidden meaning of the Parables, Miracles and Actions of the New Testament; and proves that the attempts of heretical or merely critical interpreters may avail to illustrate the *dead letter*, but are powerless to search out the *spirit* of the Gospel history. How could it be otherwise? If the Catholic Church be, as we know she is, the church of the Gospel and of the Apostles, it is little short of madness to investigate their writings, without bearing in mind and holding in due reverence *her* dogmas and traditions. Then follow the celebrated Letters to Mr. Poynder on his "Alliance between Paganism and Popery," a fine specimen of the Cardinal's pleasant, caustic style; and other papers, among which those on the Fate of Sacrilege, National Holidays and the "Minor Rites and Offices of the Church," deserve special attention.

The next portion (vols. 3 and 4) may lay special claim to unity and continuity of thought. For, it is taken up with one main subject, treated under a variety of forms, namely, the movement against the State Religion of the English Church, which originated in Oxford some fifty years ago. One of the motives which induced Cardinal (then Dr.) Wiseman to connect himself with the *Dublin Review*, and to undertake the control of its Theological Department, was his desire to influence, as far as a Catholic could, the movement for the benefit of religion in England. It was his aim to watch the progress of the rising stream, to encourage or check by timely words of approval or warning its onward course; and finally, if possible, to guide its waters into the channel of Catholic Truth. He may not have accomplished all that

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his enthusiasm led him to expect; but he was eminently successful. And his example teaches us how far more efficacious are peaceful, earnest words, than the angry wielding of the controversial sword. All that could reasonably be expected, came to happen in due time. Those, who were quite willing to "discern and approve the best," but would go no farther—when the decisive moment came—refused to look upon the Grace that beckoned them onward, preferred the honor and friendship of this world to the profession of truth and the welfare of their souls, and sank at last, some into the mire of that narrow, vulgar, every-day Protestantism they had once talked of so scornfully, others into the abyss of skepticism. Our own country has furnished the like experience. Their leader, Pusey, from whom the school takes its name, is one of those who has most misused the light given him; and, without a miracle of grace, his final persistence in error seems a foregone conclusion. Instead of drawing nearer to the Catholic Church, as some had hoped, he has steadily grown to hate her more and more; and, whenever it is expedient to blacken her character, he can stoop to falsehood and calumny as readily as the lowest disciples of John Knox or Calvin, on whom he affects to look down with such lofty disdain. He exercises a mean, petty tyranny (this we know for certain) over his followers, lay and clerical, such as no English Catholic would endure at the hands of the True Pontiff, were he *per impossibile* to attempt its exercise. He reminds us

Si parva licet componere magnis

of Melanchthon, who attempted to step into the shoes of the defunct Pope of Wittemberg, and thereby incurred the hatred and scorn of Flacius, Osiander and other Protestants. History affords no example, we believe, to show that the founder and head of any school of heresy (and the Oxford school was such, in spite of its many sound principles and praiseworthy aspirations), who ever had the happiness to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. And John Henry Newman, a name honored and revered throughout all Christendom, may thank God from the bottom of his heart, that—though he was once the life and soul, and brightest ornament of that new school—happily it never acknowledged him as its leader, nor inherited his name. Otherwise, it is very possible, to say the least, that he would never have had the good fortune to subdue the natural pride of intellect, and humble it with child-like obedience, as he has done, at the feet of Christ and His Church. But though the corypheus of the sect and many of his disciples have sunk to lower depths, yet many, very many of them were true to themselves and obedient to the call of grace. They abandoned kindred, friends, life-long associations, worldly position, and everything else, to hear and obey Him, who is "the Way, the Truth and the Life." And incalculable good has come of these conversions to the Catholic Church in England. They have furnished scores of priests for the destitute missions, and their conversion has led to that of many others among their kinsmen, their friends, their former parishioners. And all this, thank God! has produced an influence, that permeates and silently works upon the middle, the lower, and the highest classes of English society, especially upon the two last mentioned.

The third part (vols. 5 and 6), are simply miscellaneous in their character, and amply show the varied range of the Cardinal's knowledge. He seems to be perfect master of every subject, from the sewers of London and the science of drainage, to the mysteries of painting, ancient art, and the most recondite points of archæology.

Mr. O'Shea, the publisher, has done his part well in getting up

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these handsome volumes, which form only a portion of the entire Works of the illustrious Cardinal, which he intends to give to the public.

LIFE OF THE APOSTLE ST. JOHN. By *M. L. Baunard.* Translated from the first French edition. New York: The Catholic Publication Society, No. 9 Warren St. 1875. 8 vo., pp. 417.

The appearance of this book may excite a feeling of surprise, that some one has not given us long ago a life of the Beloved Apostle, for whose personal history there existed such good material in the pages of Scripture and of early Church history. Perhaps this attempt, and its success, may prompt some of our Catholic scholars (we think no Protestant would or should attempt it) to give us a life of St. Peter, written in the same spirit and somewhat after the same pattern. And there is no reason, why the same might not be attempted in the case of St. James, the third who enjoyed our Saviour's closer intimacy, the Apostle of Hope (as the other two were of Faith and Charity), the Apostle and Patron of a land that is great and lordly, even in the present abasement and misery—even though critical sources may not prove as abundant as in the case of St. Peter and of St. John.

Of the author of the book before us, beyond his name, we know nothing, except that he is a French priest of the diocese of Orleans, and that the first edition was published by Poupilgue at Paris, in the latter half of 1869, under the title of "L' Apôtre St. Jean." And it would have been no harm to advise the general reader of this much, in a few words prefixed to the volume. The translator does not disclose his name; but he has done his part well and faithfully, rendering the text of his Author into good, idiomatic English (a few peculiarities make us suspect he was born south of Mason and Dixon's line, which is no fault); and it is seldom, indeed, we are reminded of the fact, that the original is so thoroughly French as to color even the translation.

The author, M. l' Abbe Baunard, as he tells us in his Preface, conceived the idea of writing this book, while he was quietly meditating and praying in the magnificent cathedral of Rome, the Church of St. John of Lateran. The reflection that, while the cathedral, so to call it, of the Universal Pontiff derived its name from St. Peter, the true cathedral of the Bishop of Rome, from which title flows all his power as Bishop of Bishops, was dedicated to St. John—struck him as something wonderful and charming in Roman symbolism. The voice, so we interpret the author's meaning, with which Rome enchains the obedience of the world, is the voice of Peter, the Apostle of Faith; but the heart, which prompts these utterances, is the heart of John, the Apostle of Love. Within immediate sight of him who looks forth from the Lateran portico, distant not more than a stone's throw, stands the Scala Santa, up the steps of which John had watched the toilsome ascent of his beloved Master; a little farther off rise the fair proportions of Santa Croce, the noble Sessorian Basilica, which recalls all the memories of the Passion and Crucifixion, at which John assisted; and between the city gate, which bears his name, in front of the Lateran, and the Porta Capena, a little to the east of the latter, one may descry the Latin gate, near which John lovingly, but in vain, strove to win the martyr's purple crown. No wonder that this scene inspired the good priest, and that these hallowed memories, rushing upon his soul, impelled him to consecrate his pen to the praises of the

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glorious Apostle. And he has written of him with love and enthusiasm. He follows the Saint from his birth, through his apostolic career, up to the day of his death in Ephesus. He indulges, it must be said to his credit, in precisely the amount of auxiliary erudition that will entertain and gratify the reader—enough to illustrate without overwhelming his subject. The character he seeks to give of the saintly Apostle is real and historical; not that which is too often presented to the fancy by painting and legend. He does not place him before us, as these generally represent him, as the mere "type of inert and languid tenderness." Against this error he protests from the very beginning of his work:

"We remember that John styles himself the beloved disciple; we too readily forget that Jesus named him 'the Son of Thunder.' We willingly recognize in him the Evangelist of the Lamb; we forget that that Lamb was the heroic Victim, and that to love Him is to follow Him even to immolation. We remember that John demanded a place of honor at the right hand of his King; we forget that even then he engaged to drink of His chalice of bitterness, and that he kept his word. We see him at the Last Supper leaning on the bosom of Jesus; we do not sufficiently contemplate him standing upright upon Calvary and at the foot of the cross. Let us not misunderstand it; the love which John represents are the supernatural energies of the passion, of which he himself says, 'Fear is not in charity; but perfect charity casteth out fear.'"—Pref. pp. 13–14.

Here is another passage, which will give our readers some further idea of the author's style:

"The 'Spiritual Gospel,' in order to be understood, demanded elevated souls, and therefore he addresses it to Christian souls. It requires to be 'born of God,' as he himself explains it, to enter into the divine mystery of the Gospel. The expression which St. John employed to signify that initiation, that divine regeneration, was *unction, chrisma.* 'As for you, let the unction, which you have received from Him, abide in you.' You have received the unction from the Holy One and know all things." (1. John, ii: 20–27). An exterior unction, in fact, consecrated the Christian in baptism. But that was but the emblem of a spiritual unction, far otherwise profound, which was to become the sign of the new nation. The fragrant perfumes, which the Asiatics showered upon themselves; the oil which athletes rubbed upon their limbs; that which lent men its brightness during the night; the anointing of prophets, of priests and of kings; beauty, strength, consecration and light, were all contained in that rich image. But especially it recalled in its very root the sacred name of Christ. It was Christianity itself, in the historic and etymologic sense, which received that deposit of the Gospel of St. John, with the double precept of keeping it in her heart and of disseminating it throughout the world." Pp. 331–2.

We might, perhaps, object to a word, which occurs in a note on page 36, where St. John Chrysostom is alleged as calling the Apostle "an utter ignoramus." The translator's expression does not seem happily chosen, and we think the author, too, has misconceived, or exaggerated, at least, St. Chrysostom's meaning. Whatever the saint has said, is based upon the passage of St. Luke (Acts iv: 13); and he must not be supposed to go beyond his authority. Moreover he was well acquainted with the meaning of the two Greek words *αγραμματοι* and *ιδιωται* used by St. Luke, and would not push them beyond their legitimate sense in the inspired writing. Now, these words do not

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mean "unlettered and ignorant," as they appear in Challoner's modern recension of the Douay and in King James' Bible, but "unlettered men and of the vulgar sort," as the old Douay and Bishop Kenrick translate. Even the two French versions most in use, the Catholic (we may call it so for the present,) of Le Maistre de Sacy, and the Calvinistic of Ostervald, render the passage correctly, "des hommes sans lettres et du commun du peuple." And we are astonished that Father Amelotte and the paraphrastic version of F. Carriere have ventured to render it otherwise.

Again, on page 41, Venerable Bede is introduced as *constructing a fable*, out of some words of St. Augustine (Joannem Dominus de fluctivaga nuptiarum tempestate vocavit), which he failed to understand. Now, passing over the fact that these words are not St. Augustine's, the censure of the great English Saint and Doctor, we think, ought to have been more mildly expressed, for more reasons than one. In the first place there is nothing in Venerable Bede's words that really detracts from the glory of St. John, nor does his phrase, given by our author (Ibid.) "castus permansit," in any real sense contradict A. Lapide's gloss on the words of Pseudo-Augustiné (whoever he may have been), or that beautiful passage of the liturgy, "virgo electus ab Ipso, virgo in aevum permansit?" We think not; besides, the opinion of Bede was held also by the Angel of the Schools, St. Thomas of Aquin, and by others. (V. Sandini Hist. Familiae Sacrae, cap. x., 65, and his Historia Apostol. de S. Joanne, 2, 3. See also Benedict XIV. De Beatif. et Canonizat. Sanctorum, Lib. III. cap. 37.) But nothing could be farther from our intention, in making these passing remarks, than to detract in the least from this admirable book, so full of instruction and edification.

"CONFESSION, by *Monseigneur de Segur*. Translated from the French by the Sisters of Charity, New Haven, Connecticut. New York. P. O'Shea: 37 Barclay street, and 42 Park Place. 1875."

This is a charming popular tract on auricular confession. At the outset, the Monseigneur "button-holes" his reader, and talks to him, all through it, with the easy grace of a witty but a wise Frenchman. It is addressed to the average free-thinking Catholic among his countrymen, whose head is wrong because his heart is more or less corrupt. It is clear, yet profound; and though necessarily short, it leaves very little to be said on the subject of which it treats. It is about the very best answer we have seen to popular objections against confession, and it will be found most useful in preparing the young to meet those objections, and in enlightening non-Catholic acquaintance in regard to the origin and the effects of the sacrament of Penance. As a specimen of the author's style we give the following answer to the objection: "I don't want the priest to interfere with my affairs." "Unfortunately, God wills such interference, and we must submit to it. Your affairs, my friend, are the priest's affairs, inasmuch as they concern the service of God and the affairs of your conscience. Our Lord Jesus Christ expressly charged his priests to concern themselves in such affairs. And, therefore, does not the priest interfere only with your affairs of conscience, leaving you to yourself in all things not pertaining to religion? The priest has not only a right, but a duty, a rigorous duty: First, to teach you, in general, and in particular, what you ought to do, and what to avoid, what is good and what evil, what is permitted

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and what forbidden; and after having taught you, he must, secondly, by every means, even at the risk of tiring and annoying you, excite you to serve God faithfully, and avoid, in your household affairs, in your business transactions, &c., all that is forbidden by the Sovereign Master, who alone is God.

"I can conceive that it would often be more agreeable not to have the eye and voice of the priest to fear, and sometimes we would willingly dispense with his interference; but it is just at such time precisely we most need him. Thus the young scamp who runs the street or the field, steals fruit and plays all sorts of tricks when he ought to be in school; the collegian who reads bad books, who stirs up cabals, who does all he ought not to do, and nothing of what he ought to accomplish; the honest grocer, who purloins from all he sells, and practices slight of hand on his scales; the amiable young man seeking to seduce the poor working girl; the servant man or woman who makes profit on his or her master's marketing; the sturdy wine merchant, friend of logwood, who carries his devotion so far as to baptize and rebaptize the contents of his barrels; the great lawyer who cheats half his clients, and the small one who cheats them all; the stout solicitor, father of quibbles and inventor of cases; the selfish housekeeper who forgets the poor and her duty of alms-giving; the woman of the world who permits unlawful admiration and reconciles such conduct with her conscience, &c., &c.—all these, you may be sure, repeat in concert, I do not want the priest to interfere in my affairs! The upright, on the contrary, and good Christians, find only their advantage in confession; they are happy to have, in the priest, a firm support, a faithful counsellor, a disinterested friend, who guides them into the good path, and enables them to penetrate the folds of their conscience. When a son says to his father, 'I do not want people to meddle with my affairs,' it is a bad sign—not for the father, but for the son; and experience shows that in such cases there is always '*a snake in the grass.*'"

Officium Parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. According to the Roman Ritual. (Latin and English.) Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co., 1875.

The Little Office of Our Lady has ever been a favorite devotion in the Catholic Church. It was the comfort of our fathers in the days of persecution, and relieved the horrors of many a gloomy cell, when allegiance to the Catholic Church was punished as a crime against the State. It is yet, in most Catholic countries, in constant use with the devout laity, and those clerics who are not yet bound to recite the Divine office. It is well to propagate such devotion amongst our own laity, that they may not forget God and their souls in this worldly, money-making generation. St. Paul (Eph. v. 19,) and St. James (v. 13,) recommend psalmody to laymen, no less than to priests.

The Latin text in the book before us is taken, as it should be, from the Vulgate; but the English translation of the Psalms and Canticles, where did it come from? not from the Douay, nor from King James' Bible. The translator seems to be one of the eclectic school, and to have made use of one or the other just as it suited him, though giving the preference rather to the Anglican version. We might object to this on purely critical grounds; and ask the translator, for example, why he has preferred "brook" to "torrent" in the last verse of Psalm cix. No one who has any knowledge of the physical geography of the Holy Land, can be ignorant that the Hebrew "Nahhal" is not a

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"brook" as King James' translators improperly call it, but a "torrent" as the Vulgate and our old Douay render it. But now and again our interpreter rejects both the Catholic and Protestant rendering of certain passages, and gives an interpretation of his own. From this it might probably be conjectured that this translation was prepared for some edition of the Office printed for the use of Catholics in England or Ireland over a hundred years ago, at a time when the old Douay was going out of date, and Bp. Challoner's revised edition (1750) had not yet made its way into public favor and general use. Hence the translator conceived himself at liberty to use any of the existing versions, or to make one of his own. Whenever he has taken the latter course, we do not think that he has always improved upon his predecessors; nor is he to be blamed for it; for the task of a translator of Scripture, and especially of the Psalms, is no easy one. But it is not to the fidelity or merits of the translation, that we are now objecting. We look to higher considerations. No one doubts that it is lawful, *servatis servandis*, for any Catholic theologian or scholar, lay or cleric, to write a book on this subject, to examine the existing English versions, Catholic and Protestant, to weigh them in the critical balance, and, whenever he finds them wanting, to propose what he thinks a better, more accurate rendering, whether it be for a verse or a chapter, or even whole books of the sacred volume. And when this is done in a proper spirit, with due reverence to Church authority, and not overstepping the bounds of honest criticism, the Church, far from being displeased, will lend her encouragement, as she does with all reasonable endeavors to illustrate the meaning of God's Word. But this is within the domain of science; the book is intended for scholars and men of learning. The Church does not wish such investigation pushed out of its legitimate sphere; she does not wish these changes circulated among the ignorant and unstable crowd, lest it should have the effect of unsettling their minds, and diminishing in them the reverence they have hitherto cherished for God's Holy Word. Hence she never will allow that by the side of her authorized version, these changes and improvements (real or imaginary) should be introduced into the liturgy, or into the prayer-books, or manuals of devotion. For all these the Church has always insisted on one uniform text, stamped with the seal of ecclesiastical authority. And this is precisely what we object to in the little volume before us. Changes that may be innocent or praise-worthy in a book of science, are wholly out of place in books intended for private, or still worse for public devotion. And this Little Office, we know, is recited not only in the closet by individuals, but publicly in churches and oratories by sodalities and confraternities. The American Church has spoken her mind plainly enough by declaring that the Douay must absolutely be adhered to, "omnino retineatur" (Conc. Balt. Plen., Tit. I., Cap. III., § 16). It is therefore against the spirit of our Church law, to say the least, to use in books for private or public prayer any other English version than the Douay.

"LIVES OF THE SAINTS, compiled from authentic sources, with a practical Instruction on the Life of each Saint for every day in the year. By *Rev. F. X. Weniger*, D. D, S. J. Permissu Superiorum. New York: P. O'Shea, publisher. 1875. Parts I.—IV."

There is no better exponent of the doctrine of the Catholic Church than the lives of her Saints. Here is seen how she acts out in practice, whatever she believes and teaches. Many a pagan sage delivered

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wholesome moral precepts to his disciples; but they were only pompous words, never reduced to practice by master or scholar. But with the Church of God it is otherwise. The Holy Spirit, whose perpetual presence was promised her, not only puts words of truth upon her lips, but maintains ever burning in her heart the flame of divine charity. Hence as she teaches, so she lives. If we would convert those who are outside of her communion, it is more necessary—and far more difficult—to bend their will, than to convince their understanding. Many a one who will readily yield to the reasonings of a Bellarmine, a Milner, a Wiseman or an England, and confess himself unable to answer their arguments, is not thereby always conquered; but will remain, tormented by remorse, in the false communion to which he belongs, until at last, perhaps, the daily life and actions of some Catholic, of which he happens to be witness, appeal silently but irresistibly to his heart, and bring about the happy result, which controversy never could accomplish. Many a proud patrician of Pagan Rome, as we are told by St. Chrysostom, owed his conversion to the holy life, he was forced to admire and venerate in the slaves of his household. And that, which is effected by the force of single examples gathered from the experience of daily life, must also be the natural consequence of holiness attested by history—not the holy life of one individual, but the collected biographies of all those great Saints, who, in every age, have filled the Church with the sweet perfume of their holiness. These are the books that Catholics should prefer to put into the hands of well-disposed or inquiring friends.

But it is not only, or principally, for the benefit of those outside the fold, that such books are written and published. They are meant not only to glorify God, who "is wonderful in His Saints," but also to furnish us Catholics with examples of virtue, borrowed from those who are of the same earthly mould, that will encourage us, and, if need be, shame us into serving God and saving our souls. The very Saints themselves were often led to renounce the world and begin their sanctity by reading and reflecting on the holy deeds of the Saints who went before them. This was the beginning of conversion and perfect life for an Ignatius, a John Colombini, and others. Even the great St. Augustine was released from his inward struggles and spiritual bondage, and called to "walk in newness of life" by the short, pithy argument which he puts into the mouth of that "venerable matron, Chastity, in whose train walked countless hosts of young men and maidens." TU NON POTERIS, QUOD ISTI QUOD ISTÆ?

Father Weniger has done the Catholic public a real service by the compilation of these Lives, which he had (as we learn from the Preface) previously published in German. The reflections appended to each day are highly appropriate; they draw out for practical use, whatever is most striking in the virtues of the Saint, or the incidents of his life. Their moderate length, besides, is such as to make each Life just matter enough for one day's private or family reading. The Lives are well printed, and handsomely illustrated, and we sincerely hope they may obtain the circulation that they deserve.

CEREMONIAL FOR THE USE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Originally Published by Order of the First Council of Baltimore. Fourth Edition. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co., 1875.

The ceremonies of the Church are not mere forms. They are forms,

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but forms full of real significance. In other words, they are the expression and external representation of spiritual realities. This is true, even of their minutest details. Each act, and movement, and posture, however unimportant in itself it may seem to be, expresses or symbolizes some spiritual truth. Apart, too, from the special meaning of each detail of the ceremonies, they are, all of them, important, as fulfilling the injunctions of Sacred Scripture: "Adore the Lord in holy becomingness:" "Let all things be done decently, and according to order."

On these accounts it is necessary that priests especially, and those who assist them in the services of the Church, should be perfectly familiar with the ceremonies, so as to perform them with the exactness, with which they ought to be performed, both as reverential acts to God, and for the sake of inspiring respect and devotion in the faithful. For—as is well remarked in the preface to the work we are noticing—"if Ecclesiastics are not well versed in the ceremonies of any sacred rite, the impression produced is far from being religious or edifying, and the intention of the Church is, in this respect, frustrated. As a rule, too little attention is paid to certain ceremonies which are esteemed by some as of such slight importance as not to merit care in their preparation. . . . Let the young Levites, then, be well grounded in ceremonies during their Seminary career; let them convince themselves that by zeal and fidelity to the prescriptions of the Rubrics, they are contributing to the 'decency' and, order, of Divine Service, and let them remember that a trifling carelessness in trifling matters, once acquired, easily and surely leads to a disregard of important Rubrics."

In the present edition of the Ceremonial, the arrangement of subjects is the same as in former editions. Some corrections of the former editions have been made, mainly "referring to the ceremonies connected with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the Forty Hours' Devotion, and some few regarding High Mass." An appendix has been added on the "Defects which occur in the celebration of Mass." The revision and correction of this edition has been carefully performed by the Right Rev. Dr. Becker, Bishop of Wilmington; and it is published with the approval of the Most Rev. J. Roosevelt Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF PAUL SEIGNERET, (Seminarist of Saint Sulpice,) shot at Belleville, Paris, May 26th, 1871. Translated from the French of the Second Edition, by *N. R.* New York: P. O'Shea, 37 Barclay St, 1875.

Nothing better exemplifies the strides which Catholic literature is making, than the number of books which any one topic now elicits from the press. Here we have an additional work, in part suggested by the sad days of the Commune.

This book, one of Mr. O'Shea's latest, is, as the preface partially hints, a "heart-study." As such it admirably suits our day and its wants, where sentiment is dying out, and mere availability made the test of worth. The author of this book is correct in saying that Seigneret's Life and Letters will prove of great service to young men preparing themselves for the sacred ministry. Here they will learn, what was so admirably taught by the recluse of Soreze, that the priesthood is a state where men will do good and be appreciated in proportion to "the spirit of sacrifice they manifest." This is also a work well

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suited to the wants of young people, who have not yet learned that the Church in 1875 produces as rare fruit as in the earliest ages of her existence. In it will also be found another very important lesson, that parents have in their own hands, to a great extent, the future of their children.

We cannot enter into the details which this book calls for. It would be unjust to attempt even an analysis of its minor parts. Throughout, it is so full of deep thought and heartfelt convictions, that we must ask every one of our readers to enjoy the satisfaction and to feel the edification, we have experienced by procuring this book. Herein they will learn of the heart and the soul of that noble youth, who "stepped forward and modestly took his place in the ranks of the doomed," when called by the brigadier Romain.

It is sad to think how men, frenzied with hatred of the God who made them, could thus torture His servants; but let us console ourselves with the thought that "the ball which pierced his heart, and gave him his death blow," was the means chosen by an all-wise Providence to add another to the noble band in heaven, who are allowed to bear the palm in their hands.

Before concluding we cannot help remarking that the Rev. Fathers of St. Sulpice in America and Europe could do no better work than to put in volumes, such as that we are reviewing, edifying accounts of their most noted seminarians Such works would be a blessing, and might be appropriately called "Gems of St. Sulpice."

RITUALE ROMANUM, Pauli V. Pontificis jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV. auctum et castigatum;—cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix. Baltimori. Excudebat Joannes Murphy. Summi Pontificis atque Archiepiscopi Baltimorensis Typographus. 1874. 8vo. Pp. 546. Red and black.

This is a handsomely-printed edition of the Roman Ritual, issued with the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Bayley, which should be of itself sufficient recommendation. It is, indeed, a treasure-house for the clergy, containing, as it does, not only all that a priest needs for the solemn administration of the Sacraments, for funerals, etc., but also an immense number of Formulas of Blessings for every occasion, all approved by authority. To mention only one point out of many, it amply supplies a want, which was often seriously felt in using the Ritual hitherto current amongst us. We allude to many prayers, versicles, Psalms and Gospels, that have been restored to their proper place in the chapter "De Visitatione et cura infirmorum." How often had a priest to regret their absence in former Rituals, especially when having to pay frequent visits to the same sick person. The print and execution of the book are beautiful, and every way worthy of the honored veteran amongst our Catholic publishers, who has done so much to promote the cause of Catholic literature in this country. A good deal of fault has been found, we are told, with a typographical error of omission in the first impressions. This was as unreasonable as it was unnecessary. Mr. Murphy was no more to blame in the matter, than this REVIEW, which was not then in existence. He modelled his edition after a copy, which it would have been presumption in him or any one else to suppose incorrect. But, whatever may have been the extent of the error, it was instantly remedied; and the edition, as it now stands, need fear no criticism. Others have objected to the bulk of

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the book. But if it was to hold its contents—so rich and varied, so desirable for the clergy—we do not well see how this could have been avoided. Perhaps a remedy may be found in an abridged edition. The present magnificent volume may be used for the Vestry-Room, and for solemn occasions; while the abridged copy—omitting whatever concerns Processions, Blessings that are of rare occurrence or require special faculties; but retaining (we would add) the many beautiful prayers for the sick—would be a lighter burden for the priest, who has to trudge miles perhaps on foot, day and night, in fair and foul weather, to assist in life and death the scattered members of his flock.

MISCELLANEA: comprising Reviews, Lectures and Essays on Historical, Theological and Miscellaneous subjects. By *M. J. Spalding*, D. D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Sixth Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. Baltimore: Published by John Murphy and Co. 1875. Two vols. in one. 8vo. Pp. 865.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION in Germany and Switzerland, and in England, Ireland, Scotland, the Netherlands, France and Northern Europe. In a series of Essays, reviewing D'Aubigné, Menzel, Hallem, etc. By *M. J. Spalding*, D. D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Seventh edition, revised and enlarged. Baltimore, (John Murphy & Co.,) 1876. 8vo.; Two Vols. in one.

THE EVIDENCES OF CATHOLICITY: A series of Lectures delivered in the Cathedral of Louisville (Ky.) By *M. J. Spalding*, Archbishop of Baltimore. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. With an Appendix. Baltimore (John Murphy & Co.), 1876.

These are three well-known books from the indefatigable pen of the late Archbishop Spalding. What gives the new editions a special value, is that they have received their last touch from his own hand. He was about to prepare an edition of his Collected Works, when surprised by his fatal illness. But the corrections and additions, from his pen, are given in these volumes. The "Evidences of Catholicity" treats of a theme "ever ancient and ever new;" and the Archbishop handles it in his own sturdy, vigorous style. The "History of the Protestant Reformation" brings to light, with unsparing hand, those disgraceful outbreaks of human passion and wickedness in which the Reformation had its beginning, found its development, and without which, as candid Protestants, like Hallam, are not ashamed to acknowledge, it never could have obtained its success. The witnesses alleged by the Archbishop are generally, nay, almost exclusively, the Reformers themselves, and their disciples and adherents. Yet there are men who laugh to scorn the miracles of the Church in ancient or modern ages, and can swallow without a murmur the prodigious notion, that this subversion of the old religion, this revolution, engendered in sin and propagated through blood and crime, was the work of Him, whose special attribute of Holiness is day and night, the unceasing song of the Angelic host in heaven!

The "MISCELLANEA" is mainly composed of essays, which owed their origin to the anti-Catholic movement of twenty years ago. Their republication at this time cannot be considered inopportune, since fanatics and knaves, of high and low degree, are seeking once more to

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enkindles the fires of civil discord, and to make of sectarian prejudice a stepping-stone to place and political power.

THE ADVENTURES OF A PROTESTANT IN SEARCH OF A RELIGION. By *Iota.* New York: D. &J. Sadlier & Co., 31 Barclay Street. Montreal: No. 275 Notre Dame Street. 1874.

"Iota," in common with many converts, feels it a duty not only to rejoice in the gift of faith which he has received, but, likewise, to publish a work, in which the strength of argument and attractiveness of style will induce other wanderers to enter that One Fold.

That "Iota" has talent none can deny who will, as we have done, patiently read his book from cover to cover. Yet, we feel constrained to say that our author's chief strength would be better shown in short, sketchy articles, published in magazine form, than in a book of several hundred pages, such as he has written.* "Iota's" attempts at analysis of character generally fail; when he limits himself to the mere sketch of what he has seen various ministers doing in the way of "Pastoral work," his success is complete. The title: "*Adventures* in search of *a* religion" is open to serious criticism; his dedication is likewise broken in its idea; yet, those who will read the first chapter and the second, will agree with us that Iota need but submit his future efforts to some impartial critic *before* publication, and they will prove even more attractive than the "Adventures." In a future edition, the curtailing of the "diary" of Master —— would be an improvement. The sentiments attributed to the youth are forced and exaggerated. With the exceptions above taken, we can cheerfully recommend Iota's "Adventures," as a valuable addition to the Catholic literature of this class.

* As proof of what we assert, we wish space permitted us to re-publish here Iota's description of the "dapper little budding pastor, in a neat white tie, spruce cassock waistcoat, and a solemn and decidedly professional black bag," and his experience when he had the misfortune to select his text from one of the Gospels, instead of from one of the more Deuteronomian parts of the Holy Scriptures. This would, indeed, afford amusement to our readers. A critic, however, must forego these pleasures. Readers, who desire the amusement we have enjoyed, must get Iota's "Adventures."

GRADUALE DE TEMPORE ET DE SANCTIS, Juxta Ritum Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cum Cantu, Pauli V. Pont. Max. Jussu Reformato, Cui Addita Sunt Officia Postea Approbata. Sub Auspiciis Santissimi Domini Nostri Pii P. P. IX. Curanti Sacr. Rituum Congregatione, Cum Privilegio. Ratisbonœ, Neo. Eboraci & Cincinnati. Sumptibus, chartis et typis Friderici Pustet. S. Sedis Apost. et Sacr. Rituum Congregationis Typographi. MDCCCLXXI.

VESPERALE ROMANUM, juxta ordinem Breviarii Romani, cum cantu emendato, editum sub auspiciis Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii P. P. IX. curanti Sacr. Rituum Congregatione cum privilegio. MDCCCLXXV. Ratisbonœ, Neo. Eboraci et Cincinnati, sumpti bus etc. Friderici Pustet, etc.

These volumes were prepared under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. They are published with the approbation of the same Congregation, and are strongly recommended to all Ordinaries, by our Holy Father Pius IX. These are

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the highest recommendations that can be given to works of the kind. The notation in these volumes has been arranged in strict accordance with the Roman system. At this the Holy Father expresses great gratification, as he is most anxious to see the liturgy everywhere in this, as in all other respects, conform to Roman usage. Great efforts are now being made in Europe, to revive genuine Gregorian music, in the churches; and, if we are to believe the newspapers, these efforts have been already attended with signal success. As to what has been done in this direction in the United States we can speak only for our own diocese. We don't think there is even in Rome, a choir where the Gregorian Chant is rendered with more precision and effect, than in that of our dioscesan seminary. For this we are indebted to the present accomplished professor of music in that institution, whose careful learning and long residence in the Eternal City, enabled him to introduce here not only the correct Roman chant, but the Roman style of execution also, which is and can be only traditional.

MADAME DE LAVELLE'S BEQUEST: COUNSELS TO YOUNG LADIES WHO HAVE COMPLETED THEIR EDUCATION. Translated from the Fourth French Edition, by a *Sister of St Joseph*. Philadelphia: Peter F. Cunningham & Son, 29 South 10th Street. 1875.

She, who translated from the French these admirable "Counsels"—Mother St. John, late Superior of the Sisters of St. Joseph—in life most highly esteemed, and in death deeply lamented—is now, we trust, receiving in heaven a rich reward for her many arduous labors of charity, done in despite of great and long-continued bodily weakness and pain, accepted with cheerfulness and endured with exemplary patience. Notwithstanding her sufferings, often amounting to agony, she discharged efficiently and faithfully the duties of her office as Superior, and also found time to translate from the French into English many excellent religious books. Of these "Madame de Lavelle's Bequest" is one.

The Right Rev. Bishop of Valence, in his approval of the second French edition, says: "We rejoice at the success obtained by this book, inspired by true piety and tender affection for youth, in which the lessons of experience are exposed with talent, and in a simple and attractive style. We again recommend it as a book most interesting, and well calculated to form young ladies to virtue."

The work is divided into four parts, viz: I. Duties to God; II. Duties of Young Ladies to their Families; III. Duties of Young Ladies outside of their Families; IV. Counsels on different subjects. Under these general heads a multitude of topics are discussed in a practical way, and young ladies are shown how to conduct themselves, so as to guard against mistakes and temptations, and to discharge their duties. Almost every relation and circumstance in which young ladies can be placed is touched upon, and the counsels given in regard to them are sound and judicious.

GENTILISM: Religion previous to Christianity. By *Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J.* New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co. 1876. 8vo. pp. 525.

As this volume has been made the subject of an article in the present number, nothing more need be said of it here. We will only venture to make one assertion, of the truth of which we feel quite sure. Had

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a book on this same subject, though with a contrary purpose, been written by any of the worshipers of modern science, "falsely so called," and had it been written with one-half, aye one-tenth of the logic and learning that pervade Father Thebaud's volume, their partisan press would everywhere be filled with enthusiastic, even extravagant praise of its contents. Father Thebaud will have to content himself with the applause of only a few, perhaps; but they are impartial men, lovers of truth as well as of science; and their judgment far outweighs the plaudits of men, who, like the encyclopedists and their crew of infidel adherents, have conspired to puff any and everything, provided it be irreligious. They will see and admire how completely the distinguished author has proved his point against the evolutionists viz: that Man, historically considered, since his appearance on earth, has not been progressing, but going backward, falling off gradually from what he was in the glory of his beginning; and that this process of deterioration went on steadily until four thousand years ago, and was only arrested by the coming into the world of Christ our Lord and the regenerating spirit of His religion.

"NEW PRACTICAL MEDITATIONS, for every day in the year, on the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, chiefly intended for the use of religious communities. By the *Rev. Father Bruno Vercruysse, S. J.* Enriched by several Novenas and Octaves. . . . . Exercises preparatory to the Renewal of Vows, and for a Retreat of Eight Days, etc. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers."

We don't profess to have a very extended knowledge of meditation books, but this we consider one of the best we have ever seen. The great objection to books of this kind, is, that the meditations are too long. They are meditations made, not to be made. They either contain too much matter to be digested in half an hour, or even in an hour, or too little, diluted, however, in any amount of verbage. They may do very well as spiritual reading; but they do not necessitate, or invite the mental exercise involved in meditation, properly so called. Father Vercruysse's meditations are short, pithy and suggestive. His "Considerations" are always interesting and instructive; his "Applications," appropriate; and his "Affections" spring naturally from the subject matter. To write a series of really good meditations, a man needs something more than a mere general knowledge of ascetic theology. He must be well posted in dogmatic theology, also; and in biblical hermeneutics. The book before us gives undoubted evidence of such a training on the part of its author. The learning that underlies its simple style, the good sense and the good taste displayed on its every page, and the writer's intimate acquaintance with the duties, and the wants of Religious, will make it an invaluable acquisition to Religious communities of men, and of women, for whose use it was specially written.

"SIN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. By His Eminence, *Henry Edward Manning*, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third edition. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Company, 31 Barclay street. Montreal: 275 Notre Dame street."

This volume contains eight Lenten sermons by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, when, or where delivered, we have no means of knowing. The mere statement that they are his sermons is higher

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praise of them than any other words of ours could convey. They may be thought to be on a trite subject; but no subject can remain trite when his research, and brilliant imagination, and graceful pen are brought to its elucidation. In these sermons, or, we should, perhaps, rather say, lectures, what was old and familiar, and, as some might think, common-place, becomes fresh and new and of absorbing interest. So much so, that few, we think, who will take them up, will be able to lay them down without finishing them, and returning again and again to dwell on some of the exquisite passages they contain. They are at once profound and brilliant, learned and popular. They carry with them the weight of theological lore and the charm of true oratory. They will be read with deep interest by persons of all classes, and they will serve as models of style to such of our young preachers as desire to rise, in their compositions, to the level of the most cultivated taste of the present day.

LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND ABRIDGED: With a continuation from 1688 to 1854. By *James Burke, Esq., A. B.*, and an Appendix to 1873, by the editor of the First Class Book of History: the whole preceded by a Memoir of Dr. Lingard, and Marginal Notes by M. D. Kerney, A. M. Third revised and enlarged edition. Baltimore: Published by John Murphy & Co.: 1875. 8vo., pp. 688.

Of Lingard it is unnecessary to say a word. His impartial history has stood the test of time and the most searching criticism. Mr. Burke's Abridgement has met, and deservedly, with great favor both in Great Britain and in this country. We owe our thanks to the writer of the Appendix for his interesting summary of events between 1854 and 1873; and especially for the good taste and impartiality with which he narrates certain facts of domestic history, which so few seem able to handle without showing their partizan feelings. In his brief but solid pages one finds none, we need not say, of the venomous rancour, and none even of the hollow, canting phrases, with which it is displayed by some or disguised by other writers of text-books that circulate over a great part of the country.

NEW MANUAL OF THE SACRED HEART. Compiled and translated from approved sources. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. (With the imprimatur of the Most Reverend Archbishop.)

THE LITTLE COMPANION OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1875.

These are two handsome little books of devotion. They are prayer-books in fact; but in the former, devotion to the Sacred Heart colors all the pious exercises, ordinary or extraordinary, such as hearing Mass, morning and night prayers, approaching the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, etc. The latter has special reference to the daily life of a Sister of Mercy. It contains many indulgenced prayers, some of which, we see, have been versified. This may not be always safe; though, as Father St. John remarks in the Preface to his English Raccolta, Rome, seems in these matters, to tolerate a good deal of liberty on the part of translators.

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THE DEVOTION TO THE HEART OF JESUS. With an introduction on the history of Jansenism. By *John Bernard Dalgairns*, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. New revised edition. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1875.

The devotion to the Sacred Heart seems to be growing all over the world from day to day. This little treatise of Father Delgairns is admirably adapted for its end. He wrote it principally for converts; but it will answer well, likewise, the needs of many born Catholics, who do not understand the devotion, and would be puzzled to explain or defend it, if questioned by their Protestant friends. It is written with eloquence, and at the same time is full of fervor and unction. The sketch of Jansenism at the beginning is graphic and most interesting, and would itself be worth twice the price of this beautiful little volume.

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ACTUAL SITUATION OF THE CHURCH.

The Church and the Empires. By Henry William Wilberforce, London. Henry S. King & Co., 1874.
Devotion to the Church. By Frederic William Faber, D.D., Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London, 1861.

A VERY common German print, to be seen in many houses of Catholics in this country, symbolizes one of the most poetical ideas and brilliant thoughts, that ever ennobled the human mind. The literal subject is the forcible entrance of the Roman army under Titus into Jerusalem; and the moment chosen by the artist, is that in which the conquering troops charge on the last remnants of the defeated Hebrews in the precincts of the temple itself. The despair of the Jews, dispersed in every part of the holy edifice, unable to stand against their foes, and choosing rather to perish by their own hands than to fall into those of the enemy; the rush of the invading legions as fearful as the blast of the tempest, and yet as orderly as the majestic march of the stars in the heavens, fix at once the attention of the beholder, and would alone render the subject one of the highest interest and most thrilling emotion. But in the right corner of the picture is just a little spot, a very small part of the interior of the huge building, where no scene of Jewish rage, or of Roman imperious sternness, can strike awe or fear and disturb the mind by the spectacle of any maddening passion. The atmosphere there is serene; and the new and never-before-seen personages who come softly to take part in the moving drama, do

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not appear aware of the fury of the elements raging in their immediate neighborhood. They walk gently but majestically, dressed in long flowing robes, and wearing over them dalmatics and copes of the most simple but graceful fashion. Many sing from open books which they hold in their hands, and the harmony issuing from their lips, to judge of it by their benign countenances, evidently fills their hearts with love and hope. The great object for which they walk thus in solemn procession, is an august matron whom they surround with a visible respect due only to a heavenly queen. She is seated on an humble animal, like the one described in the gospel when Christ entered Jerusalem in triumph. On her knee she embraces several newborn infants eager to receive their nourishment from her breasts, and destined to people the earth after the despair of Jews and the harshness of Romans shall have devastated it.

The reader has already pronounced the name of this "daughter of the King." It is the Church of Christ, who came to give birth to a new people, after Judaism and Gentilism should have disappeared.

In this noble production of a great unknown artist, the symbol is so lucid and transparent that no Christian can look at it without recognizing at once the sublime truths embodied in it. Yet it required genius to express it in so striking a manner, and few writers or painters, we believe, have given of the mission of the Church, such a true, simple, and natural portraiture as this. It describes perfectly the way the kingdom of God on earth was first spread and established; and what the designer of this engraving has represented as taking place in Judea, at the destruction of Jerusalem, by the gentle and almost unperceived coming in of the Bride of Christ, in the midst of the universal tumult, happened likewise, it may be said, on the whole earth wherever the new religion penetrated.

For it is a very false view of the early spread of Christianity, which confines it almost to the provinces of the Roman Empire. In Africa, it not only conquered Egypt, but it rapidly carried the cross to the southern limits of Nubia, where the Roman arms never penetrated. Christian inscriptions and pictures are yet preserved as far as modern Khartoom, that is at a point not very remote from the lately discovered lakes of Victoria and Albert N'Yanza. It also speedily conquered a great part of Persia, which then extended to the very confines of Hindostan and of China. This is now clearly proved by the recent researches of many Orientalists. A great part of Arabia, and the whole of Ethiopia, received likewise the good tidings of the gospel, although not quite so early as the countries above mentioned. Details could be given going to prove

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that the whole of Asia and of Africa would soon have embraced Christianity, had it not been for the furious onslaught of the Moslem. And everywhere was seen the spectacle of an august matron, riding gently and humbly in the midst of meek messengers and harmonious singers, calling on all nations to listen to the simple tones of a holy doctrine and a heavenly harmony.

This was to continue as long as it would take to bring the nations under the sweet yoke of her life-giving laws. But it was natural that those races who should become altogether imbued with her spirit, and profess themselves submissive to her control, should feel and manifest for her the same respect, veneration, and love, that is depicted in the engraving on the part of those who surrounded her. It was after all the Kingdom of Christ she came to establish, and if the "Son of David" was "humble and meek of heart," he was nevertheless a true ruler, and required from his subjects the acknowledgment of his authority, and the total surrendering of themselves to his sweet yoke.

At the true formation of Christendom, when all the nations of Europe professed at last the same faith, and submitted to the same gospel, it was just and proper that the same Christian life should animate not only every individual heart and private mind, but as a natural consequence, every Christian state and Catholic commonwealth. This process has been, we know, pleasantly represented by many modern historians, as the success of a plan matured cunningly by arch-plotters called popes, bishops, and kings, for the enslavement of nations. The philosophy of history is a great thing; but when it arranges in its cabinet the annals of mankind, exactly in such a manner as they might have been evolved, had those *philosophical* writers been the managers of it, and destined to profit by the plan, the whole result may be a fine Utopia and a wonderful romance; but every fair-minded reader, who has not himself formed the project of writing a philosophy of history, knows surely that the diversified events which go to form the life of nations, have never, in any corner of the world, eventuated in this fashion. A word on the subject will not detain us long, and will not be useless for the following considerations.

The race of diplomatists, project-mongers, and Utopists, has undoubtedly never been extinct in this world; but we would like that, with respect to their ultimate success, some straight answers should be given to many questions of facts, some of which might be like the following.

Not to go back to absolutely primitive times, but starting only from the universally known Roman commonwealth, what was the final success of the artful policy of those wise heads of the Senate, who were surely the most profound politicians that ever lived?

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Their fine theories of liberty and power, after the Punic struggles, soon ended in the frightful anarchy of the social and civil wars, which replaced liberty by the inconceivable despotism of the empire. The new policy of Augustus brought in directly after him the revolting spectacle of the most debased nation—patricians and plebeians together—at the feet of the most abominable tyrants that ever disgraced a throne. This lasted, with the short interval of some of the Antonines, until the God of heaven, angered finally at the result of so much wisdom, sent the barbarians to put a stop to it.

In mediæval times no policy in Europe was apparently wiser than that which directed the destinies of the German Empire. Apart from the strength it received from its Catholic element, there was in it an army of legists whispering in the ears of many of its emperors cunning maxims of despotism artfully contrived to override the power of the popes, which was then acknowledged by all nations, and which alone stood in the way of the plan for bringing back in the north the splendid autocracy of the Roman Cæsars in the south. The old men among us have seen those plans finally overthrown, with the empire itself, at the simple dictation of a Corsican upstart.

This last hero is perhaps the most striking example that ever was, of the folly of human wisdom. How many vast projects were splendidly devised in his powerful brain! What an astonishing success during ten years of his short life! And what was the final result of it all? Every one sees it in prostrate and bleeding France at the end of the reign of his nephew.

There is a meteor going now through the heavens, and apparently as brilliant as the star of the great Napoleon. For those who know intimately the history of Prussia,—if they are not Christians,—it is the most absolute consecration of human wisdom and might. From a dim atom of matter three centuries ago, it has grown into a dazzling sun threatening to engulf the whole of Europe into its burning vortex. And surely the whole of it is the result of a deep scheme, not fully developed at first, but constantly enlarging and expanding itself. A scheme, too, altogether of this earth, in which higher principles of morality and right have always been carefully discarded as being of no account whatever. Our readers, we hope, will not consider this as giving the lie to our actual assertions. In fact not Christians alone, but almost all solid thinkers, have very little faith in the long continuance of the new empire.

Many other facts, ancient, modern, and actual, could be brought forward to prove that the history of man is not left to his own devising; and that his most profound wisdom turns out sooner or later to be folly. But there are, in the history of the Church, con

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vincing proofs that the immense influence she acquired in the middle ages, was not the fruit of any such deep scheming and worldly projects. At the very time that her pontiffs were most powerful, their line of action was precisely the best adapted, humanly speaking, to react against their human interests; and historians are now obliged to confess that they were always prompted by the sense of right and justice, which everybody knows is not the surest means of succeeding in this world.

No! the universal veneration which surrounded during so long a time the Father of the faithful was not and could not be the result of a wordly-minded policy, but was the due reward of immense benefits conferred on mankind. The deep attention always bestowed by Christendom, when the popes spoke and acted as the moral rulers of Europe, was not caused by a slavish spirit, fostered by a superstitious fear of their dreaded thunder; but men then knew that Christ had given them their spiritual power, and that nothing was so necessary for its exercise, and for the well-being of the Christian commonwealth, as their moral authority even in the temporal order. And what was this last crown of their tiara so much derided in later times, as a superfetation brought on by cunning schemes? It was for them personally only a heavy burden, so that it is truly a cause of surprise that men could be found willing to bear it; but it was for the Christian world the keystone of the whole edifice, which now threatens to fall into ruin, merely because it has been ruthlessly taken away. Let any fair-minded man study in all their details the lives of the most powerful popes, and then declare if their position was a pleasant one; if the Rome they created was a luxurious Babylon; and the order of their day, in the Vatican, or often in exile or flight, a reproduction of the orgies of the Cæsars on the Palatine. For what temporal object would they have been scheming the enslavement of nations, when we see that the greater was their power, the more agitated, and humanly speaking miserable, was the course of their days and the dream-haunted current of their nights? Nothing but the stern voice of duty could have constrained them to undertake so ungrateful a task. The lust of power, they say, will produce such a disposition of mind. The lust of power, we reply, will not continue long to precipitate a successive number of men into inextricable and most intolerable difficulties, unless they are allured by the brighter prospect of repose and enjoyment at least visible in the distance, when it is not within immediate reach. Who can find in the lives of the popes the least token indicating even dimly any disposition of this kind? The world did not certainly see it at the time; and the emperors of Germany, the kings of England or France, who felt aggrieved by the remonstrances or open censures of the Vicars of Christ,

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did not often complain, that a tyrannical power had been set over their heads by a well-concocted policy, worldly cunning, or mere projects of self-aggrandizement. They knew then too well that their subjects would not have been deceived by these outcries. They preferred most of the time to tender humbly their own justification, based often on false pretences, subterfuges, or open untruths. In these few words we have given a short narrative of the long struggle between popes and kings. We think it is a very truthful one.

But it is nevertheless true also that in the midst of this constant agitation, troubled days and worse nights, the rulers of the Church succeeded in inoculating into the veins of European society the pure blood of religion. In spite of what can be said to the contrary, in spite of some great outrages which are the only events perceived by the common reader of those annals, it is an undoubted fact that all classes of Europe were then deeply imbued with an unhesitating faith and a profound veneration for holy things. This veneration showed itself not alone in the massive and wonderful buildings then erected all over Europe to the honor of Almighty God—surprising monuments of the grandest, noblest, and most divine belief that ever ennobled the spirit of man—not alone in the entrancing festivals of those days, going on in a glorious round through the year, either under the prodigious roofs of those mighty cathedrals, or often in the open air, through streets and squares, along roads and highways, over fields and moors—not alone in the private devotions of all, high and low, rich and poor, learned or ignorant—all classes vying with each other in their sincere efforts to prove their faith by the great and sure test of their daily actions. It was not only by such unerring testimonies as these, that European society showed itself truly Christian; but there was yet a higher proof of it, on which men do not sufficiently reflect. It was the grand idea all then had of the Church, which made of all Europe a true commonwealth, a real republic, animated everywhere with the same loyalty, the same interior spirit, the same exterior profession of the same truths.

The Church of Christ! who now feels that it is a grand personality transcending all ideas of nationalities, of particular races, and individual preferences? Alas, alas! How Europe, how the world, is divided in our days! Who will ever give us back that sublime unity of former ages? It was mainly of the Church that Dante sang in his exile, in spite of his deep attachment to his absent Florence. How he describes her in his flight through purgatory and heaven! And the schoolmen, his great teachers, what had they not said of the Bride of Christ? In what pages of their voluminous writings is she altogether absent? And the Fathers of the

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early ages, even going up to the oldest, to the stern Cyprian, to the ardent Ignatius of Antioch, to the sweet and simple-minded Hermas; who will fail to find in their pages noble and tender descriptions of her greatness, her simplicity, her purity and loveliness, her invincible patience in the most arduous trials, the depth of her infallible teachings for the highest intellects, and the sweetness of her milk for the mouths of babes?

Was not then the world full of her name? and was not that name blessed by every tongue, and we may say adored by every heart? Then mankind spoke of her with but one voice: The Church of Christ! This was the supreme felicity, to belong to her. This was the direst misfortune, to be cut off from her. On the very borders of the Arctic Seas, on the frozen shores of the North Cape, the Laplander knew that he was the son of that Church to whom the Italian or the Frenchman likewise belonged. They all had the same altars, heard the same doctrine, hoped in the same reward, dreaded the same offended God, and this unanimity of feeling, of belief, of hope or fear came, flowed from the great fact that they were the children of the same mother.

Read the history of the Crusades, by which alone the Turks were prevented from enslaving Europeans. Read the primitive annals of Christian Portugal and Spain, by whom the banner of the Cross was finally unfurled over the wide ocean, to be carried in triumph all around the globe. Read the details of those first Christian colonies planted in the Canary Islands, along the forbidding coast of Guinea and Congo, and later on, in the wilds of North and South America, and say, if those heroes of God and of mankind were not animated by the same ardent and then universal feeling,—the desire of spreading the Church of Christ to the very utmost bounds of the earth. We do not speak here of some of the *conquistadores*, but of the great majority of those two nations.

Such was the power the simple idea of the Church exerted on those ardent and vigorous natures; and to obtain a true perception of it, we must persuade ourselves, that this was the main-spring of the life of most of our ancestors for at least six hundred years.

Through the Church, therefore, Christian life had penetrated to the very heart of European society, and was the great spring of action influencing millions of men, of all nationalities, of all races, of all tongues. The consequence was that the Church was everywhere established—neither by decree of any parliament, nor by the ordinances of any king, but by the common voice of mankind, merely re-echoing that of God and of Christ. To judge of the actual situation of Catholicity, which is the main object of these pages, we must just now consider, somewhat in detail, what was then the glorious position it obtained in the world.

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(1.) The Church was then for all the great Teacher. Not alone for the poor and ignorant, who needed such a sure guide to enlighten their way through life, and received at least from her the clear and distinct knowledge of their origin and destiny, of their duties and rights, of their native dignity as men and brothers of Christ, of their obligation to submit to just laws and to the consecrated order of society. The Church was eminently, for all the humble classes of every commonwealth, the teacher and instructor; they heard her voice from the mouth of their pastors, from the examples of those who had preceded them, chiefly from the life of the God-Man, whose humble birth and protracted obscure life at Nazareth, whose sublime as well as simple teaching, and finally, whose passion and death were then known to all, and we may say never absent from the thoughts of the poor. Did they not see all those details pictured, sculptured, symbolized everywhere around them, in their churches, in their public monuments, in the thoroughfares and squares of their cities—even in the by-ways and lanes of their fields and waste places? The children were lulled to sleep by the simple harmony of Christmas or May carols; the ploughman whistled the same or similar ditties in opening his furrows or sowing his grain, the hope of a future harvest. The artisan, the seaman, the soldier, were then more used to such songs than to those of obscene ribaldry.

But it was not the humble classes of society only that received the teaching of the Church, and were moulded by her from the cradle and the nursery. The great and powerful themselves did not acknowledge any other teacher, and for this they have been called superstitious and priest-ridden. Read in the chronicles of those times what were the enjoyments of princes and lords at all the great festivals of the year; how they spent their Christmas, their Easter, and their days of Pentecost; what was for them the season of Lent and the time of Advent. Their general tenor of life was ruled by the calendar, and this was altogether Christian. What mockery of it has come down to the rich in these days of enlightenment! Christmas and Lent are the days of the Opera; Easter and Pentecost those of the Stock Exchange and the Brokers' Gold-room. Then with a purse well filled *per fas et nefas*, the monstrous caravanseries of fashion can be visited during summer in all the splendor of Mammon, or the old world can be set gaping at the prodigality of American spendthrifts. Who of them remembers in these days the Christian calendar, and its round of festivals and holy songs? But then it was the *fashion* not only to remember it, but also to act up to it; and this word alone—*fashion*—fully expresses how deeply the Christian spirit had entered into the body of society.

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No doubt the great were then often guilty of enormities; and historians take good care to bring them to the remembrance of readers. Hence the name of "Dark Ages," which yet sticks to those times, after so many glorious vindications of them. But in spite of the numerous misdeeds of which mankind has kept the memory, this at least must be said, that the guilty knew they had violated the laws of God; and often the proudest among them were brought to the stool of repentance, and atoned for their crimes before God and man by their subsequent life of strict righteousness or even austerity. In this they acknowledged the Church as their teacher, and to her they applied for their reconciliation with outraged humanity. Is it thus that great criminals in our days seek for the peace of their consciences and their acquittal on the part of society? Crime, unfortunately, has at last invaded all classes of men; the daily registers of public and private events teem with them, often to the horror of all. We look in vain for many records of self-humiliation on the part of evil-doers, who, all of them, appear indeed hardened. This is the word!

Yet this would not suffice to show how far the Church was the true teacher. The best proof of it is to be found in the well-ascertained state of the high intellects of those days. For the mind of man was then powerful. Only ignorant people will now deny it. Have the deep mysteries of religion ever been developed with more richness and pomp? Have the intricacies of human nature been ever analyzed with more precision and accuracy? Have the great social questions, which have become so obscure for us, been at any time so universally and satisfactorily adjusted and resolved as they were then? The vastness and clear-sightedness of those noble mediæval minds strikes with wonder every one who can read and well understand their works. Men speak often in our days of the rights of the human intellect, and of the necessity to allow it to expand freely its wings. Who could claim such rights with more justice and firmness than those who gave every-day evidence of the strength and comprehensiveness of their individual minds? Yet they professed openly that it was their duty not to rely upon it, but to lean mainly on the authority of the great teacher—the Church—and they consented to become *anathema* if their doctrine deviated in the least from the normal standard of all truths, the dogmas of the Representative of Christ.

Thus the surest foundation of peace among men, namely, the unanimity of feeling and belief on all important religious and social questions, remained unshaken in the midst of the native mutability of human opinions. And those who believe that this concord of minds must produce atrophy of the intellect, and degeneracy of its faculties, have to explain the fact—so glaringly opposed to this

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supposition—of a mighty generation of men of the highest intellectual order, accepting an extraneous guide for their thoughts, and yet keeping constantly in the rich storehouse of their inmost soul an overflowing treasure of the noblest conceptions and the most sublime verities. For a Christian the reason is plain: the revealed doctrine—the highest expression of the divine in man—had penetrated not only into the sensible fibres of his heart, but likewise into the highest chambers of his brain. The emotional faculties were ennobled and purified by the holiest streams of sanctity, at the same time that the intellectual powers were strengthened and developed by the most brilliant and dazzling light, which is that of God himself.

Where will you find, in our days, the same compenetration of truth and holiness in man? Alas! the bond of union between mind and mind on earth has been broken asunder; and freedom of belief has brought on anarchy of thought. Who dares call out for a still greater license of opinion? The man who does, evidently wishes for the total disseverance of truth, and the universal spread of the darkness of night. Discard entirely what remains yet of solidity in belief among us, owing to the existence of the Catholic Church, and we defy you to find out two men on earth agreeing perfectly in intellectual conceptions. The next move will be, to declare that absolute individualism of ideas is the *ne plus ultra* of strength of mind. Have they well considered the inevitable consequence? We shall then have a complete intellectual mutism, since men will be henceforth unable to understand each other. Then the last picture of the desolation of Jerusalem by the grief-stricken Prophet will be the universal portraiture of mankind with respect to the noblest of human faculties: *Sedebit solitarius et tacebit!*

But we have been carried away by our feelings; and this is not the place for pondering on the actual situation of Europe. There will be, by and by, enough to say on the subject. We return to our previous considerations on the former influence of the Church on society owing to the blessings conferred by her on mankind; and although much more could be written on her as a Teacher, we must pass on to say a word on her as a Judge.

(2.) During the whole time that Christendom existed in its strict sense, the Church was the judge of men and institutions, and this prerogative gave her as much pre-eminence in human society as did the previous one just considered.

It is not pretended—the reader is aware of it—that all or any of the civil tribunals, in Christian lands, were ever occupied by ecclesiastical judges. St. Paul tells us (Rom. xiii: 4) that it is the prince who "beareth not the sword in vain." The sword is the great

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sanction of human judgments, and the hand of the priest cannot bear it. *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine* is an axiom of canon law, never departed from in the most strict feudal times. Still the Church ought to be the great Judge in all Christian commonwealths, and she fulfils that function by bearing the code of true morality in one hand, and the sceptre of command in the other. By so doing she obtains a new way of access into the most important sphere of society, that in which all the great civil, social, and even political interests of man are practically cared for. This at least she did universally, when European society was thoroughly Christian. To decide in judgment between nation and nation, rulers and rulers, princes and subjects, individual men of every degree, was then one of the most striking prerogatives of the Church.

It is well known how this paramount right of decision in all the great concerns of mankind has been misconceived, misrepresented, and attacked. But the impartial inquiries of many learned men of our day are vindicating more and more this much-reviled power; and as the history of the popes begins at least to be written with candor, it is only those who remain behind buried in the ignorance of the last century, that will not shrink from attacking such personages as Gregory VII., Innocent III., or Boniface VIII.

The justice of the authority they exercised depends after all on a very simple question, and a question very easily answered. Did the emperors and kings at the time profess to be Christian? And as such were they subject in moral cases to the doctrinal and authoritative decisions of the Father of the Faithful? It would require, indeed, a great obliquity of judgment to accept the only answer possible to the first of these questions, and reject the evident consequence of it contained in the answer to the second. Mark it well: in the opinion of all at the time—and if Christianity is not an imposture, that opinion was based on absolute truth—Christ had given to the rulers of His Church all the authority He had himself over men and institutions. During His life He did not exercise it, as it was necessary He should appear humble and suffer death. But after His resurrection, hear what He says: "All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth." And every one must admit that those at least who acknowledge fully the claim of Christ, should willingly submit to His universal power. That power was transmitted by Him, in its entirety, to His apostles: "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you." The connection of both these texts is clear, since directly after the words of the first, the Saviour adds: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations." Thus the authority He had himself for teaching and judging all and everything on earth, He transferred to His apostles, and confirmed that power by declaring that they would receive the Holy

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Ghost, the source of all light and holiness, and that the Holy Spirit would abide with them "until the consummation of the world."

The non-Christians of our days, for whom all this is a myth, are, nevertheless, bound to recognize that in the eyes of all who lived in mediæval times, it was a solemn truth, on which was based not only their individual hope of salvation, but also the safety and constitution of the State; because Christ having received "all power on earth," could not be deprived of that power even over the State, which was thus bound to submit to His laws, under pain of being cut off from Christendom. But the authority of the Son of God had been placed in the hands of the Apostles, chiefly of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, whom all men of all ranks, even of the highest, were obliged to reverence and obey, whenever from his infallible lips came any authoritative decision, not only on dogmas, but also, and much more frequently, on Christian morality; for, the belief in his infallibility does not date only from the late Council of the Vatican.

All this the men of those days firmly believed; and it was universally admitted, not only in Italy or Spain, but also in Germany, France, and England. Nothing is better calculated than such considerations as these, to show how far the Church then ruled society. In the highest regions of politics, social ethics, and international law, the voice of the Roman Pontiff was thus paramount; and it was proper it should be so, since to throw the slightest doubt over it, was the practical denial of Christianity as the foundation of the commonwealth.

There existed then, consequently, a high tribunal where judgment was solemnly rendered on all those great questions which are now left to the tender arbitrament of the sword, and the sweet persuasion of rifled cannon and wide-mouthed columbiads. Which of the two systems is more humane, and a truer index of a period of civilization? But men, it would seem, in the infantile ignorance of our days, cannot conceive the possibility of a central judgment-seat, where Divine justice should thus have her throne and render her decisions. They cannot understand how sincerity could exist in such a state of affairs. They imagine the world must then have consisted of a master juggler at the centre and millions of simpletons at the circumference. And, moreover, in their opinion, how could the court of Rome face at the same time all the points of the compass, and enter into the discussion of mighty State affairs, as well as of the intricate complication of innumerable individual cases?

Yet, what they consider as an impossibility in point of fact, has always existed, more or less; exists at this very moment, and will

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surely exist to the end of time. It is only yesterday that we have seen the Sultan of Constantinople applying to the Pope to intervene in his troublesome affairs with his subjects of Herzegovina; and in 1846, that is, a few days ago, did not Italy propose outright to place the Pope at the head of a confederation of all the States of the Peninsula? But without alluding to the occasional need the nations feel of the papal power, even in our days, for the settlement of international or constitutional questions, there is yet in Rome, and there shall be forever somewhere, a judge willingly acknowledged by hundreds of millions of Christians as authorized to decide in numberless cases of conscience, as they are called, which are in fact one of the main objects for which Christ established his Church, as judge. You will look in vain for anything of the kind anywhere else on earth; and any one who has not at least turned over the pages where many of those decisions are preserved, cannot have any idea of the power of judging, which yet remains in the sure possession of the Church. As to the sincerity existing on both sides, no one has a right to question it, when the human conscience is concerned, and the Roman Church has always given proofs of her earnestness in defending her prerogatives. But it is unfortunately undeniable that this power of judging with righteousness, existing yet in our days, is absolutely nothing compared to what it was formerly.

Then the Church ruled the world by her decisions. Often did the barons of proud England, the imperial electors of stubborn Germany, the princes of the blood and peers of the realm in France —alternately the most submissive of daughters and the most troublesome of shrews—apply to the Supreme Pontiff for his interposition against the tyrannical behavior of some emperor or king. Often also did empresses and queens call on the common Father to bring back their execrable husbands to at least an outward observance of the rules of morality or common decency. Would to God that Gallicanism had not denied that power to the popes at the time of Louis XIV. and his grandson! Often too did rich and powerful cities beg of councils or pontiffs to see that their charters were not infringed by feudal barons or despotic counts. As to the number of individual applications for redress, who could count them? From this simple and too short enumeration it is easy to judge whether the lives of popes or bishops could then be idle and unprofitable. But history shows that they could and did fulfil their duty.

All this was perfectly unknown a hundred years ago; or, what was not then completely ignored by men of learning, was invariably represented as a series of usurpations and unwarranted encroachments by the ecclesiastical power. But the admirable collection

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of chronicles edited in England chiefly by Ellis, the republication of memoirs and annals, undertaken in France under the auspices of Guizot, the numerous and often excellent biographies written and published in Germany, besides many learned works printed in Belgium and Italy on mediæval transactions, have raised the veil which for so long a time wrapped up in darkness those great ages of faith. Many points of detail are yet obscure, no doubt, and require still the labors of critics to elucidate them and present them in their true light. Yet the general outlines are now well ascertained, and compel the most skeptical to acknowledge the beneficial result of the power of the Church in her capacity of judge and arbitrator. At any rate, if another Voltaire appeared again, he would never dare to write anything like the *Annales de l'Empire* or *L'essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations.* Such unblushing effrontery, such caricature of truth, would instantly be reprobated and hooted down as a contemptible mass of calumnies.

Men are found, however, half convinced by the more exact portraiture of those times, and open evidently to a more thorough conviction, who still hesitate to take altogether the Catholic view, on account of the perpetual wars of that troublous epoch, and the apparent uselessness of pontifical arbitration. "The theory is fine," they say, "and it ought to have produced peace, yet it did not, and there was scarcely any other period in the annals of mankind more violent and universally agitated." This remark is perfectly true, and it would be fatal to the side we advocate, if there were not great reason it should be so—a reason not only independent of the will of Roman pontiffs, but altogether opposed to their benevolent designs, which were constantly counteracted by a gigantic force which required centuries to be subdued. This was the bane of feudalism.

This system, universal at the time in Europe, was accurately copied from the organization of an army. This remark is taken from the *Introduction to Clyn's Annals*, by Very Rev. Dean Butler, and quoted more *in extenso* in the *Irish Race.* It was thus of the essence of feudal nations, to be constantly at war with each other. Society was a camp, every manor a fortress, every knight a soldier, every villein a camp-follower. Many more details could be given illustrative of this strange fact. But, from the few words just written, the reader will understand how impossible it was to abolish war in feudal nations. The only successful way would have been to abolish feudalism first. But to do this the popes were almost powerless. They had had nothing to do with its establishment. It had been imposed on Europe, in spite of them, by innumerable circumstances, the most important of these being the martial habits of Scandinavian tribes. The only thing the popes could do was—in admitting, perforce, the system—to tame

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it down by the influence of religion, and draw out the teeth and claws of the wild beast, by obliging it to receive a kind of solemn consecration. Thus the pontiffs placed on the heads of emperors and kings a brilliant crown and in their hands a golden sceptre. But in doing this, they told them boldly: This has been given you by me for the good of the people, not for their oppression. The people have rights which I consecrate as well as yours. Swear that you will govern according to these principles, of which I am the judge. Should you be unfaithful, I shall take away this crown and this sceptre from you, and allow the people to choose another sovereign who shall receive instead of you these insignia of royalty.

Read the ceremonial of the consecration of emperors and kings in mediæval times, and say if this was not its meaning. But every one must admit the consequence, namely, that the constant state of war then existing cannot be laid to the charge of the popes. They often, on the contrary, openly interfered between nations to prevent their going to war, or to assuage the evils resulting from it, and did certainly all they could as far as their title of judge or arbitrator allowed them.

This brings us naturally to consider the third and last prerogative of the Church, by which she gained an immense influence over European society, and justly deserved the gratitude of mankind. This was that she should be publicly known as the avenger of wrong and the consoler of the afflicted, of all ranks and degrees. A few paragraphs will suffice for this consideration.

(3.) Of all her prerogatives, of all her sources of influence on society, there was none undoubtedly which she prized more, none which she attended to with greater care than her title of advocate and protectress of the poor. Christ himself had impressed this upon her with peculiar earnestness. He was born poor, remained poor all his life, and died in the most wretched poverty. He had blessed the poor, delighted in their company, and avoided that of the wealthy. In leaving his apostles on earth, he inspired them by his grace with the most tender affection for the poor and afflicted. They showed it directly after the first establishment of the Church in Jerusalem, by instituting purposely for that object the order of Deaconship.

The Church would have had to forget entirely the doctrine and example of her Founder, if she had for a moment been mindless of the lower classes of society. This she could not do, since she was to be forever the faithful bride of Christ. This she showed particularly during the whole of mediæval times. The chief effect of the invasions of barbarians all over Europe had been to establish everywhere a rough and rude aristocracy which, in taking forcible possession of the land, had declared at the same time that to its

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possessors belonged exclusively all political and civil authority. Feudalism was born of this frightful maxim, and feudalism had thus divided at once society into only two classes of people: those who possessed everything, wealth and power, and those who remained entirely deprived of both. And this last class was far more numerous than the first. The Church at once declared herself the protectress of this most unfortunate part of mankind; and, as a natural consequence, the poor flocked eagerly to her tutelary embrace.

No more striking proof of this can be given, than to refer in general to the universal birth of what is called the commonalty in the tenth and following centuries. The conquered people, deprived not only of property in land, and consequently of any share in public affairs, but likewise of the right of any appeal to the law, since the law was not made for them, tried first to organize themselves in all the larger cities, into guilds or corporations acknowledged only by their body, and having in fact no legal existence; thus leaving them as before entirely at the mercy of the lords. They could do of themselves nothing more, and very little profit would they have derived from their plans, if the bishops had not at once stepped forward to their help. The bishops gave a legal and acknowledged shape to these informal organizations by obtaining for them charters of rights, which in time became the sure foundation of the Third Estate. Thus originated the great feature of modern times, by introducing with the clergy and gentry the great class of the commons into the organic life of European nations. To the bishops everywhere this was mainly due. The French kings of the last dynasty claimed for their ancestors the honor of having entertained this idea, and granted thus to the lower class a true charter of freedom. To a certain extent this is true; and more was done for this end by the kings in France than by those of England or by the emperors of Germany. Still, even there, in France, it is certain that the bishops were the great managers and directors of this mighty but peaceable revolution, which may be said to have entirely changed the face of Europe.

This at first appeared to have benefited only the burghers in cities, who henceforth became an important class, and were forever redeemed from that degrading pauperism and slavish condition, in which they would certainly have continued to exist, had it not been for those most liberal charters. But the benefit could not thus inure to the burghers in cities, without being felt to a certain extent by the still more wretched class of the peasants in the rural districts. Something of the advantages gained by the former was gradually communicated to the latter living in small towns and villages in the neighborhood. This was chiefly due to the influ-

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ence of the monasteries then flourishing everywhere in the country, enjoying with justice a high degree of public estimation, and often visited by kings and princes, who vied with each other in enriching them with the most valuable privileges. How could the peasants in the vicinity remain without any advantage from this state of things, especially in the neighborhood of chartered cities, when each and every one of them could at any time ask and obtain admittance into those vast monastic establishments? Once received among the monks, the newcomer was sure, if he had real talent, to rise in honor and to take rank among the first within those walls. It is known that this, once obtained, opened even the gates of worldly renown and influence; and history has recorded among the great and powerful during those times the names of humble religious, who were called by kings to be their ministers of state.

It is not pretended that, if such aspirations had been generally entertained by the inmates of monasteries, great abuses would not have followed. This peculiarity is not hinted at here for the purpose of glorifying secular ambition, which was in fact totally opposed to the true monastic spirit. It is certain that the holy men who were then at the head of those establishments, dreaded such consequences as these, and tried their best to ward them off by strict regulations and a proper observance of the most humble rules of their houses. It is certain, likewise, that for many it became the sad occasion of degeneracy, and finally of ruin. But of the general effect of such peculiar circumstances at the time, with respect to the lower classes of society, there can be no possible doubt; and thus as the burghers were helped to rise in cities by the noble efforts of their bishops, so the peasants in the country were preserved from pauperism and degradation, by the constant action in their midst of most influential establishments, which have been the butt of ridicule in modern days, but were then at their acme of popularity, and enjoyed, with justice, the renown of holiness, usefulness, and true respectability.

Thus we see the Church going on in all ages, in her mission of benevolence and charity for the poor, and gaining universally their affection, by the most inestimable benefits. But so far the picture we have drawn has been only a general one. Scarcely any detail could be given, and the reader has had to supply for himself the deficiency of the description. What would be the result if a portrait could be delineated, embracing all the features of the case, and presenting the moving details of a tender affection, directed to all the miseries of mankind, and neglecting none of those misfortunes which may be the lot of any one of the children of Adam?

The description has often been attempted; never to our complete

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satisfaction. It seems as impossible to crowd together everything the Church has done in that respect, as it is useless to attempt the complete delineation of the benevolent designs of Providence in creation. Try to go through both schemes, and you will soon find your imagination too cold, the sphere of your eyesight too limited, the words at your command too inexpressive, your pen and ink, in fine, but indifferent means of a mere mechanical description. Can you, in only a few pages, go through all the various phases of human society, in those lower regions of it, from which even the dream of happiness seems to be banished? Run through all the ills which our humanity is heir to; and unless you expatiate at length, and pile up detail upon detail to produce a saddening impression, the result is but inadequate to the theme, and in the end unsatisfactory. More; go on, if you can, through all the facts and particularities of this kind mentioned by the good Kenelm Digby in the three large volumes of his *Ages of Faith*, and you will find the whole, in the end, a dim, colorless, and melancholy picture, scarcely giving an idea of the grand theme expressed in these few words: *The Church was the protectress of the afflicted, the advocate of the poor, the avenger of all who suffered wrong.* See those innumerable establishments in cities for all kinds of diseases; classes of men and women entirely devoted, each to the relief of some particular kind of human misery; distant lands traversed at great cost and peril, to bring back home the captive and the slave; infants in their cradles, old men and women tottering on the brink of their graves, the object of tender sympathy and loving care. Enter into the houses of the poor, and examine if they are left without pity to their fate, as is invariably the case in pagan, or rather unchristian, countries.

Every effort that the Church, now more free and expanding, attempts in our days for the good of humanity, was then undertaken on an immense and universal scale, embracing indeed the world, and not excluding waifs and others whom the world abandons. Many in this country outside the Church, who had never before seen anything of the kind, and could not imagine that such had ever existed, express openly their admiration for our devoted sisters of the poor, mothers of mercy, and nurses of the foundling. What would be their surprise if the establishments existing at the time of the pretended Reformation, and destroyed by it, suddenly appeared again as they were then flourishing all over Europe? Their indignation would know no bounds at the thought that the infernal besom of such vandalism as that of the Reformation, had swept the earth in the name of religion and of pure doctrine. They would perhaps discover with a kind of horror, that Luther had openly thrust out of the canon of Scripture, the epistle of St.

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James, because it recommends the practice of charity, because it contains such texts as the following: "Religion, pure and unspotted with God and the Father, is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, and to keep one's self undefiled from this world" (i: 27). "Hearken, my dearest brethren; hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom? . . . . . But you have dishonored the poor. Do not the rich oppress you by might?" (ii: 5, 6.) "Judgment without mercy to him that hath not done mercy; but mercy exalteth itself above judgment." (Ibid. 13.) "As the body without the spirit is dead, so also faith without works is dead." (Ibid. 26.)

The thought is really capable of overwhelming with astonishment every *bonâ fide* disciple of the Reformation, if he but reflect that Luther, as is well known, rejected this epistle only because it inculcates the necessity of good works, and because the kind of good works, it inculcates, is so forcibly expressed by the writer. It really looks as if there existed on the part of the father of Protestantism a deliberate intent to abolish the practice of charity, and to harden again, as in pagan times, the rich against the poor. The true bride of Christ, on the contrary, has always cherished in her heart the most affectionate pity for every kind of human misery, and has always declared with St. James, that "judgment (shall be awarded) without mercy to him that hath not done mercy; but mercy exalteth itself above judgment." And in this St. James only re-echoed the words of Christ describing the last judgment, as contained in St. Matthew, chap. xxv. It is surprising, indeed, that Luther did not expunge this also from Holy Writ, it is so like that of St. James. The thought must have struck him at the time, but he reflected, perhaps, that had he done this, his most ardent disciples would not have dared to follow him.

The previous considerations explain fully the human causes of the absolute and perfect control which the Church, in former ages, obtained over European society. But alas! how different is the spectacle we now witness, and how complete, in the exterior aspect at least, is for her the loss of her former influence! To this consideration the reader must be necessarily led, and the description just gone through can only render more impressive a sight to which men have become unfortunately habituated, and which they contemplate with a sort of stupid indifference. To speak in plain language, and state the case as it exists too evidently—not to shrink from admitting the whole truth, since it would be alike useless and foolish to do so—it is lamentably plain that the Church has entirely lost her former control over the rulers of nations; has been deprived of most of it over the intellectual part of mankind; has begun even to see the lower classes turning cold and indifferent to

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her leadership. In the discussion of these three universal propositions there certainly are circumstances which admit of qualifications —we shall recognize them easily—but in general, taken as a whole, they are true, and constitute for the Church a state of existence which the world has never seen, except in her first days, to which she seems to be returning. Our ungrateful task will consist here in going into some details on each of those points. We will examine afterwards how this unfortunate state of things was brought about, and on whose responsibility rests the long series of evils it surely portends. And thus the reader may be brought to admit that what we see was the natural consequence of anterior events ardently opposed by the Church from the very start, but reduced to fact by the free will and power of evil men, by the association of those whom St. John called already in his time *Antichrists.* So that our present history could have been expected ages ago, and ought neither to surprise nor to discourage us; but, on the contrary is calculated to inflame us with a new zeal, and incite us to buckle on our armor and prepare to fight *pro aris et focis.*

The annals of the last three hundred years are pregnant with instruction in regard to the first point just laid down for our immediate consideration. At the beginning of this epoch the Church and the world were yet in the main what they had been during the previous period. The princes of the world admitted her claims. There was certainly a decline during the fourteenth century; kings were not all friendly; but no principle had yet been practically touched. Though heresy in England—through Wycliffe—and in Germany—through Huss—had already proclaimed an open revolt, and attempted to shake off the yoke of the Church, and deny boldly her hierarchical power over society, these attempts were immediately repressed, and the time-honored principles solemnly reaffirmed. But from the appearance of Luther a change is distinctly perceptible, and in our days the principles of Wycliffe and of Huss have finally prevailed, and the rulers of nations have accepted the rôle proposed to them just five hundred years ago by those two disturbers of mankind. To what results it must lead, is a question to be examined later on.

From the outset, Wycliffe went as far as erroneous doctrine could go. If the world had been ready to admit it, as it did at the time of Luther, the Church, as early as the fourteenth century, would have been forced into the position in which we now see her. The power of possessing temporal property, of exercising jurisdiction of any kind over laymen, of striking with ecclesiastical censures any Christian incurring them by his misdeeds, was openly denied by an Oxford divine of the fourteenth century. And, if the English nation had then followed its rulers, the scheme might have

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been carried through, since these appeared at that time as eager as the Prussian chancellor of our day to sanction such enormities. Wycliffe, first having found some encouragement, gave a still more outrageous turn to his propositions, and taught boldly that the Roman Pontiff is not above other bishops; that bishops are not above priests; that secular clergymen or monks are *inept* to possess temporalities of any sort; that princes and lords are bound in duty to take away such temporalities from them, and not to suffer them to exercise any jurisdiction over Christians. This is, indeed, a very fair picture of our own time.

The heresiarch went, later on, much farther still, and dared to pretend that even secular princes lose their authority by sin—a doctrine far less acceptable to princes; but as he did not first make any mention of this, and of many other paradoxes against human free will, and blasphemies against the liberty and power of God; as he first confined himself to battering down at one blow all the superiority and influence the Church then enjoyed, he could not but be listened to by princes with satisfaction. Thus a council having been convened in London, in 1377, by the order of Pope Gregory XI., Wycliffe appeared before it accompanied by his open protector, the Duke of Lancaster, Regent of England during the minority of Richard II. He did not retract anything he had said; but explained away what he had written and preached, by subtlety and sophisms. The number of his friends and supporters in the aristocracy of England struck with awe the English bishops, who did not dare to pronounce against him any *censure*, and let him go with an *admonition*.

As we have previously remarked, had the English people then been prepared to renounce all the ideas of the Church they had received from their ancestors, her position would from that hour have been what it has finally become in our time; since nations seem now bent in introducing practically the ideas of Wycliffe into their religious code. Look at it in detail, and you will perceive how perfect is the identity. The great Oxford doctor of the fourteenth century declared pointedly that the Pope ought not to be above other bishops, nor the bishops above priests; and at this moment the majority of European nations, through their rulers, are earnestly engaged in the very praiseworthy occupation of reducing this doctrine to practice. Their subjects give them indeed no little trouble; and, had they themselves the good sense to look forward more carefully to what is being prepared for them, they might devote more of their time to the discovery and the crushing out of plots and conspiracies against their own thrones. They all live in the midst of other nations and rulers evidently intent on mischief, since they all have such mighty armaments, of which a

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word may be said by and by. They see all around them former princes and potentates, who recently have been deprived of their authority and possessions, and who are for all the others an interesting subject of reflection and self-examination. But they probably find those subjects of meditation of too forbidding a nature to be attractive. Hence they are disposed to seize upon materials more promising for pleasure and profit, and eagerly attack both pontiff and bishops. Has not this been the main occupation of Victor Emanuel, or his government, since he succeeded to Carlo Alberto? Has not this been the noble preoccupation of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon III., to the length of neglecting even to prepare himself for war, during the last years of his life? Is not this the great bugbear which troubles the dreams of nearly all the presidents of the South American republics, from your Francias, Rosas, and Mosqueras, to those of our own day, whose names we have not the courage to recall to memory? Not to make the enumeration too long, and tedious in the end, and to put the climax to all reflections of this kind, is not this sweeping *dictum* of the great Wycliffe, the main object of the world-embracing policy of M. de Bismarck and his Emperor of Germany? Yes, indeed! to treat the Pope as a common bishop, and each bishop as an ordinary priest, and each priest as a poor layman—this axiom of the first reformer among Englishmen has now been adopted by all the politicians of the world.

Look at the most venerable Head of Christendom, and see how the potentates of this earth have treated and are every day treating him. If the "school of respect," as Guizot called it, has not altogether perished from this world, its poor remnants ought to be surely found in the hearts of kings. For their very existence depends merely on respect, and without this "their occupation is gone." Yet, with a crown on their head, they show in their conduct towards the common Father the spirit of the mob. Did not Napoleon III. applaud inwardly his friend, M. Edmond About, jesting about "the Vatican and a garden," at the very time that the Pope was yet master of his States, and the flag of France waving at Ancona ought to have protected their whole extent under its folds? Let us say it without fear or human respect: all the princes who in our days have felt the least veneration for the Vicar of Christ were instantly denied open communion in the councils of the rulers of Europe, were in fact rejected from the companionship of their peers, preparatory to being driven away from their thrones, with the full assent, if not at the instigation of their brethren in rank. Thus deprived of all human assistance, the Pope was left at the mercy of those who had sworn in their secret meetings to rob him entirely of his power, and place him, if pos-

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sible, in the position designated for him by Wycliffe five hundred years ago.

As to bishops and priests, there is no denying that the same policy is being carried out to the letter. We see it at this moment in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; we saw it but yesterday in nearly all the republics of South and Central America, besides the great empire of Brazil; we can guess it without being wizards, from the plans of a large and influential party in England, France, and Spain. Everywhere it is the same glaring project: to drag in the mud the episcopal and priestly robes; to deprive all ecclesiastical office of its dignity, and all men of respect for it. Will they succeed? Can they succeed? No! The mob can insult, but not degrade those it tries to outrage. There is in those, whom the rites of Holy Church have consecrated, too evident a participation in the majesty of God for them to be in danger of falling into real degradation. The recoil of all those insults will necessarily fall back on the men who are guilty of them. But meanwhile these revilers of all that is holy will continue for some time yet their mad attempts, and even go on boasting, as they do openly in Italy, that their projects are favored by heaven. Let them do so, and wait!

Yet what has been just seen was only the first article of the Wycliffian theses. There were other propositions bolder still than this one. We must look at them for a moment. "Secular clergymen and monks," according to the Oxford doctor, "are *inept* to possess temporalities of any sort. Princes and lords are bound in duty to take away such temporalities from them." This great man was certainly a prophet. How could he, without the gift of vision, determine so succinctly, yet completely, the duty of princes and lords in that regard; and in two phrases only indite a programme destined to be so faithfully executed five centuries after his time?

The necessity of a τέμενος, an *ager sacer*, or glebe-land, for the subsistence of the ministers of religion, and the proper celebration of public worship, was felt, from the beginning of mankind, by all nations, without any exception whatever. We see it in Hindostan, in Central Asia, in Palestine, in Egypt, even in Greece, where, however, the true idea of the priesthood began to degenerate by depriving it of authoritative teaching. We see it in pagan Rome, whose colleges of priests were so richly endowed; and where it was so easy for Constantine to give to the Christian Church all the means of comfortable support, by transferring to popes and bishops the property primitively allotted to the pagan priesthood. Never in the history of ancient nations do we see the smallest attempt made to rob the sanctuary of at least its immovable property. In a few instances, the fact is recorded of a plunderer seizing forcibly upon the precious treasures kept in the temples; and invariably

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the historians relate, how soon after he was punished for his sacrilege. But of any state taking back possession of the land consecrated to the service of religion and its ministers no mention is ever made in any ancient author that we know. If Cambyses deprived the priesthood of Egypt of any landed property, it was out of hatred to their idolatrous worship; but he left for the service of the religion which he tried to introduce, the wealth enjoyed until that time by the priests of Amun and of Osiris.

There is no need of mentioning the sacred character attached in all Christian countries to the land, buildings, and holy vessels, or furniture devoted, by the liberality of princes and of wealthy individuals, to the service of Almighty God. Wycliffe was the first to pretend that the gold and silver chalices, consecrated by the hand of pontiffs, and used only on the altar for the holiest rites, were but common gold and silver, and could without guilt be turned into coin. He was the first to assert, that land appropriated to a most holy object, and the "sacred inclosures" so celebrated formerly all over Europe and Asia, were only fields producing wheat and barley, whose proper owner was the state, which could more easily than churchmen produce two blades of cereals for each former one.

Our only wonder is that so acute a man as this Oxford doctor certainly was, did not see that his doctrine would fill with horror the great majority of the people then living. Perhaps he felt sure that he would easily obtain his object by thus enlisting on his side princes and lords, who could hope to profit by the grand operation. It is certain that Duke John of Lancaster, Percy, Grand Marshal of England, a woman even, the Princess of Wales of that epoch, declared themselves openly for the brilliant views of Wycliffe. But the odds against them were too great. The people were not yet ready for rejecting the idea of holiness as belonging to holy things, and thus the principles of the heresiarch were to remain dormant for more than another century.

Every one is aware that they became active enough in England under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth. Everybody knows that Germany at the same time witnessed the like spectacle of sacrilegious plunder. Later on the greediness of so-called Catholic princes and politicians was excited at the sight of the success obtained by their Protestant friends and allies. Let us consider a moment the literal fulfilment of the prophecies and principles of Wycliffe in this respect, since nothing is better calculated to represent this side at least of the actual situation of the Church. "Secular clergymen or monks are *inept* to possess temporalities of any sort;" this is the first part of the "proposition" of this leader of "modern thought." We do not know precisely how Wycliffe developed his theses, what arguments he used for their *propugnatio*, as the word then was. But

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the term "*inept*," that is, incapable, unequal to, impotent in fact with regard to all the useful ends for which property is held, must have meant evidently that under their care "two blades of grass could not grow where one grew before." This great axiom of modern times was thus at first revealed to the mind of Wycliffe, to become also the most powerful argument of all recent robbers of ecclesiastical property. It is, indeed, difficult to find any other reason for all the summary proceedings instituted, during the last hundred years, against the secular clergy and the monks in their capacity of property owners.

It is certain, however, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was commissioned by the Pope to have the heresiarch arrested, interrogated, and tried, could have produced stronger arguments in favor of the rights of which the Church had always been in possession. There was first that possession itself, which is considered for all cases of the kind a more than sufficient title; there was, secondly, the most important consideration of the danger human society would incur, if so well-established a right of property, as that held by the Church, was placed in the least jeopardy for any reason whatever; there was, finally, the sacredness and necessity of the object for which such a system had been established among all nations. Many other arguments might be urged; those just pointed out are more than sufficient. It is probable, however, that the Canterbury Archbishop did not condescend to refer to any of them. He must have said merely: "The Church condemns all those who oppose or invade her temporal rights, and hence your propositions are deserving of condemnation." And this certainly was all-sufficient, and was considered so at the time, since the "utilitarian" theory of Wycliffe was not agreed to, and it required a whole century more to dispose the minds of men in England to its acceptance. But see, in our days, how it is triumphantly upheld: "Those lazy monks kept half at least of their lands fallow, and allowed the neighbors indiscriminately to graze their cattle upon it." What a fearful heresy against modern principles of political economy, and how wise it was to deprive them of all property, in order to make a better use of it! As to the "secular clergy," their holy functions prevent them altogether from attending to material interests. The State can provide for them as long as people wish it; for, if people do not, there is evidently no need of secular clergy. Is not this, in Europe, the prevalent theory in our days? Has not the violent seizure of ecclesiastical property become *un fait accompli*, as Frenchmen say, all over the world? Do not the secular and regular clergy at this time present everywhere the spectacle of men deprived of everything, struggling by shifts and wretched expedients to fulfil spiritual functions which absolutely

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require the use of material help? No doubt some consider this as a great improvement, because the virtue of the ministers of God is thus better tried. But the wisdom of ages has never thought so; since, as we have previously seen, all nations from the beginning have believed that the servants of God in the details of His worship require permanent means, not left to the inconstant will of men, but assured against all possible events, thus placing them on the footing of real independence of a world for whose sanctification all their life is spent.

The best things, no doubt, are subject to abuse; and what the "wisdom of ages" has always upheld may be turned against the very object intended by it. If the ministers of religion ought to be placed in a position independent of the world, on a footing of respectability and consideration, above want, and consequently above the necessity of shifts and loss of time in providing for merely material wants; if all this is undeniable, and condemns openly those who have reduced the Church of God to her present earthly condition, it is certain, however, that the means placed by former nations, kings, and wealthy people, in the hands of the secular or regular clergy was not intended to be squandered in show, and personal pomp, and, above all, not in unworthy prodigalities. All this the Church has always condemned; and she, at all times, has enforced upon churchmen their responsibility in this matter, and the strict account they must render for the same before the tribunal of God. When speaking of show, and pomp, etc., we have not, of course, in view either what may be spent for the splendor of the buildings devoted to the service of God, or for the more costly ceremonies of His worship. But for churchmen, and especially for religious, to lead a life of luxury, to indulge in what we have called personal pomp, to look down from on high on the poor below, and repel them from their *sacred* persons as unworthy of their look or care—this we hold to be one of the greatest crimes a churchman can commit, especially when it is remembered that the money thus spent is called by all the Fathers and the best writers of canon law, the money of the poor, the funds of those who have none. Supposing, however, the abuse greater than it has ever been, it was not a reason for the State to appropriate to itself what did not belong to it. The remedy lay naturally in a very different course of action. There was the authority of popes, and of councils, and of holy men who, most of the time, could hold a pen in their hand, and write burning words of condemnation and reprobation. But this did not suit the rapacity of those who cared less for the reformation of abuses than for the filling of their purses under that holy pretext.

The thought is really overpowering to a Christian, when one

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reflects that there is now scarcely a single spot in the world where so sacred a thing as church property has been respected. The words of Wycliffe have become prophetic, "Princes and lords must consider themselves bound in duty to take away all temporalities from ecclesiastics." This was the second part of his first thesis.

It is proper here to inquire what kind of *duty* it was, on which they thus acted. The word itself, "duty," implies that this kind of property could not be "sacred." In fact, in the eyes of Wycliffe, there was nothing in the world which could be thus designated. He went at once to the utmost limit of sacrilege, which is to deny that there can be sacrilege. The modern system, which derides the very idea of the supernatural, is the dread explanation of the sententious words of the satanic prophet of the fourteenth century. The world is only what we see, and feel, and touch; there is no mystery about it. As there can be no connection between it and heaven, there cannot be anything sacred in it. Thus every kind of religion is a sham, or at best a superstition; and man, although surrounded by mysteries which he cannot fathom, must persuade himself that there is nothing in this world mysterious, holy, sacred, because the heart of the wicked wishes that it should be so. Is not this a perfectly truthful statement of the case?

Thus the temples of God, the consecrated vessels which serve in the Christian mysteries, the land which has been set apart for the various uses of worship, all things in fact devoted to religion, are no more sacred than religion itself; and it pertains to the duty of rulers to dispose of them as circumstances may direct. Nay, more, according to the thesis, these rulers are not free to leave things *in statu quo*, and to grant a further lease of ecclesiastical property to ecclesiastics; *they must take it away from them.* This Wycliffe asserted in his time, when the very thought of it was shocking to public opinion. In our days the rulers have seen, in Europe, the importance of this duty, and public opinion has not prevented them from fulfilling it. There were a good many reasons for doing so. The first and most important one was, that it filled their coffers. All did not dare to avow it; some did, however. There was, for instance, Wenceslaus VI., King of Bohemia, who applauded Huss, when a few years later he transferred this doctrine of Wycliffe from England to Germany; and the king did not blush to state openly, that this new dogma was for him "the hen with golden eggs"—*la poule aux œufs d'or.* Those who did not feel disposed to speak so candidly, found other motives much more avowable. There was the one we hinted at: "The lazy monks did not know how to render their property valuable; they would never be industrious enough to make two blades of grass grow

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where one did before." We have sufficiently spoken of this excellent reason, which could be made to apply to many other cases besides that of the monks, and open a way to confiscate at one swoop more than half the property of all the landowners in the world.

Another consideration which explains admirably this strange duty, a consideration probably intended by Wycliffe, but certainly entertained by modern rulers, is this: The possession of large estates gives naturally importance to the ecclesiastical owners. Thus the people come to look on them with respect, and even to look to them for protection. This detracts evidently from the greatness of temporal rulers, who ought to concentrate in their own persons every kind of homage, respect, consideration, importance, etc., for the good of society. In the presence of these priests, the share the rulers enjoy of all those advantages is rather a paltry one. As Napoleon I. complained in his struggle with Pius VII., the temporal rulers have only the *body* of their subjects, whilst the spiritual guides claim and obtain the *soul*. This is not proper. Let the priests be stripped of all they possess; when they are thus left naked, the people will laugh at them; and it will be a great gain for temporal rulers. Thus, the more we consider it, the more we are ready to admit that it is an imperious "duty," indeed, for the State to take away temporalities from priests.

But the best reason after all is contained in some of the previous reflections. As every kind of religion, and chiefly the Christian religion, is nothing but a sham, it is absolutely ridiculous to devote to it so many valuable things. Strauss, on his death-bed, put to himself three mighty questions, on the elucidation of which he concentrated all the great thoughts of his life. The first must suffice for us. It was this: "Are we Christians?" The answer was short but pithy; it contained but a monosyllable of two letters, namely, an emphatic "No." The same was certainly already the case with Wycliffe, as it is with his successors in the present age. This being so, it is in their opinion the most imperious, necessary, sacred duty of temporal rulers to take away entirely the temporalities of the clergy, since the religion they were intended to support is dead and gone. Nothing could be clearer.

After this solemn duty had been religiously performed for nearly the whole of Europe, there remained yet a little spot in Central Italy consecrated to religion and to God, in the person of the Supreme Pontiff. Some ceremony was evidently required to end the whole affair; and this was done in two *scenes*. The first protracted to the length of thirteen months, or thereabout, in 1861–62; the other, lasting only one memorable day, in September, 1870. That Europe was not overwhelmed with shame on both occasions, is

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certainly a sign that she is altogether proof against it. Some details are required here, as people seem to have already absolutely forgotten at least the first of those occurrences.

This one was, in fact, a solemn comedy in which, the Pope being the victim, His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon III., and the then Piedmontese King, Victor Emanuel, were the chief actors. There is no need of saying that England and other European witnesses of the disgraceful drama applauded to their heart's content. To render more imposing the stage effect, as "diplomatic difficulties had been created for France by the Italian question"—says M. Vapereau in his *Dictionnaire des Contemporains*—M. Thouvenel was called back from Constantinople, where he was ambassador, to take the place of Walewsky as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It must have been in a freak of drollery that His Majesty Napoleon III. took him from the Sultan to charge him with the duty of unravelling the "diplomatic difficulties of the Italian question;" that is to say, the still disputed point of the temporal power of the Pope. Charles Jean Marie Felix La Valette, a French diplomatist, senator, etc., etc., was appointed somewhat later minister plenipotentiary near the Holy See, in lieu of the Duke of Grammont, too honest a man to be an actor in this comedy. M. Thouvenel could say that he had a *fidus Achates* in M. La Valette. This last nomination was made at the end of August, 1861. Everything was now prepared by the robbers to compel their victim to consent to be robbed. For this, in fact, was the object of the operation; in which the success, however, did not equal the hope. We speak in plain terms; they are the only ones fitting the occasion.

What a fine comedy could be written merely by copying the diplomatic notes sent from Paris by M. Thouvenel, and presented with due solemnity to Cardinal Antonelli by M. La Valette, with the answers of the Cardinal! The whole gist of the play would be contained in the few remarks made by a writer of the *Correspondant*, of the same date, February, 1862:

"Would you dare in private life to declare to a man that you come on the part of the scoundrel who has robbed him of half his goods, to ask of him the surrender of the rest? Would you dare in a military contest to propose to a soldier who defends his last and strongest fortress, to give it up without a blow, because forsooth others have been taken away from him by treachery?"

This was precisely what M. La Valette went to Rome for, sent there by Napoleon III., in behalf of Victor Emanuel. And what was still more ludicrous, all anti-papal writers of the time exclaimed with a kind of holy horror: "What stubbornness! what obstinacy! what a dogged *immobility* on the part of this Pope! Down with that old man who refuses to yield!" This was the

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concordant note rung by all the *liberal* papers of France, England, Italy, Germany, etc. Noble chorus, indeed, of the drama!

M. de la Guéronnière, who was then the great *amanuensis* of His Majesty Napoleon III., wrote, it seems, a pamphlet on the subject, as serious in the expression as it was in fact ludicrous in the thoughts, whose whole object was to insist on the criminal absurdity of such stubbornness on the part of the Pope. The Bishop of Orleans, to answer it, had only to remark that, if the Pope was unyielding, Piedmont was yet more so. But that, from the beginning of the contest, if the Pontiff had always remained firm, France, then his great ally, had always given way and obliged the Pope finally to come down. Thus the *obstinacy* of Piedmont had gained for it successively the Romagna, Tuscany, the Marches and Umbria, and finally Naples. Meanwhile the *obstinacy* of the Pope had reduced him in the end to the insignificant patrimony of St. Peter, owing to the facile condescension of France for Italy. The pen of Mgr. Dupanloup was, as usual, trenchant and convincing. But it was a pity that in his position he could not use open irony, and exhibit, above board, the whole scheme of the comedy.

We have said a word of the rôle enacted by France, or rather by Napoleon, who appeared to be the only support of the Pontiff and was in fact his greatest enemy; who had placed Thouvenel at the head of his foreign affairs, and La Valette near the sovereign whom he intended to rob of the remainder of his States. The Bishop of Orleans has told us how successfully he had previously neutralized the firmness of the Pontiff, and given to Piedmont the whole of Italy, except Rome. We see him on this occasion using his Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his Roman ambassador for the same noble object of swindling the Pope out of the rest, thus reducing to naught his *obstinacy*. The whole would appear, not ludicrous indeed but odious, if all their diplomatic correspondence could be published in these pages. We read it at the time, but cannot now lay our hands upon it. We are positive, however, that in several of those notes of Thouvenel, lessons were openly given to the Pope, not only in past history, but—would you believe it?—in theology. The Pontiff from the first moment had uttered his famous *non possumus;* and M. Thouvenel could, of course, prove to him that he was in error. Past history and the doctrine of sound theology allowed the Pope to surrender the temporalities of the Church; and his *non possumus* was in fact—a lie. To this had French diplomacy come down! What interest had Napoleon in taking on himself such a disgraceful task? He was not then working for France, but for Italy; he was thus fashioning a new nationality of thirty millions of souls, whose gratitude to the Bonaparte dynasty was indeed short-lived, as every one

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of us knows. He was in truth fulfilling once more in his precious person, the celebrated adage: *Quos vult Deus perdere, dementat.* This comedy, therefore, whose first scene we have thus begun to develop, turned out to be a tragedy for France. But what was it for Italy itself, or for Victor Emanuel, who must be there its representative man? This part of the play deserves some elucidation at our hands. It was something more than a comedy. It can be called a spectacular drama of the *bouffe* order. Here we speak seriously.

His Majesty, the King of Piedmont, was of course convinced that the plan would be successfully carried out. When the curtain should fall, he would cry out, *plaudite cives*, as the Pontiff would be stripped of everything. But his great friend of Paris wanted that some ceremony should be observed in the proceedings. There was to be not only a kind of courtesy in the act of stripping, but moreover it was necessary for what remained of Catholic opinion in Europe, that in the operation there should be a promise of *guarentigie.* This is the Italian word. Let us see a little more in detail, how the various actors fulfilled their rôle around Rome. And here we protest that we are writing history; nothing is exaggerated or presented in a false light. Our limits, on the contrary, prevent us from saying enough, and much more could be added. If occasionally it looks like a satire, it is the fault of the actors themselves, not of the writer. When men strut on the great stage of the world, bearing on their persons the mark of the most detestable hypocrisy, when the disguise is so poor that their real features can be seen through the decayed silk that covers their face, the satire on their personality consists in their own acting; and the more faithful is the rendering of the scene by a strict historian, the more damning for them becomes his impartial pen. If it were not so, Cardinal Wiseman himself would be called a satirical author, who, writing at that time "on the situation of the Pope," did not hesitate to say: "His tranquillity and happiness have become the sport of those whose duty it was to secure them at any sacrifice. It is a matter of daily and fluctuating rumor, whether or not he is to be handed over from one calling himself his son—Napoleon—to another boasting of the same title—Victor Emanuel—who were only haggling about the terms of the transfer. . . . . He is now left hanging in what is intended to be an ignominious suspense, whilst the dice are cast by political gamesters for his seamless robe of state, which two conjointly may never wear—for that capital of the Christian world, the seat of his eternal pontificate—to see whose it shall be." At the time the Cardinal wrote, the promise of Napoleon to Victor Emanuel was not yet known, and people hesitated as to the way the plum would fall. But with this difference

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that our remarks must be more pointed, as the veil has been entirely lifted up; they need not be more pungent than these words of the dignified Wiseman.

Ricasoli—the successor of Cavour, who on his death-bed promised the Italians the possession of Rome within six months—was the first to give, in the session of 1861, in the Italian Parliament, a hint about the agreement finally come to between Napoleon and Victor Emanuel. "Our wish," he said, "is to restore Rome to Italy, without depriving the Church of any of its grandeur, or the Pope of his independence." As everybody knows perfectly how deep was the anxiety of M. Ricasoli for "the grandeur of the Church," and "the independence of the Pope," these words of his address to the Italian deputies were perfectly useless, or rather they must have been intended to raise a smile on the face of the "honorable" men to whom he spoke. He insisted on it, however; and a little lower down, he explained better his meaning. "We wish to go to Rome," he said, "in accord with France, not destroying, but building up, and at the same time opening to the Church a way of *reform* by giving her that liberty and independence which will invite her to *regeneration*—a task to be accomplished by the purity of *religious* sentiment and *simplicity of manners*, by *severity of discipline*, and by the frank and loyal abandonment of that power which is *opposed* to the great idea of her *institution*." We need not say that the italics are ours. It is the only comment needed on the words of this artistic comedian. The great French thief, Mandrin, could not have been more irresistibly ludicrous, had he addressed the rich people whom he relieved of the burden of their property, and exhorted them henceforth to reformation, regeneration, simplicity of manners, and severity of discipline. All these loving and praiseworthy intentions, however, of M. Ricasoli were at that very time practically explained, had they needed explanation, by the suppression of convents, and confiscation of their property in the Marches and Umbria, lately added to the kingdom of Italy; and by a decree just issued which put up for sale a large amount of ecclesiastical landed property. An honest man will always prefer the *honest* theses of Wycliffe in their naked simplicity of expression.

But so far we are still witnessing a mere comic play, and we promised that it would turn out to be also a spectacular drama. By what strange incident did it become so? By a very simple one. Garibaldi, a perfect stage actor of the *spectacular* kind, had *conquered* Sicily and Naples a year or so before. Victor Emanuel, who did not disdain to become his imitator in the same noble art, was on a visit to his newly acquired possessions in the south, at the moment that M. Ricasoli was addressing the Italian Parliament in

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the north, or shortly after. At Turin—for Turin was yet the capital—the great Minister of State was mimicking honesty in the manner just recorded; in Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples the noble Italian monarch was acting again to perfection the mock heroism of the "conqueror with the red shirt." Not only in his surroundings, attitude, bearing, etc., but likewise in his words, exclamations, affirmations—except perhaps the *expletives*—it was for the gaping multitude precisely what they had seen and heard from Garibaldi a year or two before. "We shall go to Rome!" "Rome must be our capital," he exclaimed on all occasions. A cool witness might have said that the King was mad. He ought to have remembered that the French troops were yet in Rome, apparently, at least, protecting the Pope. But that sensible witness would have committed a great error. The King was not mad; he was merely acting his rôle, not that of an ordinary comedian, like Ricasoli, but that of a stage hero like Garibaldi. Was it not his great mission to urge on the Italian people to speak openly their mind? Their thundering voice would be heard all over the world, and perhaps the Pope would hear it even in the Vatican.

We are not, therefore, surprised to read in the papers of the day, that "at Salerno, the *Sindaco* having offered (if you please) the city, the province, the clergy, and, as a climax, the National Guard, to aid in the triumph of Italian unity, the King accepted the offer with the warmest gratitude," and said that "he would *perhaps* soon need the fulfilment of that promise." The answer appearing still too cold to the excited *Sindaco*, "Sire," he exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, "will we go to Rome?" "Yes, we shall," replied the king, with the most solemn attitude and voice, "we shall, and soon indeed. For you it is an ardent, but yet a mere desire. I am myself under oath obliged to it." Were not these great days for the Italian play actors of high or low degree?

But it has been previously stated that on this occasion success did not crown the hope. How did it happen? Most of the events just recorded took place at the end of 1861, and in April and May, 1862. At the same epoch—we read in a French Review of that year, that it was at the very moment the Italian Parliament was discussing the tenor of the dispatches of M. La Valette—the Pope thought of inviting to Rome all the bishops of the Catholic world for a great celebration he had already had in view, namely, the canonization of some Japanese martyrs. He expected that at most a few bishops would come, the notice being so short. Three hundred had already arrived for the feast of Pentecost in June. Here it is proper to say, we are witnessing neither a comic play nor a spectacular drama, but a solemn commingling of earth with heaven, by what is called in ordinary language the communion of saints.

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Not a word is uttered there of Italian questions, temporal power, popular aspirations, etc., etc.; but twenty-six names of Christian heroes who died on the cross like their Saviour, as long ago as the 5th of February, 1597, were to be added to the catalogue of saints; and the Supreme Pontiff wished to give as great a solemnity as possible to a simple religious ceremony, that had of itself no political or worldly significance.

To be sure, the Church prayed; but that is what she does all the time; only there was a more visible union between earth and heaven, and greater favors were expected from above, as is usually the case when the road is more lighted up, by which angels are wont to travel; and in fact the desired succor arrived in a way which no one would have thought likely or possible. We are writing history, but it is Christian history, into which the supernatural must necessarily enter. The state papers of the time, which must contain the notes exchanged between France and Italy, have not been open to our inspection. In Italy they have been, we are sure, kept wisely closed by Victor Emanuel ever since that epoch; and those of France open, we suppose, since the day of Sedan, have not yet been examined, so far as we know, for our present object, in the multitude of the preoccupations of France since 1870. We are, therefore, reduced to consult the sequel of events as they are recorded in ordinary papers and reviews, and here is what at once must strike the eyes of every one who does not wish to close them to the evidence of facts.

In June the great solemnity of Pentecost, just mentioned, took place in Rome, and in July everything is changed. M. Ricasoli is no more at the head of Italian affairs; Ratazzi has replaced him, and the following phrases are culled from the *Correspondant* of July, 1862: "M. Ratazzi has just taken before Europe two solemn engagements: To respect the Pope in his present frontiers, and not to suffer Lombardy insurrectionary bands to be organized against Venice." This is strange indeed. Worse still, a little further on, we read that a well-informed Russian, travelling then in Italy, Mr. Tchihatcheff, a great enemy to the spiritual power of the Pope, respectful, however, towards his temporal authority for political reasons, "asserted in a pamphlet *On the Kingdom of Italy*, that the French Emperor had stated to M. Ratazzi that 'les Italiens doivent s'arranger comme si Rome n'existait pas;' that is, must not think of making it their capital." Consequently, we are not surprised to see, further on, that "Garibaldi was furious." He went down in a rage to Sicily; the two sons of Victor Emanuel ran after him to try to bring him back to reason, but in vain, etc., etc. Two months later the popular hero was in open revolt against Victor Emanuel. Attacked by Italian troops at Aspromonte, he was

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wounded, made prisoner, taken to a Piedmontese fortress by the *bersaglieri* of Cialdini, tried and convicted of rebellion by a court of assizes; and all this because he wanted that "Italy should go to Rome," as Victor Emanuel had solemnly promised. But His Majesty the King had backed down.

As the change of policy in Italy had been certainly imposed by France, there must have been a change in France also. Indeed there was: In September, M. Thouvenel was no more Minister of Foreign Affairs, nor was M. La Valette ambassador at Rome; their diplomatic notes and dispatches were "désavouées," says the *French Review*. M. de la Guéronnière, always faithful in following the inspirations of His Majesty the Emperor, had just founded a journal where he *advocated* the temporal power of the Pope; and, finally, it was agreed on all sides that the French troops would remain in Rome with the Pope, and the "Italians" would continue out of it. This was the end of the drama; but who was so far to say, *plaudite cives?* Not Victor Emanuel, certainly.

The object of the Wycliffian theses had, therefore, failed even in the nineteenth century. It was fated, however, that it should be carried out; and this happened in the second scene we have promised to describe. The first, of necessity, has detained us longer perhaps than our readers wished; the second will occupy but a moment.

The French troops were permanently withdrawn from Rome only at the outbreak of the war between France and Prussia, in August, 1870. Yet His Majesty of Piedmont did not move, and Rome remained perfectly quiet under the protection of ten or eleven thousand brave Christians, who had hastened thither at the voice of Pius IX. But as soon as the catastrophe of Sedan took place, as soon as the revolutionary government of the 4th of September broke out in a flash of tumult threatening anarchy, Victor Emanuel ordered all the forces then at his command—sixty-five thousand men—to march on Rome, and wrote a letter to the Pope dated Florence, September 8th, 1870. The first phrase only deserves to be quoted as being one of the most perfect models of hypocrisy and deceit that can be read anywhere. Since the sequel has given to the world its exact and full meaning, it ought indeed to stand on record, and be preserved to posterity. Here it is:

"MOST HOLY FATHER: With the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the honor of a king, and with the soul of an Italian, I now, as on a previous occasion, address myself to your Holiness." The mask indeed was thick and perfect, not seedy and threadbare.

What he wished, however, was manifest enough from what followed. He proposed that his troops should be allowed to enter

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the Eternal City "for the security of your Holiness and the maintenance of order." These were his words. Of course "the Head of Catholicity would be surrounded by the devotion of the Italian populations, and preserve on the banks of the Tiber a glorious See, independent of all human sovereignty."

The Pope answered this letter in a few words, full of dignity, refusing to accede to the demands of the king and adding only this short phrase, sufficient in our opinion to stop the invader in his mad career, had he not already stifled altogether the voice of his conscience: "I adore my God, who has suffered your Majesty to add to the bitterness of the latter days of my life." Then he sent his orders to Kanzler, his Minister of War, requesting him to defend the city "only sufficiently to show protest, and prove that violence was used, and no more." For once the correspondent of the London *Times* found this "a letter written in a fine Christian spirit, most dignified, and simple, and admirable in its wording."

The reader knows the rest. On the twentieth of September the papal troops, after a short resistance outside of Rome, re-entered the city. The cannon of Cadorna and Bixio made a breach in the walls; the Pope immediately ordered a white flag to be displayed, and negotiations commenced for a capitulation. The rulers of Europe had so completely separated themselves from the Head of Christendom, and so far forgotten the propriety even of offering their good offices to the fallen sovereign, that Von Arnim alone, the Prussian minister, thought proper to tender his *unofficial* intercession with the Italian commander, and thus gained an armistice of twenty-four hours to break the fury of the onset. Had not this much been done, the troops of Victor Emanuel would have at once entered Rome in the heat of the previous contest, followed by four thousand—some say ten thousand—Italian revolutionists, who accompanied the army of Cadorna, and who committed excesses enough the following day, when precautions, however, had been taken by the police, which would have been impossible on the day of the battle. None of the representatives of European sovereigns at Rome seemed to have foreseen such an eventuality as this, except the minister of bigoted Prussia. They all forgot what might have been the fate of the people, owing to their perfect indifference, if not hatred, to the Pontiff. That horrors might have been perpetrated, far worse than those which actually took place, could surely have been anticipated from the expressions used by Bixio, one of the chief commanders of the Italian armies, who, on starting for this campaign, boasted in open parliament that "he was going to throw the Pope and the cardinals into the Tiber."[1]

[1] Is it not for this reason that Bismarck is, at this moment, pursuing Von Arnim with such an unrelenting hate? If so, we would cry out: "Count Von Arnim, you

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But if all the European governments were then guilty of at least the most unpardonable indifference, that of Italy, by its senseless ambition, showed itself worse than all the others. The pretext was, of course, "the unity of Italy," as if there can be unity in that country, when the Pope is not only set aside but oppressed. Will he not always have on his side a great part of the population, in fact all those in whom the religious sentiment is prevalent? How can Italy be united when her children are radically divided on so important a question? The flimsy pretext that the Pope may be deprived of his temporal power, and still govern the world, and show himself "independent of all human sovereignty," as Victor Emanuel wrote to Pius IX., cannot satisfy any rational mind; for it is an absolute impossibility. All the fine words which can be found on the subject in the "liberal" vocabulary, have really no meaning, or rather are only expressions of a deep hypocrisy. All sensible Italians, all those especially who knew the history of their country, felt it at the time, and among them particularly Cesare Balbo, who wrote in his *Pensieri* these remarkable words: Those who seek the fall of the sovereignty of the Pope are "without any understanding of the previous sufferings and experiences of Italy, deaf to its history, blind to its mission."

Meanwhile the prophecy of Wycliffe has been entirely fulfilled; the Church has been everywhere stripped of all she possessed, and for the first time in the history of the world nations have insisted on laying her bare. How did God suffer it, and not miraculously interpose in favor of "His kingdom on earth?" There cannot be any doubt that, if these pages are ever perused by men deprived of Christian sense and imbued with the Wycliffian ideas so often referred to, they may find in some of our previous reflections a subject of ridicule, and scoff at the notion that the Almighty thought proper to interpose in 1862, induced to it by the prayers of the Church on the great day of Pentecost of that year, and yet remained perfectly indifferent to the fate of his Church in 1870. We have merely related facts, which every one can interpret in his own fashion; as to the real designs of Providence, they are veiled from our eyes, and it would be presumptuous dogmatically to declare or foretell their accomplishment. Still we might insist that in the second act of the drama we have briefly described, if the Pontiff, at the end of it, became almost a prisoner in the Vatican, Napoleon III. was likewise,

have for you the blessing of all honest hearts in Christendom. Your *unofficial*, and consequently merely personal, interference at that moment, cannot remain without its reward. Your posterity shall be prosperous when the Lords of Varzin shall have passed away! Let your children remember that their greatness will date from the day that, at a most solemn hour of the world's history, you showed humane feelings when everybody else remained cold and indifferent. The eyes of heaven were upon you; and believe it, heaven is more powerful than any Prussian chancellor."

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at that very time, a captive in Wilhelmshöhe. What will become of Victor Emanuel, the sequel will show. One thing is certain, Italy cannot be happy without a free Pope; and great disasters are surely in store for her unless she retrace some of the steps taken so violently by her. If Europe, as we shall show in a subsequent article, will never be able to settle down into a peaceful condition until she restore to Religion something of her former consideration in the eyes of the people, much more ought this to be said of Italy, which will never be able to find repose until she become again the centre and bulwark of Catholicity.

SHALL WE HAVE A UNIVERSITY?

Office and Work of Universities. By John Henry Newman. London: Pickering. 1856.

FOR many years past the question has been occasionally proposing itself to those who look in thought beyond the immediate horizon, whether the facilities afforded by our existent system of higher education be sufficient for the wants of the present age, or as a foundation for the probable needs of the future. It is doubted by discerning men whether that can be called a system which has so little uniformity and such radical divergencies; and it is plainly asked whether we have shown educationally the same breadth and depth of view for the advanced instruction of our posterity, that we are admitted to have displayed politically, in laying broad and deep the foundations of a government such as the world has never before seen? Nor has the answer been such as to satisfy those who hold, we believe justly, that each generation of mankind owes, as a duty to the succeeding one, that, during its occupancy of earth, attention to the spiritual and mental wants of the world shall at least keep pace with improvement in ways and means of material advancement and physical welfare. Have we then, in this country, devoted a tithe of the means, time, or talent to the examination and fostering of possible or actual means of high intellectual progression, that we have applied to the development of machinery, or to material inventive discovery? We conceive that, while we shall be found to have made larger progress in the latter than we have any record of, in the same space of time in the history of the world, it will be also apparent that this has taken place at the expense of the appliances for higher education. There is no question about the fact that a large amount of infor-

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mation has been diffused among the masses of the people; and it is admitted, on all hands, that a different kind of specific education, whether in the higher or lower forms of mental acquirement, is rendered more or less imperative by the peculiarities of each revolving age. But it must be granted that our universities and colleges (we have the names, if we have not what they should represent) are certainly not advancing with the requirements of the age; nay, there are many sedate thinkers and conscientious men, who find themselves obliged to admit that these institutions, instead of advancing, are retrograding; who see in the continuance of the present evasive substitutes under high-sounding names, no possibility of improvement, but rather the germs of constant and still more rapid deterioration. Our young men who have acquired all that these institutions have to impart, are by no means so well stored intellectually, either with actual knowledge, dialectic skill in the use of what they have, or practical information, as was the case in former times; and who will say that they (the graduates of to-day) are as well ballasted morally with steadfast principles as were their predecessors of half a century ago? Now, so far is this from being what our country has a right to demand of us, that it shows us palpably delinquent in duty to our own age, to say nothing of the rights of posterity. So far, what has been said refers educationally to the whole of our common country, without allusion to any distinction of creed.

But we Catholics contend, contrary to the opinions of most of our fellow-countrymen, that education, purely secular and mental, whether in the elementary, higher, or in the highest branches, is, if dissociated from religious training, an injury rather than a benefit; and we insist that the two things must be carried on simultaneously, from the first initiation into the alphabet to the highest point that education can attain. Hence it is that Catholics, while obliged by law to pay for the support of schools which they cannot in conscience patronize, tax themselves still more lavishly for the support of their own parochial schools, in which the claims of God and religion are not ignored; in which the child, at the same time that he learns to read, write, etc., acquires also his prayers, is instructed in the creed, the commands of God and of his Church, and gains a system of practical morals. Pains also are taken, and large expense incurred, to render the grade and amount of instruction imparted in these schools as high and complete as possible; and there is great reason to believe that their effect has already been to check, in great measure, the former yearly loss to the Church of many children of Catholic emigrants, too many of whom fell away from all religion, as a result of the training of the "*common schools.*" It would, however, not be fair to allow an inference

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to be drawn from what has been said, that no efforts have been made by Catholics to accomplish a similar result in the higher walks of education. In fact, we can point with pride and entire confidence to our schools and academies for the higher education of females, which abound in every portion of the United States. These are almost invariably under the charge of one or other of the female teaching Orders of the Church; and we neither know personally, nor have we heard from others, any reason to impugn their thorough competency, or their success in the task they have undertaken.

Within the United States there had been already established up to 1875, seventy-four *colleges*, distinctively Catholic, chartered and conferring degrees. There is not *to-day*, in the entire country, a single institution, Catholic, Protestant (of any shade), or non-descript, entitled to the name of *university* in the European sense of the word. Indeed, in common parlance, as well as in more pretentious literary usage, there is no distinction made in the use of the two terms; while there are some institutions to which the term *university* is applied as their *legal* title, though no difference whatever exists between the work accomplished in them, and that done in any of their fellow-establishments, under the designation of *colleges*. The *colleges* of France, of which there are some 320, do not come here into question at all, since they are, *plus minusve*, exactly what the *gymnasien* are in Germany, and are all controlled by the University of France. Strictly speaking, a *college*, in the academic sense, should be an institution for imparting the highest grade of instruction in letters and sciences, endowed with revenues, chartered by the State, and subject to a private or special code of laws. A university, in like manner, is properly an institution of learning, in which the whole round of letters, arts, and sciences (*universitas scientiarum*) is taught by special professors for each branch; which confers degrees in each or all, in which (besides the academic studies) law, medicine, and theology are taught by their respective faculties, and which may consist of an agglomeration of colleges, as in England, or of a sole corporation, as is usually the case on the continent of Europe. Some of our older and more flourishing colleges have faculties and impart instruction in law, medicine, or divinity, and, in a very few instances, in all the professional studies; while again, most of the establishments legally entitled universities, either impart no such instruction, or, it may be, only in one branch. Apart from the before-mentioned seventy-four Catholic colleges, there are in the United States nearly six hundred other colleges, almost all under the auspices and direct control of one or other of the various Protestant sects; for, while the theoretic cry is that there shall be "*no sectarianism*," the mani-

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fest design is that each denomination shall disseminate by all means in its power its own doctrines; and the actual practice is, in both the lowest and highest grades of schools, that the views of religion entertained by the teacher, are always more or less strictly inculcated upon the student. Now our country is the paradise of the sects; no other under the sun has so many of them; and as their leaders see the hold, which control, more especially of the higher education, of students gives them, the advantages of authorized access to the mind of the boy at that stage of his progress, when, with a certain strength of mind and some literary culture, he is forming his views of religion and morals, it will be readily seen that the sectarians are right, each from his own standpoint, in trying to secure such vantage-ground by the establishment of academies, colleges, etc. But the effect on these institutions themselves is, as might be expected, clearly belittling; and, as a result, said colleges, so numerous, so scantily endowed (when endowed at all), competing with one another for students, like so many life insurance companies, cannot, for the most part, pay competent men as professors, can hold forth no inducement to suitable persons to prepare themselves for such positions, have neither adequate library nor apparatus, and find themselves lacking in or entirely destitute of the spirit with which fame, success, or correspondent reward inspires teachers; and likewise lacking in numbers, skilled instruction, proper appliances, and the resultant emulation which animate and encourage students. "*Sublatis studiorum præmiis, etiam studia ipsa cito peritura.*" The professor having gotten a position, the continuance in which does not involve his devoting himself to further study, degenerates into the *iteratorum reiterator*, the retailer year by year of his first year's platitudes. The students feel no interest in his lectures or explications. The mediocre student is simply anxious to get his degree and leave the place; while the bright scholar (or he who might have become so under an able and advancing professor), comes mentally to the conclusion that if such be the results of learning (and this is his *beau ideal* of the article in question), the advantages of literature are very slight. The country swarms with professors and institutions moping and drowsing along just in this way.

Far be it from us to give wilful offence or to speak harshly; nor do we imagine that the open statement of what *many* reflecting men have said, and *all*, whose attention has been called to the subject, must have thought—a truth to which we need not longer close our eyes—can be, in any fair sense, considered a cause of umbrage. We mean, then, to say that we Catholics, through the natural effects of example and proximity, have become, in this respect, infected slightly by Protestant influence, tarred a little with the stick of the

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sectaries. Whether we have not been insensibly led to imitate them in other minor habits and practices, is not the question before us; but that we have followed their lead in this matter of multiplying small, feeble, helpless institutions, magniloquently calling them colleges, conferring degrees in course and honorary by means of their charters, and in all respects enacting annual solemn farces at their *commencements*, is too patent a fact to be denied. The mistake that has been made originated in right motives and in necessity; but it has degenerated into an abuse, and an abuse is frequently separated by very narrow boundaries from a moral wrong. In the early and feeble days of the Church in the United States, when Catholics were few, poor, and scattered, it was very natural that the faithful, feeling, as in accordance with their belief they must have felt, so much more strongly than their neighbors, the truth of their doctrines and the necessity of transmitting unimpaired to their posterity the sacred deposit of the faith, should have established, as well as their poverty would permit them, several colleges or high schools. When we consider, too, within what a short time the Church has made her most rapid advance in this country, we have great reason to congratulate ourselves that by means of these and other similar institutions, so much has been accomplished in the direction of the higher education. But now that we have taken form and consistency, it behooves us to manifest that we are in earnest in our zeal, not merely for education in its lower grades, but for the most thorough and most abstruse that the conditions of the age and of the Church with regard to the age render necessary; and to do this we must plainly consolidate our educational forces so far as the higher mental culture is concerned. We have gotten too much into the habit of sending educationally "*a boy to do a man's errand.*" We should have ceased adding to the small fry of colleges, at least with the introduction of railroads, consentaneous with which as to time has been our most solid increase. From that time on, the reasons that excused or palliated, in the first instances, the establishment and maintenance of ineffective colleges ceased to exist; and the same energy on the part of their founders, the same means and patronage on the part of the Catholic public that sufficed to support or to keep in existence ten such schools, would have made any one of them an institution of learning worthy of the name, an establishment of which Catholics might well be proud, a foundation for the not yet needed, but even then grandly looming up *Catholic University of the United States.* Instead of this, we see the patronage of the Catholic portion of the community frittered away among seventy-four colleges, until it just suffices to keep most of them from absolute inanition; and the eight or ten that are beyond that stage are neither doing what their managers

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would like, nor what they would, under more favorable circumstances, have been abundantly able to perform for the credit of Catholics and for the benefit of religion. Except in the single matter of classics, our colleges have consequently been very little, if at all, superior in a literary point of view to the non-Catholic establishments about them. Their poverty necessitated, perhaps, though it never could render thoroughly consistent with right reason, the habitual employment of the *seminarian* or *scholastic* element in teaching; since that must, in each case, have been always an experiment—not always a successful one—and the "*fiat experimentum in corpore vili*" could hardly have been satisfactory to intelligent patrons, however much it might adapt itself to the debility and poverty of the different colleges that pursued the plan. In short, they have competed with and stood in the way of each other until, advance being impossible, they tried to remain stationary; but as such a condition is not realizable, whether for individual or institution, few have made much advance, and the largest number have for years been quietly retrograding. This disease, certainly, we must have caught from the sectaries. Our ancestors did not know the disorder, and our fellow-Catholics the world over have never yet been attacked by it. It is an epidemic against which stringent sanitary measures are necessary, and we know of none likely to prove so efficacious in preventing the pest for the future, in spurring to greater usefulness on a higher plan, and, it may be, in weeding out members found *minus habentes*, than that to which the common consent of many Catholic thinkers on the subject points, viz., the establishment of a Catholic university nearly on the plan *mutatis mutandis* of the universities of Prague or Vienna, with an infusion of some features of Göttingen, Padua, and Bologna. It is proposed to treat of this subject in the following order, viz.: (1.) The necessity for such an institution in the United States. (2.) Its feasibility. (3.) Some details of a project for the establishment. (4.) Its professorships. (5.) Its students. (6.) Beneficial results to the Church and to our country.

That there may be no misunderstanding, let it be premised that what it is proposed to write is conceived in no captious or carping spirit. Indeed, there is small reason for fault-finding, when with comparatively limited means, and under such discouraging circumstances—our greatest increase having been synchronous with the days of Native Americanism, Know-nothingism, the wide extension of secret societies, and the lamentable civil war—so much at least was effected in the direction of the higher education by some of the older colleges, while none were inferior, in any respect, scientifically, to their numerous and supercilious neighbors. We repeat our previous assertion, that the study of classics has, in our Catholic

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colleges, always stood on a higher plane, been pursued more thoroughly, and to a greater extent, than in the sectarian institutions under the same name. All honor to the sons of Loyola, who established the college of Georgetown! Who can forget the noble legacy left the Church by Fathers Dubois and Bruté, in the founding of Mount St. Mary's? We are sincerely thankful for the amount of good accomplished by the other numerous seminaries of learning, commenced at various times all over our broad country, and we are far from saying that their day of usefulness is past. But altered circumstances require altered plans, and in suggesting (we trust in demonstrating) the necessity, not of their abolition, but of their existence under a changed form, and one calculated to do a great deal more good, we are only seconding the views which their founders, were they alive, would express; and certainly we are only actuated, if we know ourselves, by an ardent desire to promote the best interests of the Church, the advancement of which has been, at all times, the prime reason for the existence of educational institutes. But concentration of mind is no more necessary in study than is concentration of means, appliances, and numbers, constant contact of mind with mind, and of differently constituted minds with each other in the entire process, but especially in the highest phases of education. The apothegm, "*divide et impera*," is much more widely applicable than its originator had in mind when he first uttered it. Furthermore, while the writer has, of course, his plan to suggest, and asks a hearing for it, believing it to be a good one, yet he has lived too long to fancy that he has any monopoly of wisdom or practical sense of fitness, and he stands ready to be corrected on any point in his facts, reasonings, or suggestions, strong only in the one position, that he does not conceive it possible that any unprejudiced man should fail to see the injury daily inflicted on the sublime cause of higher education by the multiplication of puny, though certainly well-intended, institutions designed for its extension. It would be the height of vanity to expect to do more by means of this article than to suggest ideas and plans, and to elicit the like from others, so that—should the Catholics of the United States, after a fair and full survey of the ground and of the reasons *pro et contra*, come to the conclusion that the time has arrived for the establishment of a "National University"—the beginnings may be made after the most complete interchange of view and plan, experience and probability. It is not a work into which, in any case, we should dash at haphazard. The importance of it, not merely to ourselves and our own age, but to generations yet unborn, is too great; nor are the ideas on the subject of any one man, however able naturally, or cultivated by education, certain to be found such as would work thoroughly in practice. We, therefore, cordially invite both

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friendly and adverse criticism—prepared to answer either until either shall convince ourselves.

1. Possibly some of our readers may not be aware of, or may not realize, the rapid increase of the Church in the United States, in means and numbers, within the last forty years; an increase out of all proportion greater than that of the country in general, in population and wealth, during the same period. Now, numbers and wealth mean, in all countries, power; and in none is this more emphatically the case than in the United States. Whether the power shall be inert and ineffective, or active and efficient, will depend entirely on the intellectual culture of the possessors. Those who wish to bring the stupendous facts vividly and connectedly before their minds, will be able to form an accurate idea of the changes that have taken place, by comparing the *Catholic Almanac* for 1836 with the *Catholic Directory* for 1876. We shall give but a general conception of the facts, when we state that in the former year, in which Dr. Dubois was consecrated Bishop of New York (at that time including the whole State, together with the greater part of New Jersey), his whole diocese contained but 150,000 Catholics; of whom there were in the city alone 35,000. Fourteen years before (1822), Dr. Connolly counted in the same diocese but eight priests. Now the same territory has been divided into seven dioceses, the smallest of which contains a larger Catholic population than did the entire diocese at the accession of Bishop Dubois; and the archdiocese (which now includes little more than the city and county of New York) contains a Catholic population of 650,000. Churches, colleges, seminaries, schools, select and parochial, asylums, protectories for boys and girls, hospitals, homes for aged men and women, male and female religious communities, exist in large numbers, and the same territory, which in 1836 contained but 150,000, now counts upwards of 1,500,000 Catholics. The same thing has been going on all over the country; and though the numbers to be mentioned in connection with the increase in other parts of the country may not be so large, yet it will be found, on investigation, that the proportion of increase, both to our own numbers at the time, and to the non-Catholic population, is, in many cases, much greater, and in all is calculated to astonish the foreigner, the Protestant, or even the American Catholic whose attention has not been previously called to the fact. From less than half a million in 1836, we now number more than 6,000,000 in the United States. Nor is there any reason to suppose that our future advance will be less rapid or less solid; since, indeed, the progress made within the aforesaid forty years has been made in the teeth of poverty within, flouts and jeers from without, intense sectarian hatred, virulent opposition on the part of the oath-bound secret societies (many of them gotten up *ex-professo*,

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and all of them wielding their influence *de facto*, against the Church), to say nothing of the rancorous political hostility displayed by the outbreak of the so-called Native Americans in 1844, and of the Know-nothings in 1856.

With such numbers, then, and a fair prospect of such increase in the near future, it is most manifestly our duty to do for higher culture, what we have been doing so well for elementary, secondary, and grammar school instruction. There is now hardly to be found in the United States a church, in any of our cities or towns, that has not its parochial school, in which the children receive that instruction which we consider absolutely essential to make of them true Catholic men and women; and the number of Catholic academies and high schools spread broadcast over the land is, at least, adequate to our present needs, and capable, without much change of system,—by mere multiplication of numbers,—of supplying the demands of any probable or possible increase of Catholicity.

But the same cannot with truth be said of the education, which, in this country, goes under the name of collegiate, and which has been and continues to be our highest form of academic culture. Here we fail, and not we alone, but the collegiate system itself is on a false basis throughout the United States. In the case of Catholics, the lack arises from the fact that in the infancy and helplessness (humanly speaking) of Catholicity in this country, the game was in the hands of our opponents, and there was nothing for us to do but follow their lead. Every sect, of course, founded, according to its numbers, zeal and means, one or more colleges. Our people, most of them emigrants, long used to living as it were on sufferance, and accustomed to persecution, were disposed to make as little demonstration, to give as little offence, as possible. It was clear that some provision must be made for higher education. As Catholics, they could not conscientiously send their young men to colleges where the instruction was in Protestant, and, therefore, hostile hands. Travel was in those days slow, difficult, dangerous, expensive, and the settlements at points very remote from each other. They themselves were in most instances very poor—in few cases comfortably situated as to means—while the wealthy among them were very rare indeed. These were the days when Bishop Connolly declared in a letter to the Propaganda, that "*the American youth have an almost invincible repugnance to the ecclesiastical state.*" Hence there were established, of necessity, in many parts of the United States, institutions of learning, called colleges, sometimes by secular clergymen, sometimes by regulars, which did the best that could, at the time and under the circumstances, be done, and which accomplished and continue to perform good work, for which they deserve all credit. But it was never proposed that these institutions should supply the lack of a

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university—still less that their various *curricula* should be, for all future time, deemed the acme of academic instruction in our country. The strong probability is, that it never entered into the imagination of the most sanguine of the founders of those earliest schools that an institution such as we now propose, would be, for 150 years yet to come, imperatively demanded by the spread of the Church.

Here it becomes necessary to glance at the advantages of university education, as contrasted with collegiate, in the formation of character, imparting of knowledge, and preparation of the student for life. Of course, school, academy, college, and university are all but preparatory steps for the active duties of the lawyer, physician, theologian, professor, scientific or literary man; as indeed our entire life is only a state of probation for a better. Now, to Catholics it is unnecessary to say that it is a most calamitous fallacy to suppose that there can be any genuine intellectual culture in the mere acquisition of secular knowledge; and indeed Protestants themselves do not admit the principle in its naked deformity (save where it is necessary to hold it forward as a buffer to Catholic arguments against the present management of the public schools). We are, as Catholics, all agreed that in every course of study intended to benefit either the individual or the race, religion and morals must be constantly inculcated, explained, and discussed from every point of view: not merely tagged on, like the grace at an alderman's dinner, or a perfunctory congressional prayer. We desire our students at least to be Christians, and we consider their time, wheresoever spent, as worse than lost, and their attainments, how lofty soever, as worse than useless, unless they shall therewith have acquired that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom. Having never had in this country any exemplification of the working of a university system, many very well-read persons amongst us have but a vague idea of its effects upon students; but we think that the great points that contradistinguish the two systems (those, namely, of the *college* and *university*), are the extent and thoroughness of the latter as compared with the former—the greater variety of studies, the higher standard of attainment, the more frequent and rigorous examinations, the greater number and skill of professors, the greater completeness of library, philosophical and chemical appliances, to say nothing of the appurtenances in astronomy and other studies, by which they can be acquired not merely theoretically but practically. But there is another and a more important point than any or all of these, in which the university must far outstrip the college, and in saying this we do not in the least undervalue any of the distinctive special advantages claimed above. The idea will be more readily conceived by adverting to the fact, that even in our colleges, imperfect as they are, it would be by no means

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true to say that all the education there acquired is imparted to the student by the professor and in the class-room. We all know that there is pervading each of them, just in proportion as it approaches to deserving the name, a sort of subtle influence and tone of thought, a quasi *genius loci*, that stamps the student quite as unmistakably as do the actual acquirements, literary or scientific, which are the results of his class attendance. Now, if this be the case at our colleges to which students resort in comparatively small numbers, and at all stages of preparation—frequently with very little—where professors are not invariably either energetic or able, and where (should a given professor be both, he is obliged to adapt his instruction to some mediocre standard) the curriculum is scant, and that little often curtailed for any of the various reasons that will readily recur to the mind of any one who has either taught or studied in them; how much more of such insensible, but none the less actual, education will there not be constantly going on at our proposed Catholic university, where lectures will be given, always by able and enthusiastic professors, on every subject in the range of knowledge to large numbers of well-prepared students; where combined efforts for investigating truth will be constantly put forth by youthful spirits eager to attain it; where intellectual culture will find in the free intercourse of mind with mind, and in the salutary collision of taste, feeling, and opinion its most invaluable instrument? Given the competent professors and the students, previously so drilled in their studies as to be thoroughly adequate to the work before them, there will soon establish itself, as inseparable from the place, a recognized standard, both of Catholic thought and practice, to have been subject to which would in itself be a *liberal education*, and one infinitely more important than that other culture (momentous though it be), to attain which was the prime object in matriculating. It may be laid down as admitted, that the objects of our higher education are twofold, viz., adequate intellectual culture and adequate doctrinal knowledge: synchronous in point of acquisition, the moral and religious portion of which is not merely to be apprehended by the intellect, but to be brought home, as it were, fully to the moral nature, that they may become the motive power of future social and political action. For, though we be numerous in this country, and faithful, the devil has not yet been chained; our adversaries are keen, some of them able, all bitter, and most of them unscrupulous. We must be prepared for them, and to be properly prepared we need champions who can confront their false morals, impious doctrines, and infidel politics, with both head and heart; the ability of the former being but a poor reliance without the steadfast adherence of the latter. Indeed it is not merely for aggression upon or defence against those without the pale of the

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Church, that we need such ability and loyalty on the part of the watchmen on the walls of Sion, but in our country the very atmosphere seems to hold in solution poisons deadly to Catholic instincts. On one side a non-Catholic or an anti-Catholic press, on another the sectaries banded together against us; here the oath-bound societies, yonder the infidels, by whatever name they may be known; all taint the air with their venom; the breath we inhale is surcharged with it. It becomes at times visible to the ordinary mental discernment, as does to the corporeal eye the fine dust in the air of a closed room, when, on opening a shutter, we see the motes in the sunbeam; and our standard-bearers, the clergy, as well as our laymen who meet this subtly permeating influence in the daily walks of life, need all the intellectual culture and spiritual graces possible, that they may withstand in their own persons, and successfully combat in the case of others, these malignant and too often maleficent agencies.

Most of our readers have at some time attended a concert, or other entertainment, where the audience was small, the performers depressed, enthusiasm impossible, however thorough the display of ability, and do they not know the effects upon themselves? Had the same performance been presented before an overflowing house, with the *elan* that full sympathy, complete *rapport* with a large audience is sure to impart, how differently would it not have been received, how much more thrillingly would not the audience have been affected, leaving after it a memory that should quit the mind but with life. This gives us an approximate, though but a faint, idea of the far superior and more lasting influence exercised by university instruction as compared with our present mode of collegiate teaching, both as to the unseen daily and hourly effect and the visible stamp impressed on the intellectual and æsthetic, the moral and religious nature of students and professors. Why, the twin English universities, bad as they are, and much as we object to them (we need not undertake to prove to Catholics with how much reason) have been the prime, the controlling, the moving cause of England's political greatness. Hear Doctor Newman. We want no better Catholic authority on this subject, nor would it be possible to find one whose whole career enables him to understand the subject so thoroughly. He says:

"What would come, on the other hand, of the ideal systems of education that have fascinated the imagination of the age, could they ever take effect, and whether they would not produce a generation frivolous, narrow-minded, and resourceless, intellectually considered, is a fair subject for debate; but so far it is certain, that the universities to which I refer, and which did little more than bring together first boys and then youths in large numbers, these

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institutions, with miserable deformities on the side of morals, with a hollow profession of Christianity and a heathen code of ethics,—I say, at least they can boast of a succession of heroes and statesmen, of literary men and philosophers, of men conspicuous for great national virtues, for habits of business, for knowledge of life, for practical judgment, for cultivated tastes, and for accomplishments, who have made England what it is,—able to subdue the earth,—able to domineer over Catholics." (*Idea of a University.*)

In fact this branch of the subject,—the necessity for university instruction and its superior effectiveness,—is so thoroughly and exhaustively treated by F. Newman, that we cannot do better than refer those who desire full satisfaction on that score, to the work above quoted. We shall thus, at once, avoid traversing ground already thoroughly surveyed, and leave space for other and important matter, in part peculiar to us of the United States, pertaining to the matter in hand.

Here in our own country the bishops of the Church assembled in council in 1866, have declared, and put on record in the *Acta et Decreta Conc. Plen. Balt. II*, their judgment of the desirableness and ultimate necessity of such an institution of higher learning, though they did not *then* think the time fully arrived for its establishment. Their words are:

"Atque utinam in hac regione, collegium unum maximum sive Universitatem habere liceret, quod collegiorum horum omnium, sive domesticorum, sive exterorum, commoda atque utilitates complecteretur; in quo, sc. literæ ac scientiæ omnes, tam sacræ quam profanæ, traderentur! Utrum vero Universitatis hujusmodi constituendæ tempus advenerit, necne, Patrum judicio, rem totam maturius posthac perpendentibus, relinquimus."

These *Acta et Decreta* were approved by the Holy Father, as appears by the letter of Cardinal Barnabo, published therewith. The Pontiffs indeed have, at all times, been the promoters of the higher or university education, and during the temporal power of the Papacy, the most munificent supporters of universities, both in form of endowment, and privileges; nor has it ever been, as is often falsely alleged, either the policy or practice of the Church to repress learning, as all history sufficiently evinces; neither do we believe that those who make the assertion, themselves give credence to it for a moment. They simply use a cry which they find popular and effective wherever ignorance and prejudice are combined against the Church. What care they for the fact that nearly all the oldest universities of Europe (in fact *all* save the few that grew up of themselves), were either founded or fostered by the Popes of Rome, who moreover exercised the right of superintending them, a fact which may be historically verified in the cases

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of the universities of Bologna and Paris, which dispute the palm of antiquity with each other? Innocent IV. decreed that no sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict against the latter university, or any of its members, should have effect without special license of the Apostolic See, and countless privileges have been conferred on such institutions by pontiffs before and since. Now dynasties die out, and governments change; revolutions are constantly taking place, not without detriment ofttimes to the establishments endowed by the pious of past ages, for the cause of religion, education, or philanthropy. The Church alone of all institutions remains permanent and steadfast. In triumph or persecution, in wealth or poverty, numerically large or gathered together by twos and by threes, she remains always the same, and the Almighty has promised that she shall not fail. Now though God has wrought by miracles,—does so work still when it pleases him,—and may do so at any time, for "*his hand is not shortened*," yet he usually operates by his general laws, and requires of us for our own good, to co-operate in his working, for the benefit of the race. "God helps those who help themselves," is true in the material and intellectual order, nor is it false in the religious. The Church will always need her intellectual champions till the end of time, and while Almighty God can supply them, as he did on the day of Pentecost, yet, in no age of the history of the Church have her members deemed it right to rely solely on such miraculous interference and assistance; but they have, in every country of Christendom, established, in view of her need of trained defenders, such institutions as that for the necessity of which in this country we are now suggesting reasons, and that is the university system, the most perfect, namely, that the best intellects and accumulated experience of ancient and modern times have been able to devise, for securing the aims of a thorough education, viz., complete intellectual and thorough religious culture.

We submit, then, that the point of the necessity for a Catholic university in the United States, is established (1), on the ground of our present numbers and probable increase, (2), because it is as much (if not more manifestly) our duty to provide for the highest as it is for elementary education; (3), because thereby we check that loss to the Church, and gain to the ranks of infidelity, which the want of sound scientific instruction, and the plausibility of pretentious scientists, has occasioned and still causes; (4), because with no higher culture than that afforded by our present scattered, imperfect, superficial, and needy colleges, we cannot fit out young men to withstand at all points the attacks of Buckle, Huxley, Darwin, Mill, etc.; (5), because our students need the stimulus, and our professors the impetus, of the university system; (6), because

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such system is the best that the wit of man has ever devised; (7), because its existence and influence would largely diminish and finally root out that sciolism and pretence which are our educational bane; (8), because said establishment has been solemnly recommended by the bishops of our country, and approved by the Holy See; and finally (9), because Almighty God works by means, and we are bound to do our part in employing the best means for the preservation and extension of the faith.

2. We come next to the feasibility of the establishment and maintenance of such a university in the United States. This question evidently resolves itself into three prominent points of inquiry, viz.: 1. Can the pecuniary means be secured? 2. Can thoroughly competent professors be obtained? 3. Will there be found thoroughly prepared students, in sufficient numbers to justify the establishment? Of course, this, like every other movement in advance, will meet with opposition; some of which will doubtless arise from that class, so numerous everywhere, whose constant cry is "*quieta non movere*," and they translate it into "let well enough alone;" more from some misjudging persons, connected with the existing colleges, who will be apt to fancy that the university is likely to curtail the dignity or interfere with the revenues of their respective colleges; and probably, most of all, will signal opposition arise from our young men, who, imbued, as they are, with our peculiarly American idea of launching out into the various professions at the earliest possible age, and (we must add) with very inadequate qualifications, will have the strongest possible objection to a plan which will necessitate several additional years of study before taking even an academic degree; and which will, at every point in the literary course, require thorough examination before the student can pass higher. But, as we have not the remotest doubt but that the university, once established, will soon commend itself, we lay but little stress upon the factious temporary opposition that may arise. Stage-drivers, wayside landlords, and canal boatmen bitterly opposed the locomotive, and had "reasons plenty as blackberries." The old-time naval officers never have become reconciled to the use of war steamers; and, doubtless, the scriveners and copyists of old raised a howl on the introduction of types; but railroads, steam-vessels, and printing carried the day in the end.

Whether, then, the pecuniary means necessary for the purpose can be secured, will depend entirely upon the continued existence of that faith and benevolence among Catholics, for which they have been in all ages and countries remarkable, and of the failure of which from their midst, in this country, and at this day, we have neither any information nor reason to imagine that such is the fact. In days long past, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, Paris, Ingolstad,

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Tübingen, Salamanca, Alcalà, Coimbra, Padua, Prague, and Vienna, with numerous others, were founded by Catholics, who devoted to the endowment of professorships, means, the income from which, is (save in the first two) to this day devoted to the objects intended by the founders, and the holy sacrifice statedly offered up for their pious intentions. Holy pontiffs approved, fostered, and cherished them. The numbers of students in attendance on the lectures delivered at these institutions during the middle ages, would seem to us incredible, were the facts not so well attested. In 1453, the number of students at the University of Paris amounted to 25,000; and Joseph Scaliger assures us that when he studied there, it had reached 30,000. It will be readily admitted that in none of the countries where these noble institutions were established, were the needs any greater than in our own country and now; and *we* need not certainly (our numbers being taken into consideration) fear comparison with the nations of those days in any of the Christian virtues. In our own time, and in Ireland (one of the poorest countries of Europe), a Catholic university has been established; and it is but a short time since we of the United States founded and endowed the "American College" at Rome; doubt alone as to what the Italian government might do, and distrust of that *re galantuomo*, preventing the endowment from being a magnificent one. The monuments of Catholic charity and piety meet us on every hand, and why should we believe that so noble an object, as this at which we aim, will fall to the ground for lack of the means requisite to set it on a firm foundation? Nay, we doubt not but there would be, in the course of time, an eagerness on the part of Catholics, lay and ecclesiastic, to found courses of lectures and professorships in such a university, just as in the old Catholic times, when so many such were instituted in the European universities. The obligation of a stated mass, certain prayers, or other devotions, for the intention of the donor, might be conjoined therewith; the professorship, or course of lectures, might be distinguished by the name of the founder or benefactor; and yearly the students and professors on that foundation should assemble in the church to pray devoutly for the repose of the soul of the founder. We can, from a Catholic point of view, imagine no better use to which those Catholics could apply their means, who, having been blessed in life by the acquisition of property, find themselves at life's close either without relatives or without such as stand in need; nor do we think that we differ in view from the mass of Catholics on this point. But the benefits, necessity, and workings of such an institution must firstly be explained, so that Catholics shall understand them; a beginning will need to be made that we may have something tangible to show; the management must be confided to men

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both able and beyond suspicion in the community; it must, from the beginning and always, have no taint of *coterie*, still less of ring rule or family influence about it; so far, in short, as anything human can be faultless in management, this university must be so; and just in proportion as it fails in this, in just the same ratio will it fall short of the aims to attain which we urge its establishment. Great care must be exercised in the formation of its charter, and thorough provision made therein for its stability and permanence. Observe well, that it is not contended that such an institution can attain its ultimate perfection in a year, or, it may be, fifty years. It will, in large part, be an accretion requiring time for its shaping and consolidation. It cannot be expected to spring like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, fully armed, and equipped cap-à-pie. No similar establishment has ever done so, but afitting nucleus can be constituted capable of indefinite extension; additions can be made, as piety, public spirit, and its own growth furnish the means and material, with and upon which to work. The work before it can, from the beginning, be *well* done; every year will add to its completeness and bring it nearer to perfection; and the community, having then the means of comparison, will not be slow, even in matters of technical, scientific, academic, and moral education, to discern the difference between work slurred, and work thoroughly well done. The thorough certitude having once taken hold of the Catholic public, that the institution is permanently established and thoroughly performing its mission, there will, we venture to predict, be no further difficulty about means, unless indeed it be to prevent their accumulation to such an extent that *mole ruat sua;* a calamity against which also due precautions should be taken in the university charter and code of laws. We ourselves know personally of several instances in which anxious inquiries have been made by Catholics, within a few years past, for just such an opportunity of bestowing their means during life, or posthumously; and we are fully assured that we have heard of but a minute fractional percentage of the similar cases that have occurred and are daily occurring throughout the country. And why not? In proportion to our means, we of this republic have done (we will not say *more*, but certainly in a pecuniary point of view) as much for the initiation and furthering of everything that appealed to us as likely to benefit the Church, as the Catholics of any foreign nation; and we are loath to believe that the work of establishing a university, for the attainment of the highest possible degree of intellectual culture combined with the most thorough Catholic moral and religious instruction, would prove an exception.

As to the professors, with whom we shall begin the institution, there are several points to be taken into consideration. Men *fairly*

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capable in most of the different branches are to be found with comparative ease. In still larger numbers are to be found men who talk fluently on almost any subject you may start, who have passed at some college, know some Latin and Greek, possibly a modicum of Hebrew and Sanscrit, who have a general inkling of mathematics, possess fair *ad populum* notions of mental and moral philosophy, and would not like to hear their knowledge of history called in question. They have read natural philosophy, and forgotten all but its salient features; of chemistry they retain, perhaps, the symbols for ox., hyd., and nit. They have read in reviews about the Aryan tongues and the Turanian languages; know in general that there are such books as the maxims of Menu, the Maha-bharata, the Zend-Avesta; are heavily freighted with dubious information about the various westward emigrations from Asia, from the Celtic down to the last Tartaric; entertain vague notions about geology, and have a cursory acquaintance with French and German. The former class, for the most part, consist of men who would be the first to recognize their want of fitness, if not of ability, for professorships in such an institution as is proposed, being long occupied in some fixed profession, with habits of life formed in consonance therewith, usually advanced in years, and who for all these reasons would be either unwilling or confessedly unable to do justice to the duties of the position. Such men would themselves see, at a glance, that for such an undertaking it is not *fairly* and *tolerably*, but *thoroughly* and *completely* capable men that are needed, men *qui ad unguem callent*, and who are enthusiastically devoted to a single branch of science or literature, *i. e.*, to that single study with its essential cognates and agnates. We do not want, as professor of Greek, for example, the man who knows Greek about as well as he knows astronomy, and has as much interest in Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* as in either. For, the kind and quantum of knowledge that will be highly creditable to a student on examination for his degree, and which will very properly procure him a diploma, will not suffice in the professor who stands up before the world as master of a given branch. None of our professors can, to use a homely expression, be "jack of all trades," lest perchance the latter clause of the saying might be found equally applicable. The "*foible of omniscience*" ought to be stamped out in the subordinate institutions, and must never be allowed to enter at the university. Even the student has of necessity one favorite study, always more in accordance with his taste than any of the others; and how much more must not this be the case with the professor, whose absolute and voluntarily undertaken duty it is to be fully posted on his specialty, and to keep himself *au courant* of all information on his branch. "*Nemo potest duobus servire magistris*" emanates from the highest authority, and is

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nowhere more pointedly applicable than here. The professor must be one who has thoroughly devoted himself to his specific study, so as to bring his acquaintance with it, in all its bearings, as near perfection as possible; one who is fond of teaching, apt at it, not maundering or discursive, but clear, concise, incisive, and able to render his subject interesting. To be any or all of these he must know his branch thoroughly, and must be at the same time a constant investigator. He must be a student himself while he teaches others, not in the sense in which the student teacher keeps a few pages in advance of the other scholars, whom he is wrong-headedly set to instruct, or, as he who can scarcely make out Juvenal, is set to ground a class in Eutropius. What is meant is that, in addition to constant study, or reading (if you like the word better), of the standard works on his particular subject, he should cultivate a close acquaintance with everything appearing, from month to month, from other professors of the same branch in Europe and America. The *passable* scholar, then, the merely *tolerable* professor, will not answer our purpose; and if we can do no better than appoint him, it is quite useless for us to put ourselves to any pains in establishing our university; since we shall have, save in the matter of numbers and the insensible education acquired by young men thus brought together in pursuit of knowledge, gained no advantage over the present system. Indeed, the wise selection of able and judicious professors, and their diligent performance of their duties, are two points second to no others in importance, touching the future of the proposed establishment.

Of the second class we need only say that we have already had too many of them in our country, and that they and their like have been mainly the cause of the decay and contempt into which some of our most important and valuable studies have already fallen, and towards which others are rapidly advancing. These men are just as ready to teach Chinese as astronomy; it matters not to them whether you appoint them professors of chemistry or of the Semitic tongues—psychology and ontology on the one hand, and palæography and hieroglyphics on the other, are equally within the range of possibility for them. They never possessed beyond a smattering of any science in their lives, and they are incapable of conceiving that any more than such superficial flimsy knowledge is desirable; nay, it is questionable whether they realize its existence. The student soon fathoms them, and thus first acquires that most woful of all pieces of knowledge, *i. e.*, that his professor is ignorant, and talks trash, intending to palm it off for truth, sense, and profundity; and we repeat that there is no subsequent fact or experience in life that ever comes to the man, freighted with such abidingly dismal consequences both to mind and heart, as does this discovery to the student. For

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discover it he will; and just in proportion to his previous confidence and implicit trust is the likelihood greater of the shipwreck of the entire fabric of his future life. We want and will have no such professors. Our university is to be Catholic, thorough, genuine; and the information, the culture imparted must be Catholic, must be reliable, must be true.

But we are not confined to either of the two classes above mentioned. There are to be found, we know, among the present professors of our country, and among those gentlemen, both clerical and lay, whose pursuits have been of a literary character (though they may not heretofore have been occupied in teaching), men in the prime of life, thoroughly masters of individual subjects, who have pursued their favorite studies from motives of taste and love of the branches to which they have devoted themselves, and who would enter upon their duties as professors in the university, *con amore*, possessing all the qualifications that are required in successful instructors. These men, from their entire mastery of a given subject, are competent to render its details interesting to students, ready and able to answer all questions, to solve all difficulties, and who do not conceive (like the young ladies who graduate) that they have yet exhausted their branch, but who study, read, and investigate day by day, who peruse everything of value that appears upon their topic, who would grace the chairs to which they should be appointed, and shed lustre upon the institution, instead of deriving importance from their connection with it. Here, of course, it is not intended (and it would be invidious) to particularize; but that there are gentlemen fully answering the requirements laid down, all who have a tolerable acquaintance with the Catholic society of the country are thoroughly aware. We fully believe that there are enough of such gentlemen, true Catholics and thorough scholars, to enable us to fill all or most of the necessary chairs on opening the university. Yet, withal, it will behoove those having charge of the appointments to be very careful whom they shall select. For there are able scholars who are as incompetent to teach as though they knew but little; there are men again who possess in a high degree the faculty of imparting instruction, but who lack any valuable knowledge to communicate; while we have seen yet others who, possessing both the knowledge and the requisite facility in imparting it, have, for lack of disciplinary or other subordinate ability, failed most egregiously as teachers. The three qualities must combine in the successful professor, no one being of any avail without the other two, and the last mentioned, being the gift of nature, is not to be acquired by any course of training. The qualities essential to the teacher are not conferred by any normal school, and cannot be acquired. Even the best students of the first European

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universities are not *ipso facto* teachers; in fact it is only in this country that the idea took form of establishing schools in which the pupils *should be taught to teach*—a scheme not unlike that of establishing a training school for the command of armies in the field; normal academies which shall turn out poets to order; or the institute in which Van der Hoeft proposed to instil presence of mind *vis-a-vis du danger.* From what we have said, it is clear that there will be no insuperable difficulties in the way of procuring professors; and should we even find ourselves obliged to import from Europe our first professors of some few branches, we have yet to learn that science is of any special country. It is generally admitted that Harvard College did an honorable thing for herself, and reflected credit upon our common country, when she secured the services of an Agassiz; and Princeton is justly applauded for giving to our country the high benefits of the educational skill of McCosh.

To our mind it seems probable that the most serious difficulty will be presented by the third question, as to the likelihood of our being able, at the outset, and indeed for some time to come, to furnish a sufficient number of young men, whose preparation has been of such a nature, and whose attainments are such, as to enable them to profit by the grade of instruction which must be imparted in a university at all worthy of the name, and we do not advocate the establishment of any other. To this may be added, the discouraging nature to our precocious American youth of the information that more thoroughness in all the studies, superadded studies to those at present pursued, frequent and rigid examinations in every branch, and at least three years more of close application than is now usual, will be absolutely necessary under the new *régime.* For such is the fact; and it is useless to avoid meeting the issue squarely. Either we must continue to depend for our educated men upon our present scrambling college arrangements, confessedly "tried and found wanting"—a few more years of which will almost render the establishment of a university in this country impossible for all time—or, our colleges must be relegated (we should say *elevated*) to their proper position of *gymnasien* or *academies*—tenders to the university—which, by greater thoroughness in teaching, more rigid and exacting examinations, and an extension of their *cursus studiorum*, they can all become. We shall subsequently see what changes in them would be necessary to effect this result. And here it is by no means our idea (since it would be absurd in itself) that all students of the colleges should pursue the studies necessary for admission to the university, as there are many young men who merely wish to be prepared for active business life, and the time occupied in studies absolutely essential or highly important to the professional or scientific man would be comparatively unproductive of practical

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results to them. There would be no reason why the colleges should not have two courses—the higher, or *gymnasial* course being confined to aspirants for the professions, and, consequently, for the university; and the lower, or practical, course, similar to that of the German *real-schulen*, in which namely, young men intended for business pursuits should acquire a complete education for all the ordinary purposes of life, with the exception of the learned professions. In Germany, these are separate institutions from the *gymnasien*, and may be said to represent what is called the modern side of education, as opposed to the classical. But, in the *real-schulen* general culture is by no means ignored, Latin being, in all cases, a necessary part of the course, while to modern languages special attention is paid.

In some studies the student ought to know more on his matriculation at the university, than he does now on graduating at our best colleges. On all the studies pursued at our average institutions he will need to be fully as well prepared for entrance at the university, as for graduation at the college. This is no fault of the university nor of those who advocate its establishment, but of the colleges which have been for years imparting knowledge and conferring degrees in the loose and slipshod manner which has at length necessitated the movement for the introduction of the university system, without which it would seem as though we should soon have no learning at all beyond the grade of magazine literature. Our best scholars admit and lament the decay of classical knowledge among us. Who that knows the facts would care to champion the results of our college classes in history? Is it any better in mental or moral science? Will any one undertake to say that the higher mathematics and applied mathematics are pursued to an extent worth mentioning in one out of twenty of our colleges? We need not go the round of the course. Feebleness and inadequacy of instruction is the rule; thoroughness and its consequent valuable results are the rare exception! This thing must have an end, unless we are willing to become a laughing-stock to the cultivated nations of the earth; and we are not yet prepared to predicate that of our countrymen. Now the German *gymnasien* demands as a rule nine years' study; and the purely academic, *i. e.*, the non-professional *cursus* at the university, cannot be accomplished under three years. Nearly the same time is required to pass through the colleges and University of France. In England the public schools occupy at least five years, and the purely academic studies preparatory to the baccalaureate, four more. The professional studies proper in theology, law, or medicine, yet remain, and can in no case be completed under three years; and in none of the countries mentioned can a student be legally admitted to professional studies, until he

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has regularly made his literary course. It would be fair *prima facie* evidence—admitting time, attention, able professors, and frequent examinations to mean anything—that the student who has spent fifteen consecutive years in study (nine in gymnasium, three in academics, and three in professional studies), as in Prussia or France—must necessarily be a riper scholar, and by consequence a safer legal adviser, a more reliable physician, and a more competent, thorough divine, at the age of 27 to 30, than his compeer in the United States, who, at the utmost, and fulfilling all the requirements of courtesy—there are essentially no legal enactments on the subject—finishes his entire course, from Latin grammar up to B. A., in six years, and in two years thereafter, say at the age of 20 to 21, comes out a full-fledged doctor, lawyer, or preacher. Bear in mind that our medical and legal institutions make no demand upon their students for any previous academic course whatever; so that, while there are in the United States many lawyers and doctors who have made a full academic course—some, indeed, who have gone to Europe for the purpose—the great majority of the members of both professions in our country have never made even the ordinary academic course of our American colleges—few of them pretend to know Latin or Greek, and it is neither by law of the land, nor by statute of their professional schools, incumbent on them to know either. Well, it is not a pleasant or a dignified showing for our country, but "*pity 'tis, 'tis true!*" And this is just what we Catholics—who, according to the current belief (real or pretended) of Protestants, are so fearful of education, and so bitterly opposed to it—wish to remedy, so far as in us lies, and so far, at least, as we are concerned, by founding a university.

Now we admit that the prospect will not seem an alluring one to the youth who has the whole of his course of studies, or even any considerable portion of it, yet before him; and unless he should be a young man of exceptional good sense, or possessed of an amount of valuable reading, rather unusual with our young men in college, he will not be inclined to view the proposed improvement with favorable eyes. But he has parents, who are probably sensible people amenable to reason, and who when once convinced of the best course for the temporal and eternal welfare of their son, will not hesitate to carry out the results of that conviction. Many fathers are themselves scholars, who know and appreciate the facts of the case as well as the most ardent partisans of the university system. Many have, in fact, been for years in the habit of sending their sons and wards to Europe for the purpose of procuring that education, which, by the foundation of a university, we propose to impart henceforward in the United States. Besides which, the fourth commandment has not been abolished in the Catholic Church,

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sed valet vigetque, and the young man who does not of himself see the propriety of the lengthened course of study, may be brought to perceive it in the light of that precept; while we trust that the influence brought to bear upon him at the university will soon enable him personally to realize its advantages to himself on purely mental grounds, and the instruction that we herein advocate will have been comparatively a failure morally and mentally, unless he speedily appreciates the advantages to which he will then have access. So that, while we consider this essentially the greatest difficulty to be surmounted, it is yet not an insuperable one, and we fully believe that by some slight compromises or modifications in the requirements for admission during the first four years,—modifications rendered unavoidable by the defects of the college systems under which our young men are now being trained,—the new system might be inaugurated, so soon as the needful arrangements could be completed, with a fair quota of students from its inception.

The feasibility is made out then (1), by the fact that Catholic means are abundant and Catholic charity ample to furnish the initial funds necessary to a fair inauguration of the enterprise; (2), because, once in operation, it will be frequently advanced in capacity of usefulness by donations, bequests, and foundations; (3) because we can readily secure competent professors, and shall only need to exercise care in excluding those who would be likely rather to injure than to benefit the institution; (4), because, what with young men whose own reading has brought them to a knowledge of the defects of our American mode of instruction, those parents who shall, by the agitation of the subject, become convinced of the fact; and (5), the example and influence of those scholarly parents and guardians who have, all along, proceeded on the conviction that the university plan of education is the correct one, we shall have no trouble in filling our lecture-benches from the beginning. Full well do we know that when the proposed plan shall have been once properly put in working order and set fairly in operation, all difficulty and all objection will either have vanished or will soon disappear.

Having thus remarked, we hope satisfactorily, on two of the proposed points,—and our article having in the performance attained those dimensions beyond which the reader rarely pursues with interest a subject not personal to himself,—we shall postpone the consideration of the remaining divisions of the general idea until the next number of this REVIEW, in which we hope to suggest an outline *projet* for the establishment indicated, make some proposals for its governance, glance at the duties of the professors, and take a cursory view of the regulations that will be necessary among the students.

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THE INQUISITION.

History of the Inquisition, in every Country where its Tribunals have been established, from the Twelfth Century to the Present Time. By William Harris Rule, D.D., London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1868. 8vo. pp. 464.

History of the Inquisition, from its Establishment in the Twelfth Century to its Extinction in the Nineteenth. By William Harris Rule, D.D. 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 367, 360. London, Hamilton Adams & Co., 1874.

THE Inquisition! Is it well to touch the subject? Is it not a subject better left alone, to die out with the dead past to which it belongs? No. So long as history is written and history is read, there remains the necessity of placing this matter right on the record, inasmuch as there will not be wanting those ready to place it wrong.

There is no subject which Catholics seek to avoid. Our doctrines, our principles, are distinct and explicit. That individuals have, at all times, in the long period covered by the history of the Church, been guided by the laws of absolute justice towards their fellow-men is not pretended; and the error, whether springing from an evil heart or misguided reason, can be honestly condemned.

Least of all need Catholics avoid the question of religious coercion, take what form it will. Every impartial mind must admit that there has been on the part of the Catholics, a bold, frank, manly course, doing openly what they did, and assuming the responsibility of their acts; while on the part of their enemies, there has been too often hypocrisy, tergiversation, underhand work, and cowardice. Take even, as an example, the Tudor sisters. In Mary there is a Catholic queen, who, on attempting to ascend the throne of her father and brother, finds a nest of conspirators and traitors arrayed to deprive her of her rights. The people rallied to her; the traitors were in her hands. Every one of them had forfeited his head; in any other reign every head had fallen. Mary pardoned their offence against herself; but for their offence against religion, she left them to be dealt with by the laws then in force. Her craftier sister sought to crush the still powerful Catholic body in England, a body embracing the masses of the people. To punish priest or noble, lady or scholar, for believing or praying as their ancestors had done for centuries, was rather a difficult point. Call it heresy she could not, so she assumed a hypocritical liberality. Catholics were not to be punished for their religion, but for high treason; and being a priest, saying mass, corresponding with Rome,

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having documents issued at Rome, were made high treason in the priest; and in the people it was high treason to hear mass, go to confession, have Catholic books or articles of devotion; in a word, all that St. Augustine did in introducing Christianity into Saxon England, became high treason. On the scaffold, ministers took care to din into the ears of Catholic victims that they were not put to death for their religion, but for high treason; though, at the same time, life was offered at the price of apostasy.

Now let fair men answer, which sister's reign shows straightforward honesty, and which acted the lie. Catholics have not resorted to shams.

The question of religious coercion on the part of governments, leads back to the question as to the real object and scope of government.

Under the Roman empire, the emperor was not only head of the State, but as Pontifex Maximus head of the religion of the State; in their mythology he was a sort of demi-god, passing in due time by an apotheosis among the greater gods. With Constantine, the first Christian emperor, a new order began. In the new Christian world, the emperor was head of the State, but he was not pontiff, nor bishop, nor priest, nor deacon; he was simply a layman; religion for him had no greater sacrament, no holier rite, than she imparted to the humblest beggar; he was a member of the Church, not its maker or ruler.

But had the head of the State, as such, no duties in regard to religion? Was government instituted solely to regulate man as an animal? Did there lie upon the prince no responsibility for the salvation of his people? The example of the Jewish kings and sound reason established the principle, that the prince was responsible for the spiritual as well as the temporal well-being of his people, as much bound to guard their souls against a moral pestilence of evil doctrine, as to guard their bodies against an epidemic or plague.[1] The duty of the parent in his family was, on a larger scale, that of government.

In modern days the theory is advanced, though by no means absolutely carried out in practice, that government has nothing to do with the matter of the people's salvation; and that, so far from helping them heavenward, it may, if it will benefit trade, or the

[1] "The emperor, in virtue of being the protector and secular arm of the Church, now assumes the title of 'Episcopus ad extra,' and considers himself absolutely bound to punish by exile and other penalties, those heretics who should disturb the peace of the Church." Hefele, Life of Cardinal Ximenes, p. 277. Rule, in the first work at the head of our article, admits the same: "Constantine, *as a matter of course*, discouraged freedom of utterance where such freedom seemed inexpedient, and denied liberty of worship to idolaters and heretics. His edicts or constitutions became part of the civil law of Christian Europe." The second edition has substantially the same statement.

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treasury, or officeholders, help them a little on the way to destruction. This, however, is an outgrowth of modern indifferentism in religion, as well as mistrust of governments. It was not the doctrine which prevailed during the greater portion of the period from the accession of Constantine to our century. During the whole of this period, government was regarded as responsible for the faith of the people.

Protestantism accepted this part of the common law of Europe; and, wherever it got power, compelled the people to renounce Catholicity, its creed, worship, religious orders, devotions, and to embrace the new forms by law established. Nowhere was it left to the choice of the individual or congregation to adhere to the old or embrace the new; and that new creed once embraced, no liberty was given to make further changes.

Where there is an infallible criterion of divine truth, what it condemns as error must be such. Yet Protestantism, in all its various forms, scouted the very idea of any such infallibility. It was and is still the boast of each Protestant sect that it is fallible, and therefore in its teaching possibly if not probably fallacious.[1] It consequently never could logically condemn anything as error, while it claimed that it was not itself undoubtedly free from error. And to punish dissent from its doctrines was contrary to all reason.

In the countries where Protestantism was free from dynastic influence, and a majority of the people, in numbers or energy, formed a new creed, as in Switzerland, Holland, and New England, the very idea of liberty and toleration was scouted. Servetus died at Geneva, not so much for his anti-Trinitarian doctrines, for Calvin himself avoids the question of the Trinity, but for gainsaying this power. Grotius at Lowenstein could scarcely have regarded his persecutors as champions of civil and religious liberty. And in that New England which anathematized a clergyman for feebly expressing a doubt whether Catholics might not be saved, the writer's earliest American ancestor, Nicholas Upshall, whom Longfellow depicts so estimably in his New England Tragedies, died—though the poet says it not—in prison for the crime of advising that the state should be tolerant.[2] It was then part of the common law of Europe, that the State should by its machinery preserve the people from religious error. Now, how was this to be done? The Church

[1] *Falsum*, after all, is only the supine of *fallo*.

[2] Protestantism has nearly abandoned religious coercion. Mr. Rule, with the fearful list of English atrocities against the English and Irish Catholics, with the excesses in Scotland, the oppression of the patriotic Catholic Netherlanders, the extermination of the heroic Dalecarlians, and the massacre of Glencoe, before him, candidly exclaims (1st edition, p. 101) when condemning Catholics: "I leave my readers to consider whether this punishment of an error of the understanding was consistent or not with the doctrine of the Gospel."

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pronounced its decision as to the doctrine; the State fixed and inflicted the punishment. It remained then either to have courts for such cases, with recognized proceedings, judicial forms, appeals, and means to secure justice; or to leave such cases to the heated public opinion of the moment, the caprice of mob or legislator. No sane man will pretend that the former is not the proper course to attain the ends of justice. If then the charge is made: "No church but that of Rome ever had an Inquisition," it simply asserts that no other instituted tribunals to secure the due administration of justice, as the laws were then understood.

To secure justice, the laws in regard to religion must be precise, notorious, and clear; the court must be impartial and free, and its forms and legal proceedings recognized and established.

In the first matter, the Catholic religion, not confined to one state or country, was in regard to her doctrines fixed beyond state control; but Protestant States and governments, reviving the pagan idea of combining in the person of the prince the civil and pontifical powers, made and unmade religions, creeds, worships, and tenets at their option; and in consequence their laws were as uncertain and perplexing as they well could be. In Catholic States they were at least precise, notorious, and clear.

The penal laws against Catholics and even against fellow-Protestants passed in England and her colonies, in Scotland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Germany have never been collected; such as have been brought together at times make a revolting picture, the study of which would change some popular ideas. Nevertheless, such a study is necessary to an impartial appreciation of the history of religious coercion. And yet, in these states Catholics were not men introducing new ideas, assailing existing institutions, or destroying aught; they were simply men who asked to be allowed to retain the faith and practices of their fathers from the very introduction of Christianity.

The ordinary courts were not even trusted in many cases with the proceedings against Catholics. Lawyers and judges are especially attached to precedents and strict construction. In England the government often feared to allow Catholics to appear before judge and jury, and resorted to that last device of tyrants, special tribunals, courts-martial, and the like.

Turn now to the Catholic States. The doctrines of the Catholic Church were known and distinct. The first labors of the printing press on its invention were to disseminate, in the language of the Church and in the vernacular, the Scriptures and works explaining Catholic doctrine. While in the Protestant States all was uncertainty and doubt, and a man in good faith might often be far removed from the State creed when he tried to approach it more

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nearly; there was no doubt in Catholic States as to the faith. The laws of the State were, therefore, easily understood. What was condemned was apparent to the most unlearned.

Instead of packed juries, star chambers, courts-martial, there was a court of competent judges,—the Inquisition.

The question then comes, What was the Inquisition, when was it established, in what countries did it exist, and what has been its course?

A common assertion often met with, and specially refuted by the late illustrious Lacordaire, ascribes the Inquisition to St. Dominic. Rule admits that the charge is untenable. "We have also to note and to remember that the Inquisition was not the work of Theodosius, or Innocent, or Dominic, or the College of Cardinals; but that it grew up spontaneously." The penal laws of Constantine and his successors had with little variation been adopted by the governments of the states of renewed Europe, and the machinery for enforcing them was adapted to meet the circumstances of different countries. The Arian emperors, Constantius and Valens, not only used these laws to harass the Catholics, but were the first Christian princes to punish with death those who differed from them in religion. The first exercise by Catholics of capital punishment for heresy was at Treves in 385, and it excited such deep indignation that many bishops, like St. Martin of Tours, refused all fellowship with those who had so far forgotten the mild genius of Christianity as to take part in the proceeding.

As time went on, however, the general opinion sustained the right of civilized government to inflict capital punishment in cases of heresy.

For a long time there was little occasion for the enforcement of the laws or the infliction of penalties.

In process of time new heresies sprang up, and these differed from the earlier Eastern heresies in their whole character. Those of the East were intellectual, turning on abstract doctrines. The new heresies of the West embraced social and political ideas, and were rather civil outbreaks with religious pretexts, than doctrinal theories leading to natural results in the body politic.

Church and State alike assailed by Albigenses, Lollards, Waldenses, Hussites, made common cause against them; and in the strife that ensued it is not always easy, or possible even, to draw the line between the civil and ecclesiastical orders in their action. This state of things has continued to the present time.

The Albigenses in Gascony first led to new enactments and the institution of new proceedings. These heretics not only boldly proclaimed their errors, but made the overthrow of Catholicity by violence a principle. They attacked the Catholics, destroying churches,

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shrines, and priests, and practicing great cruelties; "sparing," according to the recital in a decree of the Third Lateran Council, in 1179, "neither churches, widows, nor orphans." This council passed severe decrees, and that of Verona directed bishops to appoint three or four persons to denounce heretics, who were then to be summoned before the bishop's tribunal. In 1206 Peter de Castelnau and other Cistercians were sent to the south of France as apostolic missionaries and legates, to endeavor to regain to the faith those who had been led away by the Albigensian preachers. These Cistercians were joined by zealous Spaniards, among the rest by Domingo Guzman. This last, better known as St. Dominic, the founder of the order of Friars-Preachers, or Dominicans, is often regarded as the first Grand Inquisitor, but without the slightest foundation. His order, however, founded especially to check by sound preaching the further progress of error, extended from Spain to Southern France, and thus placed at the disposal of bishops, zealous, capable men suited for the work of reclaiming the erring. As the Inquisition took form, the Dominicans became identified with it, so that Innocent IV. in 1248 invested them with as full inquisitorial powers as bishops possessed.

The first real Inquisition was instituted by the Council of Toulouse in 1229. By Chapters I. and II., archbishops and bishops in their dioceses and exempt abbots in their districts were to appoint in all parishes a priest and several laymen of good repute, and to bind them by oath zealously and faithfully to search for the heretics in their districts, and to report them, as well as their abettors, to the bishop, the lord of the district, or their representatives. The third chapter calls on secular lords to find out the heretics and destroy their hiding-places. In this we see the result of a civil war just concluded, in which those who were rebels to the Church were also rebels to the State; and as their long opposition to the State had been in a measure the work of discontented nobles, provision was made to prevent a repetition. Chapter IV. threatened with a loss of their dominions those who harbored heretics knowingly. Chapter V. punished more lightly those who by negligence allowed them to find refuge in their dominions. Chapter VI. ordered every house to be razed in which a heretic was found. Chapter VII. punished severely negligent officials. Chapter VIII. protected the innocent or falsely accused. Chapters X. and XI. regulated those who returned to the faith. Chapter XII. prescribed an oath of fidelity and a promise to denounce heretics. Chapter XIII. made those neglecting to receive communion three times a year, suspected of heresy. The use of the Scriptures by the preachers of heresy in misleading the people led to Chapter XIV., by the provisions of which no layman was to have a Bible, or any

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portion of the same except the Psalms, nor any other books save the Breviary and the Office of the Blessed Virgin."

In all these proceedings we see the action of local feeling under the exasperation of falsehood, violence, and rapine; but the fears of similar results in other kingdoms gave the course adopted at Toulouse a widespread influence. This council is, therefore, regarded as instituting the first real Inquisition, although it still left the bishops invested with judicial power. Inquisitors, with similar powers to those created by the Council of Toulouse, were appointed by Pope Gregory IX. in Italy in 1231, and in Germany by Frederic II. in 1239.

It will be necessary to see how far the stringent provisions of the Council of Toulouse were carried out. Rule, bigoted, violent, and prejudiced as he is, says: "The Inquisition as a permanent court was, at the worst of times, less conspicuous in France than in some other countries." . . . "Priests allowed Frenchmen, who fled from their dwellings for fear of the Inquisition, to take refuge in the churches, where by right of asylum they were safe." As established in Spain at this time, the action of the Inquisition seems to have been no less tempered with mercy. There are, even in Rule, no horrors to relate of heretics suffering at the hands of the Inquisitors. But while France had its political and social institutions racked by the violence of its civil and religious heretics, Spain was suffering from the immense power acquired by the Jews. That people had for centuries been a source of uneasiness to the Christians. Men like Rule, who are guided by blind passion and prejudice, will say, "they were the most industrious, and therefore the most wealthy people in those kingdoms;" "the artificers and merchants by whose means chiefly the prosperity and intelligence(!) of Spain were maintained;" but the history of that people wherever it has been scattered shows that these terms need explanation. Industrious as increasers of national wealth by agriculture or mechanical arts, the Jews seldom are; shrewd merchants, money lenders, inventors, and speculators in securities for money, they are and have been. Without labor they succeed in various lands in accumulating a wonderful proportion of the national wealth compared to their numbers; and on this point our own country is furnishing a striking example. The impoverishment of the many for the benefit of the few, whether that few be Jew or Christian, has caused and will cause popular hatred, and finally government action. The Gothic kings of Spain deprived Jews of many civil rights enjoyed by Christians, a system pursued till recently by Protestant England, which has only within a very few years opened to the Jews her colleges and legislative halls. The severe laws of the Gothic kings led to a conspiracy on the part of the Jews to bring in the Saracens. Its defeat saved

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Spain, but deepened the distrust entertained towards the Jews, who, after the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, sided warmly with the new Saracen rulers of Spain.

The decline of the Moslem power brought up again the Jewish question. On the one hand efforts were made by zealous preachers to win them to Christ; on the other, popular hatred led to mobs and riots against the usurers who drained the very life of the people. The cases before the Inquisition during this period were of Jews who relapsed into Judaism, or whose Christianity was merely a mask. Of these, by all accounts, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, there were many, some of these Hebrews actually carrying their hypocrisy so far as to be admitted into the ranks of the clergy.[1] The feeling of horror in a Catholic community, to find that the holiest rites of the New Law had been a mockery performed by Jews whose hearts were filled with hatred of Christ, would naturally lead to punishment that knew no mercy. Yet, even with this, the severities charged on this earlier Inquisition in Spain are not great. To atone for this historical deficiency Llorente was sadly at a loss; but one arithmetical rule he had studied thoroughly, and that was multiplication. The author, whose work has led to these remarks, deserves as well the name of Mathematical Rule, for he adopts the monstrous assertions of the Spanish author. "Llorente," says he, "estimates the number of Jews who perished under the fury of mobs in the year 1391 at upwards of one hundred thousand."[2] The massacres of history pale before this unheard-of slaughter, and yet for events occurring at the very entrance of the century that witnessed the invention of printing we might expect some regard for probability, if not for truth. There is not a particle of contemporaneous evidence of any such slaughter of the Jews in Spain.

Nor is the Inquisition of this period in Portugal arraigned. Italy, even Italy of the popes, furnishes little matter for denunciation. To such as Rule, a relapsing Jew, Pagan, or Saracen would be one of "Our Lord's martyrs," had he but died at the hands of the Inquisition; for, with a generosity without restraint, he requires no other mark of conversion. What must have been the state of the case when of Italy he writes: "It is to be regretted that we have no means of enlivening and hallowing the present sketch by recit-

[1] Borrow, Bible in Spain, ch. xi. Grace Aguilar in many of her writings. Rule apparently has too lax ideas to condemn this. He censures John Philibert (2d ed., vol. 1, p. 50) for hesitating to swear to his disbelief in Albigensian doctrines, in which he really believed. "His conscience, more scrupulous than enlightened, could not submit to a judicial abjuration." If this means anything, it means that in Dr. Rule's opinion a man with an enlightened conscience may swear to a falsehood.

[2] Second ed., vol. 1, p. 122. It is unwise in a follower of Wesley to make it a crime in a clergyman to excite a mob to violence against religious opponents. Mr. Rule should not have thus condemned John Wesley for his part in the Lord George Gordon riots.

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ing any triumphs of our Lord's martyrs, *for some such there must have been.*" He can gather but a few cases, and then admits: "The Inquisition in Italy was nearly dormant from the time of its last effort in Piedmont (1307) until the reign of Pope Calixtus III." (1458).[1] Then a new movement was made against the Waldenses.

Of this earlier Inquisition, then, after the excitement of the time and place where it arose, there is nothing to distinguish its operations from those of the laws of Constantine, except the form of tribunal and the introduction of a system of detectives. Had there been nothing more to be charged to the Inquisition than this, we should hear little denunciation of it. In all the manifold writings of the early reformers of the sixteenth century, and the religious organizations they established, not one took the ground that the Church had not the right to condemn error, and to hand over the obstinate and impenitent to the secular arm for punishment, even to the extent of taking life. Not one denounced the use of torture in such cases. Nor do those who attack this earlier Inquisition pretend that the findings of the court were not sustained by evidence; indeed, they admit that the doctrines charged were really entertained.

Yet in all countries where the Inquisition has existed, except in Spain and Portugal, it has existed as thus organized.

Protestantism accepted it really though not in name. Calvin, and Beza, and Coligny stimulated the killing on the spot and mutilation of the Catholic clergy and religious, waiving all trial; and in the writings of the Reformers, and their early disciples, there is no condemnation of the constantly occurring murders of Catholic priests and religious at the altar and elsewhere, or of the pillage and destruction of Catholic altars and shrines. The disciples of the Reformers learned from them, and believed that they had an absolute right to do these things. England had its pursuivants, its priest-takers, its mock priests as detectives, its torture-chambers, and its rack; and, when even penal laws seemed too lax, organized special tribunals to execute by martial law. Not a principle or practice connected with the Inquisition lacks Protestant sanction.

Of course, in our times, when all this is condemned, there is the constant endeavor to forget all that had ever been done in the name of the Reformation, to make this dark picture disappear beneath some convenient veil; while the scenes in which they can sympathize with the sufferers, or denounce the actors, receive new and glaring colors. But this will not do. The thing is either right or wrong. Government has power to coerce in religion, or it has not. If New Hampshire may justly punish the obstinate Catholic by denying to him the right to hold office, as New York and other States have

[1] Vol. 2, p. 161.

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done, she then revives the Inquisition in principle. New Jersey and Ohio may justly by law enact that all Catholics, in their penal or eleemosynary institutions, must be deprived of the opportunity of attending their own worship, being instructed in their own religious doctrines, and receiving the ordinances of their Church; or if these States have not in reality the right to do this, then they revive the Inquisition in principle without any logical ground to base it upon. Virginia in the last century punished Catholics with a host of penalties, double taxes, privation of the elective franchise, and of the right to hold office, and even of competency as witnesses. The right to inflict these punishments involves the right to go further, and if Virginia could impose these, she could add imprisonment and death. Massachusetts, in the case of the Quakers, so held and so acted. The followers of Fox were arrested, put to torture, and executed. New York condemned any priest to imprisonment for life, and if he escaped and were retaken, to death. Our own land, therefore, affords evidence of the Protestant claim that the civil power has jurisdiction in matters of religion, may have trial of such kind as seems fit, may use torture, may punish with loss of civil rights, imprisonment, or death.

In Spain and Portugal, however, the Inquisition as revived in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella took, it will be said, a new and terrible form, and while acting on the principles and in the modes sanctioned by the laws of the past thousand years and by the actual practice in Protestant countries, carried out its sentences with a ferocity and to an extent unparalleled.

What, then, was the Spanish Inquisition, and what was its influence on the Inquisition as already existing in other countries? Are the statistics given of its victims historic or merely polemical, cooked up for the special purpose of making a sensation in order to attain certain objects? With an investigation of these points we will close.

Ferdinand and Isabella, while at Seville, in 1477–8, were solicited by Philip de Barberis, Inquisitor of Sicily, Alonzo de Ojeda, prior of San Pablo, in Seville, and Diego de Merlo, a magistrate, to re-establish a tribunal for the trial of those charged with heresy, or relapse into Mohammedanism or Judaism. On the 1st of November, 1478, Pope Sixtus IV. authorized the sovereigns to establish a tribunal for searching out and punishing heretics, which was to consist of two or three dignitaries of the Church, who might be either seculars or regulars, according to the wish of the sovereigns, provided the said dignitaries were at least forty years of age, of pure morals, bachelors of theology, or doctors of canon law. This preliminary bull was issued on a very imperfect representation of the royal intentions, and evidently anticipated only a revival of

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the tribunals already known. When the whole plan of the proposed tribunal was made known, the Pope condemned it as contrary to the decrees of the holy Fathers and the general practice of the Church.

Here, then, came a point of divergence. Sixtus approved an inquisition as contemplated, but censured the Spanish Inquisition when it took its distinct form, as something at variance with the common law of the Church. The Spanish Inquisition therefore stands apart. As to its character, Catholics as well as Protestants are divided. Among Catholics, some incline to regard it as exclusively a political institution. Of this school is Hefele, the author of an admirable life of Cardinal Ximenes, and a favorite with the Protestants from his attitude in the Vatican Council. In support of his view that it was a political institution, preserved and encouraged by kings and queens, for no other object than to advance the interests of the State, he cites the authority of the philosophic Count de Maistre, and of the Protestants Ranke and Guizot. But as Canon Dalton observes, this view is not held by Spanish writers, and seems not sustainable by facts. "That the Spanish Inquisition was not merely a political institution, but ecclesiastical also, seems to be a general opinion of most Spanish writers." Balmes (ch. xxxvi) asserts that it would be wrong in this affair to attribute all to the policy of royalty; the contemporary historical writers draw no such distinction; the later ones, with Lafuente, the general historian of Spain, on the very ground of a total want of historic support, reject the idea that the "Catholic sovereigns in re-establishing the Inquisition were influenced by political considerations, and intended to harmonize religious unity with political unity."

That it was an institution peculiar to Spain all admit; that it was established under the express censure of a pope; that it assumed almost absolute independence of Rome, prevented appeals, disregarded counsel, advice, exhortation, and even threats, is no less true. For the action of this tribunal the popes cannot be responsible, as they stand on record the earliest to protest against its excessive severity. Prescott, who blindly follows Llorente, when as an historical scholar he must have laughed in his sleeve at the bare idea of accepting such a man as authority, is very violent in his denunciation of this Inquisition, yet admits that in principle it was sustained by the theories of the time. But it was too much to be explicit. He involves it thus: "However mischievous the operations of the Inquisition may have been in Spain, its establishment in point of principle was not worse than many other measures which have passed with far less censure, though in a much more advanced and civilized age." (*History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, chap. xvi.)

The writer who has treated most fully of the Spanish Inquisition

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was a Spanish priest, by name Juan Antonio Llorente, who was unfaithful to his duties alike as a patriot and a priest. Just before the close of the existence of the celebrated tribunal he was for a few years connected with it, and this gave weight to his pretended researches and documents as to its history. One fact stamps his work as a romance, and leaves Prescott, who wrote generally on transcripts of original documents from the Spanish archives, without the paltriest excuse for following such a man. This one fact is the statement made by Llorente himself, "that he burnt nearly all the official reports connected with the Inquisition, with the exception of those that related to the history of some of the most remarkable persons." (Edition 1818, p. 145.) Now, all who have made the slightest inquiry know that the Spanish archives are extremely rich, and that for a court which existed between three and four centuries the documents would be such that an ordinary lifetime would not suffice to go through them. The archives at Seville, relating to the colonies, are, for the earliest period, so ample that the late Buckingham Smith, a gentleman who spent years among them, and furnished Prescott himself with valuable material, told the writer, hopelessly, that the archives bearing on America seem inexhaustible, although scholars have been laboring among them for years. Prescott knew full well that Llorente could not have gone through the archives of the Inquisition in the most cursory manner in the time he devoted to the preparation of his work.

He had little or no documentary evidence. Hence his scheme to avoid being called upon to produce his authorities. Of all shallow and improbable stories commend us to this Llorente trick. Our late minister at Berlin issued, not long since, a volume of his *History of the United States.* It was received with violent opposition from some descendants of men of the Revolutionary era, who deemed their ancestors unjustly treated. Now, had Mr. Bancroft said in reply: "I wrote from documents in my hands of the highest authenticity, and followed them implicitly; nearly all these I have now burnt"—what a storm of ridicule would have greeted him! Did it ever enter into the head of Prescott, or Bancroft, or Motley, or any other historian, to destroy the documents he uses? On the contrary, they are often printed at length, sometimes reproduced in fac simile, to enable the reader to judge for himself of the handwriting, or of the real reading of the original.

In courts of law, one party may call on his antagonist to produce some paper in his hands, and on his neglect to do so, may prove by other testimony, what the contents of the paper were; but he would not be allowed to go on the stand to prove the contents of a paper which he himself had deliberately destroyed.

Certainly then Llorente is no authority. His book stands self-

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condemned, a mere sensational work, sure of a market, and intended to reap the benefit of that market.

That Prescott used the book as authority, cites it page after page as an authentic work, is the greatest stigma on his character as an historian. He knew that the book was unworthy of his confidence.[1]

Of this Spanish Inquisition, the first objects were the Jews. The severities which caused the remonstrance of the Pope, caused opposition in Spain. If we believe Llorente, Prescott, Rule, and writers of that stamp, the Jews were always the best citizens and most devoted patriots in all countries, and especially in Spain at this time. But contemporary Spanish writers give us a different account, and represent the Jews at this period as guilty of the most terrible crimes; they acquired such strength and boldness as to attempt, in 1485, to capture Toledo, and massacre the Christians. How decide between contemporary writers, and men writing three centuries later, full of a certain philosophy of history? In our mind's eye there rises a school in 2100, pathetically describing the holy death of Joseph and Hiram Smith, and the fierce and sanguinary Protestant inquisitors of Illinois, calumniating, persecuting, and murdering the blameless saints. How grandly will the Llorente of that day push aside contemporary testimony as prejudiced!

We must believe that there was some foundation for the charges. There were good and upright men in Spain and in the Spanish government, who would have lent themselves as tools to no hypocritical massacre. The difficulty was that the whole body of the Jews was made to suffer for the misdeeds of individuals, not only in the prosecutions under the Inquisition, but in the final terrible blow, which drove all the children of Israel from Spain, exiles even from a land of exile. But even among us the Jews as a body

[1] For example, Llorente asserts that in 1481, the Inquisition of Seville ordered no less than 2000 to be burned in the two dioceses of Seville and Cadiz. Prescott adopts the statement, yet admits in a note that Marineo, a contemporary author, diffuses the 2000 over several years. Llorente cites Mariana, yet Prescott was familiar with Mariana, and knew that this is given by Mariana as the whole number burned under Torquemada, not in two dioceses, but in the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. Pulgar also (edition, 1787, p. 137) makes it the number burned at different times, and in certain cities and towns. Most of Llorente's general estimates are based on data similarly distorted, and in this way he calculates those burned at the stake by Torquemada at 10,220, exclusive of Jews, when contemporary accounts make only 2000 in all. Rule, as a matter of course, follows Llorente, and cites Mariana as though the text of Mariana supported this perversion of truth. "What shall we say of a sham that can only hope to be kept alive by perverting the known truth?" (Rule, as amended by us.) Yet all Rule's figures for Spain are drawn from Llorente, and he adheres to them as he says, "notwithstanding the customary charges of exaggeration and untruth, laid against him by modern admirers and apologists of the Holy Office." It is an index of this man's mind, that no one can question the authority of his favorite author without becoming an admirer and apologist of all the acts of the Spanish Inquisition.

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suffer for the faults of evil individuals. General Grant for the irregularities of a few Jews, expelled all from his lines. Insurance offices make Jew risks a class which they shrink from taking. Yet these countrymen of the Blessed Virgin number many, whose probity, generosity, and sincerity entitle them to friendship and esteem.

The Jews in Spain suffered terribly. This forced exile, the loss on all that they had to sell, their hardships as they sought a new home, were such as to deserve the sympathy of all. Pope Alexander VI., Spaniard though he was, and not one whose name receives much honor in history, deserves credit for his receptlon of such of these poor fugitives as reached his States.

Ferreras, a careful Spanish historian, from statistics in the several provinces, makes the number exiled one hundred thousand, fewer than England annually drives of Catholics out of Ireland.

Llorente, however, says 800,000, citing Mariana, who mentions it simply as an exaggeration. Rule follows his leader without examination.[1]

Those Jews who remained in Spain did so by renouncing the Synagogue, and embracing Christianity. There would be but little reality in such wholesale conversions. The law which drove men to this hypocrisy, then set to work to discover and punish it. Among themselves they were still Jews, and in secret the prayers and customs of the Jews were observed. This backsliding, this relapse brought them within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Many acts, harmless in themselves, were regarded as signs of relapse and a denial of Christ.

After the revolts of the Alpujarras, the Moors too were exiled as a body, in 1572, and only such remained as chose to renounce Mohammed. Their conformity was generally only external, and frequent relapses into Islam made many cases for the Inquisition. It was established at Grenada by Diego de Deza, Grand Inquisitor after Torquemada, in order to prevent the relapsing of the Moriscos. The proceedings under it were, however, very lenient, and successive monarchs made every effort to render the Moors really Christians, but they were never thoroughly converted, and revolted repeatedly. This led to their final expulsion in 1609.

Rule is at a loss in this matter of the Moors. "I cannot relate," he says,—"for there is not, so far as I know, any record extant—the particulars of the inquisitorial persecution; but it is certain that,

[1] Vol. 1, p. 150. He complains, p. 149, that the synagogues "were turned into *mass houses* (sic) without any compensation." Now a certain mass house, called Westminster Abbey, was turned into a Protestant church without any compensation, as well as numbers of other Catholic mass houses. Catholics are willing to receive the proper compensation, if Protestants are ready to pay.

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closely leagued with the royal power, the Inquisition crowded the dungeons, and fed the hearths."[1] So that if the terrible Spanish Inquisition condemned many relapsing Mohammedans, history is silent, and we are to believe imaginary horrors, because we must of necessity make out the Inquisition to be monstrous.

When the religious innovators in Northern Europe began their vagaries, and Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Cranmer, each introduced his new patent religious medicine for the cure of the world's ills, the authorities in Spain, both civil and ecclesiastical, marked the progress of the new politico-religious movements. Destruction of churches, chapels, monasteries, seats of piety and learning, the plunder of shrines and altars, the murder of priests and religious, marked their course as that of a new race of Goths or Huns. Where the new ideas once entered a country, the government had either to adopt them and lead the innovators on, or prepare for a struggle in which every element of ferocity would be called out, and in which the sovereign must crush or be crushed.

Navarre, on the Spanish frontier, adopted the new ideas, and Catholicity was exterminated. The Low Countries, under the same impulse, rose against Spain. To save itself, Spain put forth every effort. The Inquisition already in existence, and so severe as to have been censured by the popes, became still more stringent, and was, in the hands of the Spanish monarchs, the great engine for preventing the growth of the new ideas in the peninsula. To their eyes it was the only hope. The Protestant corsairs of France and England swooping on the rich Spanish fleets, as cruel as their fellow-believers on land, made the Spaniard deaf to mercy; and the Spanish Inquisition attained its most terrible form. But it was essentially a State institution. Its object was the security of the Spanish throne, and the kingly power scarcely acknowledged the Church in the matter. "The Inquisition was," says Ranke, "the means of completing the absolute authority of the king." It was entirely dependent on the king, who appointed the officers. Guizot takes the same view. "The Inquisition was at first more political than ecclesiastical, and destined rather to uphold order than to defend the faith."

In the form it then assumed, and the course it then adopted, the Church cannot in the slightest degree be held accountable for the Spanish Inquisition. It was as absolutely a State institution as Bismarck's ecclesiastical courts and Falk laws; imprisoning, confiscating, banishing. But we have the direct disapprobation of the popes. Before the Reformation, Pope Sixtus IV. remonstrated in the most forcible manner with Ferdinand; limited the power of the Inquisi-

[1] 1st ed., p. 126. 2d ed., vol. 1, p. 163.

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tion to acting in concert with the bishops, and in 1483 established a judge of appeals from its decisions. Both Ferdinand and Charles V. endeavored in every way to thwart appeals to the Holy See, and at last demanded that all appeals should be addressed to the royal Minister of Justice. The popes interfered, too, to obtain clemency for the condemned, and to save their property for them and their children. Every effort was made to baffle the intervention of the popes, and appeals to them, so as to require, on the part of the Holy See, the most stringent action, as when Leo X. excommunicated the inquisitors of Toledo. It was the same under subsequent popes, who prevented the extension of the Spanish Inquisition to Italy. In view of all this, the Church at large or the sovereign pontiffs cannot, without a violation of all historic truth, be made responsible for the acts of the Spanish Inquisition. The burden lies with the absolute monarchy of Spain, with which it originated and with which it fell.[1]

Another point should be borne in mind. Those whom the popes honored for their piety and zeal for religion, even those whom the Church subsequently canonized as models for all Christians, were not exempt in life from the persecutions of the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal. The Jesuits were from first to last obnoxious to the Inquisitions of the peninsula. The hostility seen in the arrest of St. Ignatius, the persecution of St. Francis Borgia, friend of Carranza, the arrest of the Provincial, and the attempt to censure the whole Order, in 1586, the action against the Bollandists, the persecution of Vieyra, the action of the Portuguese Inquisition against the Society of Jesus, and the burning of Father Malagrida; the hostility evinced in all these is too clear and positive to be questioned. And strange as it may seem, Jesuits help to swell the numbers of the sufferers for whom Llorente, and such blind followers as Rule, evoke the tears of Protestants. St. Ignatius, in forming his "flying camp" to attack the hosts of the Reformation, never dreamed that Protestants would one day be called to sympathize with him as a sufferer from the Inquisition.

Of canonized saints, not only St. Ignatius, St. Francis Borgia, but even St. Teresa was denounced to the Inquisition. Nor has any Grand Inquisitor or official of that later tribunal since the origin of Protestantism been beatified or canonized by the Church. The Church is the Church. The attempt of the Inquisition to set itself up as a church, an *imperium in imperio*, was crushed. Among those whom it persecuted, the Church found men to raise to her highest honors, but never conferred them on the persecutors. St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, St. John Francis Regis, Blessed

[1] Llorente's work admits clearly these efforts of the Pope to check the Inquisition in Spain.

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Peter Canisius, Blessed Peter Faber, men who endeavored to regain those who fell away, but regain them by mildness, by reason, by exhortation; such are the men whom the Church publicly honors.

The Inquisition, whether in Spain or elsewhere, took cognizance not only of false religion and relapse into it, whether Judaism, Mohammedanism, or heresy, but also of all offences against religion, sacrilege, falsely personating the priesthood, witchcraft, blasphemy, crimes against nature, bigamy, perjury, and in some places purely civil offences, such as coining.

The attempts to introduce Protestantism into Spain attracted the attention of the Inquisition about the year 1541, and took form eighteen years later. Since the middle of the sixteenth century it has consequently been a name of horror in Protestant countries, and no exaggeration was too great to describe the number of the victims, the injustice of the judges, or the cruelty of the whole system. Historical calmness or impartiality, sound criticism, careful collation of authorities were all neglected, and the Spanish Inquisition is judged, even now, by many in comparison with the ideas and practices of the nineteenth century, not with those in which it flourished.

The course of proceeding employed by the Inquisition began with a public announcement of a time of grace, "during which every one, who, conscious of apostasy, presented himself and did penance, was to be absolved and saved from heavy punishments." Those under twenty might avail themselves of this opportunity even after the time had elapsed. The accused who did not appear, to avail themselves of this, were then subject to arrest. But the dungeons of the Inquisition, which play such a part in romances that pass for history, were models for their time. While even at a later date Howard found the prisons of Europe generally filthy and noxious; when the prisons in England were so vile that on one occasion the bringing of the Catholic prisoners to the bar caused a pestilence that swept off the judges, lawyers, and no small portion of the population, the prisons of the Spanish Inquisition were, as Llorente admits, "well-vaulted, light, and dry rooms. No prisoners ever groaned under the weight of chains, handcuffs, and iron collars."

The order of arrest could be issued only on the joint action of two inquisitors: one a jurist, the other a theologian. If the accusation were the use of heretical words or expressions, and the purport was not clear, it was referred to *qualificators*, to report whether they were really heretical.

The examinations were in the usual Spanish style, with long detailed written interrogatories, to which answers were required. But, it will be said, torture was used to compel the accused to answer

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fully. This is undoubtedly the case; but it was no peculiarity of that court. It was part of the course of judicial investigation in all European countries. England used to claim that torture was never used, and the assertion of Catholics, that their clergy and laity were frequently tortured, was met by a bold denial, and the charge cited as showing to what wickedness Catholics would go in their accusations of Protestants. Lord Coke, Chief Justice of England's highest court, long attorney-general, declares positively in his printed works that he never knew a case of torture in England. The state papers of England have become accessible in our time. Jardine, an English writer, and not a Catholic, investigated this very question of the use of torture in England, on which he published a well-known work. He found numbers of examinations of prisoners taken under torture, found examinations taken by Lord Coke himself, with marginal notes directing the answers to be garbled when used in court. That was the English use of torture, and Llorente cites nothing in the Spanish Inquisition to match it.

The accused was allowed to have an advocate, and to compare the depositions with the act of accusation. The inquisitors were required to collect material for the defence, and aid the accused in his search for testimony. The sentence of the provincial tribunals was subject to the revision of the Grand Inquisitor and Council. One alleged defect in this judicial system was that the names of the witnesses were not given to the accused; but Ranke, in Germany, and Le Normant, in France, find reasons for withholding censure even on this. The accused had the right of naming personal enemies against whose testimony he protested.

It will be said that, wise as the precautions were to obtain justice and a prompt administration of it, they were often avoided. This is certainly the case, and the frequent appeals to Rome prove it, as they prove the wisdom of the popes in withholding their approval from the whole system.

Spain gave great publicity to the execution of the judgments of the Inquisition. In 1559 she began her Autos de Fe, "Acts of Faith," solemn parades of the convicted in a form to strike terror into all. Those condemned merely to do penance came in black coats and trowsers, bareheaded, and barefooted; the more guilty in a yellow sanbenito with a red cross; those condemned to death wore a sheepskin sacque with flames painted on it, and a pointed paper cap. On arriving at the appointed place the sentences were pronounced, and the guilty were handed over to the civil officers, who then inflicted the punishment. The first Auto de Fe in Spain took place at Valladolid, May 21st, 1559, when fourteen were burned. Two others took place in the same year. They continued more or less frequently to the close of the century, but in 1604 an

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Auto was stopped by the king; and in that of 1621 no one was put to death. Rule admits (1, p. 289) that in the latter part of the last century sentences to death had nearly ceased.

Of the whole number who perished by the Spanish Inquisition it is not yet easy to obtain accurate data. Llorente estimates that from the institution under Torquemada to the year 1809, 31,912 were burnt, besides which 17,659 were burnt in effigy, and 291,450 were penitents. But we have seen already how recklessly Llorente applies numbers given for several years and different places to one year and one place, and then augments this for the kingdom, and again for a reign. His figures are utterly visionary, and if the number who perished in the Autos of the first year, 1559, be taken as an average, 39, and it is certainly above it,[1] the number from 1559 to 1759, when the executions may be said to have ceased, cannot exceed ten thousand, and probably falls far below it. If from this be deducted those who suffered for other causes than heresy, the number will not exceed, if it equals, that of Catholics put to death for their religion in the British Isles during the same periods, without taking into account the numbers of Catholics slaughtered in Ireland under Cromwell, which alone far exceed the numbers of burnt effigies and penitents of the Spanish Inquisition for its two centuries. The puerility of Llorente and Rule in parading as victims those burnt in effigy, and the adding of the great number of penitents can escape no man of sense.[2]

Spain extended the Inquisition to the New World in 1520, but not in definite form. Fifty years later three central tribunals were established at Lima, Mexico, and Cartagena. The first Auto took place in Mexico in 1574, but the number condemned to the flames was small; none were burned in the Auto of 1648, and only one in 1659. Drake, Hawkins, and other buccaneers were, in the earlier day, plundering the Spanish-American ships and seaside towns. Any of these pirates that fell into the hands of Spaniards were turned over to the Inquisition; but the blindest fanaticism will scarcely turn these ribald freebooters into martyrs of Christ.

The Portuguese Inquisition was established in 1536 by King John III., but the Pope, Paul III., soon complained of the severities and injustice that stained its course, and it required the absolute exertion of the papal authority to check the fury of the king, as

[1] Llorente himself gives 34 a year as his estimate for the reign of Philip V., not as based on any returns, but in his favorite way of calculating. The real average must have been undoubtedly much less.

[2] Among those who put a stop to the proceedings of the Inquisition, whether government or mob, there has been always a suspicious haste to destroy records. Many have thus perished unexamined, but the records of cases, and the issuing of death-warrants, must still exist in the central archives of the Spanish government.

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Rule admits. This author admits that he can find no authentic matter for a sketch; there was no Portuguese Llorente to multiply endlessly the number of victims. One of his few cases is from Fox's Book of Martyrs, the case of a man who attacked a cardinal while saying Mass in the Cathedral. But the popes sought to abate the rigors of the tribunal in Portugal, and Clement X. addressed a brief to his Nuncio urging him to prevent, if possible, an intended Auto de Fe. Here, too, the Jesuits signalized themselves by their earnest labors to mitigate the rigors of the tribunal, and they became in the highest degree obnoxious to those who were bent on carrying out its system. From Portugal the Inquisition extended to Brazil and India, and the acts of the tribunal at Goa are best known to English readers by Dellon's account, which Rule implicitly follows.

It is not pretended that those convicted of holding Protestant doctrines really did not hold them. On the contrary, it is admitted and claimed that in most cases they did, and that the conviction by the court was sound in point of fact. Cases undoubtedly occurred in this as in all other courts where innocence suffered and guilt escaped; our own times are not strangers to cases where poverty was an obstacle to the proof of innocence, and wealth makes it difficult to convict men of guilt.

When a person was convicted the punishment was death, imprisonment, or public penance. It is generally believed that, even for those times, the punishments inflicted by the Inquisition were unusually severe. That they were not, it will be necessary simply to compare them with the penal codes of other countries. The English penal code was terribly severe. The array of offences then punished with death, in its horrible forms of burning, half hanging, quartering, and disembowelling, is a fearful one. Even in these colonies the severity was great. Pressing to death was inflicted in New England; in New York, down to the Revolution, sacrilege (and stealing a book or a handkerchief in a church was sacrilege) was punished by death; and men were repeatedly convicted and sentenced under the law. The Carolina, a penal law of Germany under Charles V., enumerates execution by fire and sword, quartering, the wheel, gibbet, drowning, burying alive, the use of red-hot pincers, the cutting off the tongue, ears, hands, etc.

All this is repugnant to modern ideas, but it was once generally accepted as part of the criminal code, and the sentences inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition are really mild for their times.

The Inquisition in Italy, and especially in the Roman States, always retained more of its earlier form, and the bishops exercised more power. Its first operations were against the doctrine of the

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Waldenses, but in the proceedings against them the Inquisition does not hold a conspicuous place.

When the Protestant movement began in Germany the courts of the Inquisition were aroused to meet the new errors, and prevent their introduction into the peninsula. Yet the cases that arose were comparatively few. Italy did not show any disposition to embrace the new views. Here and there a member of some religious order, or a professor in some university, would attempt to diffuse them, but the attempt was speedily arrested, and the people generally were so faithful to the Catholic Church that they were averse to a formal inquisition. Just after the summoning of the Council of Trent, Pope Paul III., in July, 1542, established a General Inquisition at Rome.

In its operations we find none of the characters of the Spanish Inquisition. There were executions for heresy from time to time, as there were in England at the same time executions for being priests or Catholics. Some of those punished for extravagant doctrines in Italy would have gone to the stake for them in England under Edward VI.

Of those who suffered in Italy, De Dominis, Giordano Bruno, and Aonio Paleario are best known to English readers. The bugbear of Galileo's sufferings comes, by his own letters, to have been very gentle dealing from a sovereign whom he had caricatured. Some of those punished in Italy, as in Portugal and elsewhere, were English fanatics, maddened by the teachings of the Reformers, who attacked priests at the altar, at the consecration, or in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. Priests were even assassinated by such zealots. It required no Inquisition to punish such violent offenders against the religion of the country in which they happened to be.

The Inquisition was reared for a time in the Low Countries to uphold the Spanish power, but fell with it.

Such is briefly and in outline the history of this famous tribunal and its extent. A full, impartial, critical history, based on research and trustworthy documents, would be of great service. It is a subject that can be treated as White has treated the St. Bartholomew, and afford a work that men of all schools of thought and belief could consult and recognize.

Rule had the opportunity of rendering a real service to historic truth, but he is utterly devoid of the qualifications for the task he has undertaken. He has not even the tact to hide his blind fanaticism and put on the semblance of impartiality. Passages like these show the temper of his mind: "If Romanism were Christianity and not idolatry" (vol. 1, p. 145 n.). "Drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, popery raged in this age" (p. 236); "murderous police" (*i. e.*, the Jesuits), (p. 288).

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His historical accuracy may be seen in vol. 2, pp. 208–9, where he says: "About this time," A. D. 1570, "the Bartholomew massacre was contrived partly at Rome, during a visit of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and partly by the instigation of the Inquisition at Madrid." It will be enough to refer to White's St. Bartholomew, a Protestant work, reprinted in this country by the Harpers, to show that there is not the trace of a foundation for this charge, or for implicating the Church at all in the design. Then, too, p. 209, he makes Pius V. celebrate it with public rejoicings, when that Pope was actually dead.

His theological knowledge may be conjectured from his note (vol. 1, p. 290), where, speaking of Scio, the Spanish translator of the New Testament, he says: "But he could not obliterate the false readings of the modern Vulgate," and in his second volume, Appendix, p. 329, heads "Inquisitorial Ignorance," a passage from Archbishop Sotomayor. If he knows anything of the Biblical studies of the century he must know that the collation of ancient Greek manuscripts has made the received Greek text, which Protestants have blindly followed, utterly untenable, and has so substantiated the accuracy of the Vulgate as representing a still earlier class of manuscripts, that Protestants must now, if they retain the woman taken in adultery, retain it on the authority of the Vulgate.

Speaking of Borri, Rule says: "He taught that the Blessed Virgin was born of St. Ann in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Lord was born of Mary. He called her the only daughter of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost;" then he adds in a note: "The reader needs not to be reminded that *this* idle and unscriptural figment under the management of Pius IX. is now made . . . . an article of faith." It is impossible to conceive ignorance or bad faith greater than this. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as a moment's reading would show him, is that Mary from her conception, like Eve before the fall, was free from the original sin, and that neither in the Decree nor elsewhere is her conception held to be an exception to the ordinary rule of nature. In fact Catholics, knowing both her father and her mother, profess it distinctly.

What his own religious views are, apart from a most unreasoning hatred of Catholicity, it is not easy to define. He treats the conversion of Jews to Catholicity as apostasy (vol. 1, p. 145), and justifies it in a note. He cannot, therefore, believe faith in Jesus Christ as the Messias necessary for salvation. In fact he seems to exclude this and all other doctrines held by the Catholic Church, and must consider such of them as are held by the Protestant sects in common as unnecessary for salvation. As we have seen, he holds that a man with an enlightened conscience may swear to the reverse of truth. He justifies those countrymen of his who attacked priests

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at the altar or in procession as "filled with that horror and indignation which they only can conceive who have felt the same, as if they had passed into a region of blasphemy, where the people were in open revolt against the majesty of heaven."

Finding that bigamy was punished by the Inquisition, he makes the Church responsible for not having banished bigamy from earth; as though Luther had not justified it, and our country, Protestant in its tone, legalized it by its lavishly granted divorces, so relaxing the marriage tie that Mormonism, with polygamy as a doctrine, is firmly fastened on the land.

It may be said that it is impossible for a Protestant to read the atrocities of the Inquisition, and write calmly. White wrote his *History of St. Bartholomew* without being led into ignorance or uncriticalness by the cruelty of the act to his fellow-believers. Challoner in his *Missionary Priests*, and O'Reilly in his *Memorials* of those who suffered for the Catholic faith in Ireland, have given the lives of those Catholic priests and laymen put to death for their faith, in England and Ireland, without any such violence of language or thought as characterizes Rule. With a field that he might have made peculiarly his own by accurate scholarly research, Rule unfortunately brought to his task a blind religious hate, vagueness of religious views, great ignorance of Catholic doctrine, and a partial, uncritical, credulous mind.

As we have seen, he follows for the Spanish Inquisition the work of Llorente, repeating his errors without examination, even where Protestant writers had called attention to them. With Limborch it is the same. He makes no attempt to sustain these authors by citing passages in full, by documents, or by contemporaneous annals, the only way in which a history can be properly written. He takes Llorente's wild system of figures, perverting some general statement so as to limit it in time and space, then multiplying indefinitely to get figures for the whole kingdom. He ignores the numbers punished by the Inquisition for crimes against nature, bigamy, witchcraft, and the like, and swells out the numbers to hundreds of thousands by his enormous numbers of penitents.

Where he has not Llorente to follow, his account is vague and unsatisfactory. He is constantly appealing to imagination, thus; "We find everywhere stated that public executions were no less frequent in Portugal than in Spain, but we do not find authentic matter for a true sketch."

The mild form of the Inquisition in Italy he eludes, and the efforts of the sovereign pontiffs and of the Jesuits to mitigate the rigors of the tribunal in Spain and Portugal are never fairly stated; and what is reluctantly said is weakened at once, by insinuations and imputations of bad faith.

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A person may read the work from first to last without finding the question of religious coercion distinctly treated; without finding an admission that Protestant countries punished with death and minor punishments as well Catholics who refused to enter the Protestant State Church as dissenters who wished to leave it. For a century and a half after the revolt of Luther, punishment for disagreeing with the state established Church was universal; it was the rule in England and Germany as in Spain or Italy. After that period, as men grew less in earnest in their religious views, the severity was relaxed. Indifferentism gave place largely in the last century to infidelity, and the spirit of the governments of the nineteenth century is one that ignores God. With the fall of Rome the Inquisition even in name ceased to be an institution in any way connected with the Church. Religious coercion is no longer her act; but it exists, and governments, whether Russo-Greek, Lutheran, Anglican, Liberal, or simply Masonic, claim the right to coerce; they no longer attempt the hopeless task of crushing Catholicity by force; they claim the right to regulate her faith, her worship, her hierarchy, the instruction of her laity, her rules of membership, and punish all opposition to their strange wild usurpation by fines, imprisonment, and Siberian horrors. The real Inquisition of this age, is the war of Czar, Kaiser, Commune, and Republic, against the Catholic Church, which they honor with their hate, as being the only real representative of the religious idea.

It is, therefore, to be deeply regretted that our times should produce such a shallow, pretentious work on a subject upon which a really critical and honest book is needed, the subject of religious coercion by the civil power.

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SECULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

De l'Éducation. Par Mgr. Dupanloup, Évêque d'Orléans.
La Liberté de l'Enseignement Supérieur. Par Mgr. Dupanloup.
Public Education in the United States. By Hugh Seymour Tremenheere.
Thoughts selected from the Writings of Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Education Board.

NOBODY reproaches a tree because it sends its branches into the air and its roots into the ground. In doing so it only obeys a natural law. When the Church claims the right to teach her own children she does the same thing. She is a mother, and loves her own, as mothers are apt to do. They need her care, and would perish without it. For this end she was created, that she might secure victory to her children in their conflict with the world and the devil. That is the purpose for which she exists. And she fulfils it chiefly by *teaching* them. When the world says to her, as it begins to do in our day, "Give me your children to educate," it invites her to commit suicide. It might as well say to her, "Cease to exist." But that is a matter in which she has no liberty of choice. She *must* exist. She is not a fabric of human art, much less a product of spontaneous generation, but owes her being to the creative *fiat* of the Almighty. And as she is not the author of her own life, she has no power to lay it down, even if she had the wish. It is her destiny to endure "till the consummation of all things." God will have it so. *Fundavit eam in æternum.* Her children have never known, and never will know, any anxiety on that point; because her Divine Founder, whose word is truth, has said, that no power of earth or hell, separately or in combination, "shall prevail against her." Both men and demons have done what they could, and have given her a troubled life; but even her impenitent adversaries understand, and confess with despair, that they are doomed to perpetual defeat, and she to eternal victory. "When we reflect," said Macaulay, "on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."

The special function of the Church is to teach: "Go, *teach* all nations." She has, indeed, other duties towards the children of men; being, as St. Paul says, the "dispenser of the mysteries of God," and the sole channel through which the most precious gifts of the Creator are distributed to the creature. "They have not

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God for a father," was the language of the saints, "who have not the Church for a mother." But it is on the vigilance with which she discharges her *teaching office* that her life and theirs mainly depend. Vast as is the power delegated to her by her Founder, and the might which comes from her inseparable union with Him, it is with an infirm and unstable race that she has to deal, and she cannot change the conditions of her warfare. She has to protect the weak against the strong, human simplicity against diabolical craft. If her vigilance were not unsleeping, a combat so unequal could have only one issue. Only supernatural armor can resist the deadly thrust which easily pierces through all human defences. The son of Jesse might refuse to wear a coat of mail, but it was because the sling and the stone with which he went to battle were weapons which the Lord of Hosts had lent him. If "the God of the armies of Israel" had so willed it, he could have strangled the Philistine with a silken thread. There is no might nor strength against God. But if we would be invulnerable like David, we must be, as he was, in alliance with God. The God of David enters into covenant with no man except through His Church. "*Deus extra Ecclesiam*," said St. Anselm, "*inveniri non potest.*" And therefore the Church gives her hand to us at the baptismal font, and from that hour, like a guardian angel, guides our steps, lifting us over every pitfall, driving from our path every seen enemy, and baffling those who are unseen. Woe to us if we go forth to battle without her! It will not be long before the Philistine has his foot on our neck. There is no satanical artifice so transparent, and none so effective, as that which tempts human imbecility to mortal combat without the only ally who can give it even a chance of victory. Yet in our own day the weakest member of the "diabolical trinity" has made an insane compact with the strongest, of which we begin, in more than one land, to see the fruits. "Your fundamental mistake," says the devil to the world, "is allowing the Church to educate your children." "Very true," replies the idiotic world, "but it is not too late to correct the mistake, especially with your valuable co-operation." The result of this conference between the two unequal but sympathetic potentates is a combined resolve to throttle the human race, or as much of it as they can contrive to grasp, with "*secular education.*"

The project is not entirely new, for Julian tried it, not without a certain momentary appearance of success; but God took the apostate away, and the Church went on teaching. "The Christian Church," says Guizot, "saved Christianity." If the world could be induced to reason about such matters, we should ask it what it proposes to gain, even according to its own estimate of gain, by its latest bargain with Satan? But, as the gentle Fénélon said, "the

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world has still more need of reason than of faith." If it would reason first, it might end by believing. Let it consider, for example, if it desires to impart even a semblance of reason to its own chaotic proceedings, or to suggest a plausible justification of them, on what grounds it contests the right of the Church to educate her own children, and what are at this hour the ascertained results of attempting to supersede her in that function? The only reason which secularists have ever alleged is demonstrably, as far as the Church is concerned, no reason at all. People are so divided, they say, in their religious opinions, and their differences so envenomed and irreconcilable, that our only chance of making education universal is by altogether excluding religion from our programme. This may be an impressive argument as respects those who do *not* belong to the Church, but how does it apply, however remotely, to those who do? Why should two-thirds of all the Christians in the world, who abide in unity and are subject to authority, be violently mulcted of their most sacred rights and reduced to spiritual famine, because the other third, who are outside the Church, find it easier to suppress religion altogether than to hold the same opinions about it? Cannot sectaries reap what they have sown without obliging Catholics to share their poisoned diet with them? There is only one answer to this question. It is furnished by a candid American Protestant. "Secularism is not religious *neutrality*," he observes, "but public atheism, the most intolerant and oppressive of all sectarianisms that have prevailed on earth."[1] It is intolerable both to the secularist and the sectary that any one should believe more than he does; and as he finds, to his extreme mortification, that what *he* calls reason has no power to quench faith, and what he calls science quite as little, he goes to Parliament, or Congress, or Reichsrath, and says, with a forehead of brass and a face which knows not how to blush: "Oblige me by putting down Christian teachers by force, and count upon my vote and that of my friends to make it worth your while." As all the governments of our day are officially atheistic—except, perhaps, that of Ecuador—and legislate as if there was no God, or none of whom they need take account, they reply: "Prove that your votes outnumber those of the Christians, and we are entirely at your service." The whole science of government, as practiced in the nineteenth century, is epitomized in that response.

Is it unreasonable in Christians to desiderate in a matter of such tremendous gravity,—affecting not only the future destiny, but even the present fortunes of human society,—a little less of brute force, and a little more of rational argument? We are open to convic-

[1] Things Sacred and Secular in American Life, p. 16.

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tion; and if the secularist can prove either that the Church has not the power, or has lost it, or has not the will, and is not likely to have it, to educate her own children, and make them good citizens as well as good Christians, we will endeavor to accept School Boards, if not with enthusiasm, at least with resignation. On that hypothesis, the final ruin of modern society may as well be accomplished by secular education as by anything else. If we must be buried, we are not particular about the dimensions of our tomb, the shape of the coffin, or the color of the pall. Let the worms who will feed on us dispute about that. But is it *true* that the Church has lost either the power or the will to do what the Most High appointed her to do? That she had both once, and not long ago, nobody disputes. As late as the seventeenth century, one of the giant intellects of that age confessed her schools were the best ever seen on earth! Bacon, to whom men ascribe the glory of proposing the true method of cultivating science, ought to be an authority with all who quote him in that character. Aristotle was not more truly the father of inductive philosophy, according to contemporary critics, than Bacon of scientific investigation. We might, perhaps, dispute the statement, but have no present motive for doing so. We are content to invite materialists and secularists to listen to their own oracle. "As to the art of instructing youth," said Bacon, "the shortest method would be to say, *consult the schools of the Jesuits;* for, among all that have hitherto existed, there is nothing better."[1] The immense and incontestable superiority of the Catholic schools more than a century after the pretended Reformation was so notorious that Mr. Buckle finds in it the explanation of the famous antithesis of Macaulay: "Fifty years after the Lutheran separation, Catholicism could scarcely maintain itself on the shores of the Mediterranean; a hundred years after the separation, Protestantism could scarcely maintain itself on the shores of the Baltic." "The Protestant clergy," says Mr. Buckle, "destroyed the possibility of free inquiry, and, so far as they were able, put a stop to the acquisition of all real knowledge." They ordered their Synods to "have a watchful eye over those ministers who study chemistry"—what would they have said to the Jesuit missionaries who, as Humboldt remarked, recorded their observations on terrestrial magnetism?—"and grievously reprove and censure them." The result was that many Protestants, "seeing that under such a system it was impossible to educate their families with advantage, sent their children to some of those celebrated Catholic colleges, *where alone a sound education could then be*

[1] "Ad pædagogicam quod attinet, brevissimum foret dictu: Consule scholas Jesuitarum. Nihil enim, quod in usum venit, his melius."—De Augmentis Scientiarum, lib. vi., cap. 4, p. 341. Argentorati, 1635.

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obtained."[1] The contrast between the schools of the Church and those of the sects was so fundamental, that a French writer says of one of the Protestant communities of his land: "S'ils avaient vaincu, la France était perdue pour la vraie civilisation."[2]

But there was nothing new in this unwearied zeal of the Church to impart education, and to do it by the most consummate methods which genius had suggested or keen observation devised. Long ages before Bacon and other Protestant writers had attested her enormous superiority as a teacher in every branch of human knowledge over all her lagging and distanced rivals, she was founding in every part of Europe, and notably in Great Britain, those famous universities which the German Huber frankly styles "a bequest from Catholic to Protestant England." "As early as the *ninth* century," he says, in the very darkest of the so-called dark ages, "Oxford was the seat of a school of the highest intellectual cultivation then existing." The Church did not wait for any impulse from "modern thought" or "modern civilization"—cant words which feebly veil the penury of the one and the degradation of the other—to enforce the principle upon which she has always acted, that the only limit of attainable knowledge is the limit of opportunity. "Most of the Continental universities," continues the Protestant Huber, "originated in entire dependence on the Church," and "her mode of exercising so important a trust is marked by an honorable activity." Nay, more: "The new intellectual impulse sprang up, not only on the domain and under the guidance of the Church, *but out of ecclesiastical schools.*" And the great central authority, to which all Christendom was then happily subject, lent all its energy and influence to sustain this intellectual movement. "From the beginning of the eleventh century," we are still quoting Huber, "the papal bulls and briefs took notes of the most minute details of management, even *superintending* the schools, as far as the age permitted."[3] If the Church were really indifferent or hostile to cultivation of mind and the progress of knowledge, as her mendacious detractors affect to believe, her apathy had a curious resemblance to zeal, her repugnance to sympathy, and her hatred to love. She disguised her imaginary aversion to intellectual life with such complete success that even the prejudiced Huber sees only a mournful *contrast* between the present and the earlier condition of our own universities! "There is no question," he says, "that during the Middle Ages the English universities were distinguished *far more*

[1] Buckle's History of Civilization in England, vol. 1, ch. 9, p. 587, 3d edition.

[2] Services que le Catholicisme a rendus à la France, par M. C. Vte. le Gazan, p. 43.

[3] Many examples will be found in the Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ of Wilkins, showing the intimate relations between Oxford and the Holy See, and the confidence felt by the one in the protection of the other.

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than ever afterwards by energy and variety of intellect." Such a witness deserves to be heard to the end. He is speaking, let it be observed, of a time when the Holy Apostolic See, which saints and councils called "The Chair of the most blessed Peter," was the supreme arbiter in all human affairs, as God designed it to be, and its authority an essential part of the public law of Europe. The Church was then free, as she had never been before, to mould human society according to her own maxims, and to take the initiative in the whole wide field of thought and conscience, and in all that could contribute to the orderly progress of Christian communities. There were none to accuse and none to instruct her. Her action was spontaneous and unfettered; for she was truly, as Isaias predicted, Queen of the Nations. And how did she use the sovereignty which none disputed? Now is the time to judge her, when she was the beneficent mistress of a world which she had herself civilized. "Later times," is the candid answer of Huber to this capital question, "cannot produce a concentration of men eminent in all the learning and science of the age, *such as Oxford and Cambridge then poured forth*, mightily influencing the intellectual development of all Western Christendom." And it was the very men—let our shameless and ungrateful generation mark the fact—who were most completely identified with the Church, who felt with her heart and thought with her mind, who were the most active and untiring agents both in stimulating the thirst for knowledge, and in satisfying the desire which their own contagious example had created. It was from the sacred cloisters and peaceful monasteries of the Church that the vast host of students of that age, allured by no sordid motive and attracted by no temporal advantage, received both the invitation to aspire to learning, and the direction, equally patient and acute, of the labors to which they were nobly encouraged. It is an emphatic rebuke, says Huber, to the ignorant and sordid libellers of our own age, who can only sneer at what they do not understand, that "most of these worthies were *monks* of the Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, or reformed Augustinian order." It was no languid or intermittent effort which these laborious monks inspired, but a sustained and generous enthusiasm. "In consequence of this surpassing celebrity Oxford became the focus of a prodigious congregation of students,"—amounting in the thirteenth century to thirty thousand! And this amazing concourse, which, as he observes, "eminently testifies intellectual activity in the nation and times," was the more significant of the real character of that triumphal age of the Church, "since the University was as yet very poor, *and had no outward attractions to offer.*"[1] And it was the same

[1] Huber, The English Universities, vol. 1, pp. 13, 17, 43, 65, 66; ed. Francis Newman.

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in Scotland as in England. "It ought not to be forgotten," said the late James Forbes, "that it is to the Mediæval Church that we are indebted for our universities. Three out of the four universities of Scotland had Catholic bishops for their founders."[1]

It would carry us too far if we were to attempt to illustrate by example the vigorous intelligence and supreme good sense of those "monastic missionaries," who, as Montalembert remarks, "were in reality the most direct agents, the most immediate envoys from the Holy See, that had been yet seen in Christendom;" and who, while they exhorted our forefathers to liberal studies, taught them "*self-government*, that is to say, the proud independence of the free man among his fellows in the general commonwealth," and made them at the same time, "a nation of Christians more fervent, more liberal, more docile and attached to the Church, more fruitful in saintly men and women, than any other contemporary nation."[2] But, if we have no space for such details, we ask permission to give a single specimen, taken from a very early age, of the sagacity and true enlightenment of the old English monks. St. Aldhelm, who in the *seventh* century was able to write both Latin and Greek, though perhaps not the Latin of Cicero nor the Greek of Thucydides, and who was buried with all honor and reverence by St. Dunstan himself, the noble successor of St. Odo, displays in the following remark the acuteness which even the empirical critics of our day, whose "superficial omniscience" would have provoked a kind of jovial disgust in the philosophic saints whom they generally despise, will perhaps consent to applaud. "Apocryphorum enim nænias," said this recluse of the seventh century, "et incertas frivolorum fabulas, nequaquam Catholica receptat Ecclesia."[3] We should like to give other examples of monkish criticism in these remote ages, but the seductive temptation must be resisted. "Modern thought" does not seem to us to have supplied their places, or to be likely to do so. When faith disappears, everything else goes with it; for faith, as St. Augustine said, is "a condition of knowledge," as well as of all true nobility. Proofs are not wanting. The Church of God had enriched England with seminaries of learning, which were at the same time schools of exalted piety; under the withering influence of the new national sect they quickly ceased to be either. In the time of Edward VI., to quote Huber once more, "the universities were made essentially Protestant, ... and every academician whose conscience forbade him to renounce Catholicism was ejected. Anthony Wood relates that in Oxford fourteen heads of colleges and nearly ninety fellows were expelled, and among

[1] Life of James David Forbes, F.R.S., p. 394.
[2] Monks of the West, vol. 5, p. 184.
[3] St. Aldhelm. De laudibus Virginitatis, Migne.

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these were some of the most learned men." The effect was immediate, and by the reign of Elizabeth "the most trustworthy evidence sets it beyond all doubt that intellectual quite as much as moral and religious interests at the universities were at so low an ebb as not to compare with far less favored periods." As to the academical students, few in number compared with the host who flocked thither in Catholic times, "their morals and sentiments are described at the same time as having been in the highest degree wild, selfish, loose, devoid of all earnestness, honor, or piety." The "Catholic bequest to Protestant England" had been in a few years so effectually squandered that, according to the decisive testimony of Anthony Wood, "in Oxford itself you have to search after the Oxford University, so greatly has everything changed for the worse."[1] In our day, to complete the history, while a few become conversant with classical learning for the sake of the pecuniary or social advancement attached to proficiency, the Protestant bishop of Oxford has lately announced that, owing to the growing unbelief of the teaching body, he can only admit fellows of colleges to the ministry with extreme precaution.

Such is the contrast between the work of the Church and the work of the sects. From the seventh to the seventeenth centuries, by the unsuspicious evidence of Bacon and Huber, the Church was at once the most zealous and the most efficient teacher, both of divine and human learning. She made in the same hour scholars and saints. "A sure and unbroken progress of intellectual culture," says the Protestant Ranke, "had been going on within its bosom for a series of ages; all the vital and productive elements of human culture were here united and mingled."[2] If, then, the Church, as certain sciolists of our day assure us, has renounced her glorious past; abdicated, whether from exhaustion or a sense of incapacity, her teaching office; and resolved, for the first time in her long history, to oppose the progress of true knowledge and discountenance mental culture; we should like to ask, without expecting any reply, what intelligible token she has given of these new dispositions? Wherever she is least fettered in her action, as in England, France, Holland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States, she is busily founding new educational institutions. In the direction of these colleges and universities, for which she desires a constantly wider extension, her bishops, never more worthy of their apostolic office, everywhere invite the co-operation of the highest available talent. Not a question of science, philosophy, history, literature, or art, is proscribed.

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[1] Huber, pp. 307, 326.

[2] History of the Reformation in Germany, by Leopold von Ranke; vol. 1, book ii, ch. 1, p. 251, ed. Austin.

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Every truth is welcome, because every truth is sacred.[1] Without endowments, of which she has been despoiled, she combats enemies whose resources, at least in the Old World, are mainly derived from her own rifled treasury. In every arena of fair competition, it is not her children who occupy the lowest place. A single supernatural virtue is, indeed, more precious in her judgment, than a hundred triumphs of unconsecrated art or a thousand efforts of unhallowed genius; but she is now, as ever, the home of the highest forms of the one, the source of the noblest products of the other. We see no change in her, either in her testimony to revealed truth or her attitude towards the development of human knowledge. In both she remains unalterably the same. Why, then, should she cease to teach the world now, who for so many ages was its *only* teacher? Has she lost her gift? Has He, who gave, transferred it to other hands? Let those who claim to supersede her produce their diploma. If He, who is "without variableness or shadow of change," has divorced His long-cherished spouse, and plucked from her brow the nuptial crown, by what apocryphal court was the decree pronounced, and in what fantastic register shall we find it recorded?

There is little wisdom in proposing bootless questions, to which no reply can be given. It is not the Church, even her enemies admit, who has changed, being constitutionally incapable of meriting that flattering reproach; but the progress of "science" has abolished the supernatural, refuted revelation, and reduced the Bible to the level of an oriental fable. There are people who profess to believe that. If we asked them *which* established truth of science is in formal contradiction with which truth of revelation, we doubt if they would tell us. It is less compromising to say, in vague and general terms, that faith and science are irreconcilable. This formula is at once more imposing and more elastic. It is also, which is perhaps an additional merit, totally and absurdly untrue. The *truths* of science are one thing; its guesses, peradventures, and crude hypotheses are another. It is only the latter which ever did, or ever will, conflict with faith. One truth cannot contradict another; and our self-complacent scientists are not ignorant of the notorious fact that, even in the recent times, the great *discoverers* in the field of science, who have really added to the sum of human knowledge, have all been earnest believers in revelation. "Ask," says Mgr. Dupanloup, "all the great men of the seventeenth century, Leibnitz, Kepler, Newton, Bacon, Descartes, Pascal, who were the fathers of the modern sciences, if faith repudiates science."[2] Ask in our own day, he adds, Ampère, Biot, Cauchy, with whom we may name

[1] "Si la vérité est Dieu même, il s'ensuit, comme parle St. Augustin, *que toute science est bonne en soi.*"—Ozanam, Œuvres Choisies, p. 312, 1859.

[2] La Liberté de l'Enseignement Supérieur, p. 23.

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Brewster, Whewell, Forbes, Faraday, and Owen. Of Forbes, who was chiefly occupied with physical science, his biographer says: "His scientific habits of thought never disturbed or cast the shadow of a doubt over his faith."[1] It is, in fact, only men of an inferior grade, both morally and intellectually, who would have been equally impious if they had been wholly ignorant of science, who pretend that there is any real conflict between truths of the natural and the supernatural order. "If you say that we are enemies of science," continues Mgr. Dupanloup, "give us back our professional chairs, and we will show you that the genius of Christian *savants* is not an extinguished flame. But you insult us with impunity, while you refuse to untie our hands."

These noble words of the Bishop of Orleans, who has so little respect for ignorance that he has taught his own seminarists to act the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, bring us to the grave topic to which what has been said thus far is only introductory, and reveal the true motive of those pretended votaries of science who wish to expel the Church of God from all share in the work of public education. They are really solicitous—not like Kepler, Leibnitz, and Newton, about truth—but only about their own cynical theories and profane assumptions. Their strongest passion is not love of science, but hatred of religion. This is what Professor Huxley and his school have in view when he says, with petulant insolence and superb contempt of facts, "the Roman Catholic Church is the one great spiritual organization which is able to resist, and must as a matter of life and death resist, the progress of science and modern civilization."[2] He wants that "nucleated mass of protoplasm" which is called man, and which one of his own sort defined not long ago as "a sarcoidous peripatetic fungus,"—unfortunate biped, what will they make of him next!—to be free to think and say whatever he pleases, without being subject to the vexatious admonitions of the Church. To be maintained always in the harmony of truth is an odious limitation of liberty! What is the use of being free, if one is not free to err? Happy they who understand that such freedom is the worst kind of slavery, and devoutly bless God who is able to keep them from the horrors of such ignominious bondage. The Church, by His sovereign decree, is the witness and guardian of a certain fixed deposit of revealed truth; and, though she has no special lights about magnetism, chemistry, or biology, she has an infallible test by which she can try each of them, and every other human science. Starting from the principle that one truth cannot contradict another, and that the truths of faith, as even Sir William

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[1] Life, p. 453.

[2] Huxley, Lay Sermons, IV, 61.

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Hamilton confessed, are more certain than the truths of sense,[1] because they are never chimeras and rest on a more solid foundation, she arrives at the eminently rational conclusion, that when the doubtful and fluctuating presumes to dictate to the positive and permanent, when the human tries to soar with unsteady wing above the divine, when the nebulous dream of every conceited pedant usurps the function and parodies the authority of all the Prophets and all the Apostles, there is no argument in all this against the salutary interposition of the Church, but rather against the inconceivable folly of those who resent its action and forfeit its help, only to commit that mental ἐξαγωγή which is the form of suicide most prevalent in our age.

Among the possible eccentricities of "modern thought" there is one which we have not yet encountered. We never met a man, even in the ranks of the most "advanced thinkers," who contended that in the acquisition of a foreign language the use of a grammar and dictionary is a fatal impediment. Yet this would be a rational proposition compared with the delirious popular notion, that the authority which God has given to His Church is adverse to mental freedom. It is, in fact, and was designed to be, its sure defence. It is God's own provision against the aberrations of human reason. If truths of every order were simply axiomatic, and the rational faculty wholly exempt from error, instead of being, as Kant maintains in his essay on *Pure Reason*, "liable to an inevitable delusion," we might evidently dispense with guides and teachers. But this delusion finds so little acceptance, even in our puerile generation, that it is only in the sphere of *spiritual* truths that men claim to ignore authority. Writers like Professor Bain and Sir George Cornwall Lewis concur in the assertion, that "between Authority and Reason there is no opposition;"[2] and the airy pontiffs of materialism exact from their disciples a submission not less complete than the Church, with better reason, claims from hers. They have no invincible antipathy to popes, provided they grasp the keys and don the tiara themselves. The essential difference between them is, that the one defends the rights of truth, the other the privileges of error. In the Church now, as in all former ages, every speculation is legitimate, in every sphere of thought, subject to this sole restriction, that no conclusion can be admitted which contradicts a revealed truth previously established, and resting upon a fixed and immovable foundation. It is this fruitful and salutary postulate which encourages in Catholics the *widest liberty of thought*, because

[1] Hamilton does not scruple to say that "knowledge is an inferior ground of assurance to natural belief," a statement quoted by the late J. S. Mill with extreme disapprobation.

[2] Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, ch. iii, p. 64.

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it supplies a certain guarantee against its errors and excesses. In the middle ages, when the authority of the Church was supreme in every Christian conscience and dominated every enlightened intellect, there was a riot of speculation *de omni re scibili.* Huber thinks he perceives "an essential similarity between the general movement of mind in the present nineteenth century and that in the *twelfth;*" and adds, that "the Church met the new speculative tendency not altogether in hostility," while "for whatever of the old studies survived, the merit is hers."[1] When a man impudently contends in our day, like Earl Russell and his echo, Mr. Gladstone, that the Church stifles mental freedom, he only proves that dull bigotry has destroyed his own, and contradicts the whole history of human thought. Her office is to secure freedom by truth, which she alone has the power to do, because she alone possesses the eternal copyright of that grammar and dictionary which give the only clue to the divine language of revelation, and the rules by which it is to be interpreted.

And precisely for this reason, as Ranke admits, the course of human thought was "a sure and unbroken *progress* for a series of ages," as long as the authority of the Church was respected. Since the great revolt of the sixteenth century, which "gave to every man," as Goethe said, "the right to judge all things, without giving him the power," the ephemeral products of what is still called "thought" are chiefly remarkable for the voracity with which they devour one another. The truth of to-day is the fable of to-morrow, and will be the jest of the day after. Nothing is stable, nothing permanent. Mists and shadows darken the earth, and realities have faded into night. Our spurious and combative philosophers, who are chiefly occupied in refuting each other, "after denying everything else," as a French ecclesiastical writer lately remarked, "have ended by denying themselves." It is the only service which they have ever rendered to humanity. Like the old pagans, who would have obeyed the authority of the Church if they had known it, their sterile discussions end in a cry of despair, and the last word of their impotent philosophy is the ludicrous confession that all that is worth knowing is unknowable. Hence the grand discovery of our age, by which it hopes to regain all which it has lost,—that religion must be divorced from education, and that the discrowned teacher of nations must be content to veil her face before the rising sun of parochial magnates and district school boards.

It is this discovery which we now propose to examine. We know what the Church has done for the world, and are curious to inquire what it designs to do for itself. If it should turn out that

[1] Huber, vol. I, pp. 5, 11.

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a fundamental error of enormous dimensions lies at the root of the new scheme by which the world aspires to do the work of the Church, it may chance that before long people will be saying of it, in the words of Lord Bacon, "The misery is that the most effectual means are now applied *to the ends least to be desired.*"[1] Evidence in support of that view of the subject accumulates with frightful rapidity. Witnesses of the most opposite character and principles, and of various nationalities, concur in the opinion that the secular education craze is either a delusion or a crime, or both at once. That it is fruitless as a preventive against wickedness, and has not the remotest tendency to operate in that direction, even the prophets of the unknowable emphatically assert. "The time will come," says Mr. Huxley, "when Englishmen will quote our educational maxims as the stock example of the stolid stupidity of their ancestors in the nineteenth century;" and he adds, "If I am a knave or a fool, teaching me to read and write will not make me less of either one or the other."[2] "We have no evidence," observes Mr. Herbert Spencer, "that education, as commonly understood, is a preventive of crime." Facts look quite the other way; for, as he continues, "did much knowledge and piercing intelligence suffice to make men good, then Bacon should have been honest, and Napoleon should have been just."[3] In other words, secular education assumes as the only motive of human action one which is utterly powerless for good, and offers a remedy for human evils which can only augment them. Secular education no more tends to produce virtue in any man, either civic or religious, than teaching a dog to carry a parcel, or an ape to jump through a hoop. "*L'éducation et l'instruction,*" says the Bishop of Orleans, "sont deux choses profondement distinctes."[4] But that is an elementary truth which has no place in the meagre philosophy of School Boards. Even Professor Max Müller would tell them that "truth is not found by addition and multiplication only;"[5] a fact which does not easily penetrate the parochial mind. Suggest to our educational satraps, who are the scourge of rate-payers and the Nemesis of washer-women with large families, that something more is wanting, though it were only the θεῖόν τι of Aristotle, or the "divine inspiration" of Plato, and you will be like Ovid among the Thracians.

"Barbarus his ego, quia non intelligor illis."

Yet M. Thiers, whose free scope is not limited by any excessive respect for Christian maxims, once told the French Chamber, not

[1] Bacon's Essays, Civil and Moral.
[2] Lay Sermons, iii, 38, 41.
[3] State Education Self-defeating, pp. 13, 15.
[4] De l'Éducation, t. i, ch. iv, p. 180.
[5] Lectures on the Science of Language, p. 35.

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simply that secular education is an unsubstantial bubble, but that no lay person can really *educate*—he did not say *instruct*—because "*il y faut du prêtre ou du religieux.*" The most eminent of his countrymen, as Mgr. Dupanloup observes, have comprehended the absolute necessity of combining religion with education. Guizot said that education without religion "*is a danger for society.*" Cousin, who was careful to make his own peace with God and the Church before he died, did not fear to add: "It is the duty of families and of the clergy to combat any school where positive religious instruction is not given."[1]

"All that may be very true," reply our impenitent Secularists, "and if it is we shall probably find it out sooner or later; but what in the world are we to do? If you will quarrel so fiercely about religion, which has become the most active disintegrating force of our time, we have no alternative but to banish that element of combustion from our schools." The difficulty may be a real one, though it is none of ours; but who does not see that it is revolt against the Church which has introduced this new curse into the world? No one pretends that it ever had, or dreams that it ever will have, any place among Catholics. For them religion is not a fountain of strife, but a bond of supernatural union. "It is certain," said Lord Bacon, in whose writings we hardly expected to find such a sentiment, "that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals, yea, worse than corruption of manners."[2] This great thinker, who was an ardent supporter of the new Established Church, because his imperious royal mistress was its chief patron, did not consider that his very pert reflection came a little too late. That Church was founded on *the right of revolt*, and could not long refuse to others the agreeable privilege which it had used so largely itself. The example was contagious, and in a few years the *one* religion which had united all Englishmen for a thousand years had become a hundred. "It is true," said a famous Anglican at a later date, comparing his own raw sect with the Apostolic Church, "there were not so many schisms and divisions then as there are now; but the reason was," he plaintively adds, "*because the people did not make them*, as many do in our days, who notwithstanding that they are admitted into our Church, are so far from continuing steadfast in communion with it, that they never think they can separate themselves far enough from it."[3] Vain lament! Nobody listens to the sot preaching temperance, nor to the sectary whining about schism. Example in such cases is more potent than precept. "Let Anglicans cease to maunder about schism," said the philo-

[1] La Liberté de l'Enseignement Supérieur, p. 19.
[2] Essays, Civil and Moral. [3] Beveridge, Works, vol. ii, p. 437, 1843.

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sophical *Spectator* not long ago, "or cease to be Anglicans." Secular education, as Bacon and Beveridge would perhaps admit if they lived now, with all its cohort of attendant evils, is one of the inevitable results of the so-called Reformation, which has pretty nearly annihilated religion in every country which accepted it, and is now going to extinguish the little that remains by a process which, after being matured in other lands, is at length being adopted in our own.

Holy Scripture says: "Surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." Not quite in vain! Let the astute bird-catcher keep *himself* out of sight, which he is crafty enough to do, and his net will soon be filled with birds of various plumage. We purpose to illustrate this fact in the natural history of bird-catching chiefly by the example of our kinsmen in the United States. They are an acute and observant people, at least in temporal matters, and see certain things very clearly, provided the range is not too great, and the objects looked at not too far from the ground. So many of them have been caught already in the net, where they lie fluttering in doleful captivity, that things in the air and in the heavens above have become quite invisible to them. But the same thing has happened in a good many other lands, the bird-catcher being everywhere diligent in his calling; and *State Education* in Europe has banished all the songsters from the sky quite as effectually as *Common Schools* in America. It is fair to our transatlantic friends to recognize this fact, if they can derive any consolation from it. They may possibly be gratified to learn, though we wish them purer joys, that a so-called education in which the Church has had no share has produced exactly the same fatal catastrophe in the older communities of France, Germany, and Russia, as in the modern American Union.

The State in France has long had the monopoly of higher education, because, since the foundation of the university and its affiliated institutions by the first Napoleon, every public career was closed to those who sought it from other hands; and Mgr. Dupanloup quotes the observation of M. Le Play, a former senator, who says of Paris, "There is no city in Europe in which corruption has attained the same intensity." Many years ago M. de Cormenin vainly warned his unreflecting countrymen that the State colleges and lyceums had become "*les portes de l'enfer.*" It is these nurseries of impiety in which God was ignored and the Church insulted, which have brought France to her present condition. They have destroyed in the chief cities manliness and even patriotism, made revolution permanent, government impossible, and quenched all fraternity but that of crime and sedition. They have deluged the land with an obscene literature, the scandal of our age, which scoffs

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at marriage, condones adultery, and has retained of Christian morality, as a living Frenchman bitterly observed, only this cynical reversal of two of its maxims: "Hate your neighbor, and love your neighbor's wife." "Les lettres françaises," we are told, "ont pris un caractère de légèreté à mesure que l'étude de la religion a perdu de son importance; et l'on pourrait suivre les degrès de leur décadence, en suivant les progrès de l'impiété."[1] "Notre litérature," says the Père Caussette, in accounting for the prodigious calamities of his country, "est devenue la plus immorale de l'Europe actuelle."[2] That is what secular education has done for France. It is to the pupils of a system of public education divorced from religion, and for the most part as void of scholarship as they are of moral dignity, that France owes the malignant ulcer which is gnawing her entrails, and for which her material prosperity is the feeblest kind of compensation. And though a vigorous reaction has at length commenced, and the legislature, taught by intolerable evils, has just conceded to the Church the right of free instruction, in the hope that she may exorcise the unclean spirits who profited by her enforced silence to make France their prey, their incorrigible human confederates, gnashing their teeth at the approach of any deliverer *qui venit in nomine Domini*, still cry with one voice: "Leave us in the mire in which we love to wallow." The Bishop of Orleans quotes from the *Revue de Philosophie Positive*, this characteristic argument: "Observe what is taking place in Belgium. Education is there free or nearly so; the result of which is that the Catholic and religious universities absorb the whole of the youth of that country." Was ever impiety more frank, or tyranny more candid? The moment we give you freedom, these Secularists confess, you beat us out of the field. Therefore no freedom for you; you shall be impious like us, or you shall be nothing. We cannot compete with you in any condition of society in which liberty of the conscience and of the intellect is respected, because in the hearts of fathers and mothers, your voice ever finds a responsive echo; and therefore we invoke the God-State to suppress the instincts of human nature by force, to crush every aspiration of the soul which has no place in ours, to build up an impassable wall between Christians and their God, and to tolerate no right but that which *we* claim, because it is the only one we value,—the right to ruin ourselves and others.

In Germany, the Secularists have got all they asked for, and perhaps a little more. The only unpardonable crime in that country is to be a Christian. The nearest to it in malignity, if we may judge by the Falk code, is to wish to be one. It is liberty enough for

[1] De l'Étude des Lettres, ch. 5, p. 128.

[2] Dieu et les Malheurs de la France, p. 47. 1871.

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Germans, as it is for Chinese, to believe as the State believes. If they prefer, as most of them do, to believe *nothing*, they may please themselves, but the range of their choice lies between those limits. For all who rashly stray into the forbidden domain beyond them there is prompt correction. To such as dare to serve God, as St. Boniface taught their German fathers to do, the Prussian Mandarin has these replies: to-day he says, "fine him;" to-morrow, "incarcerate him;" and the next day, "exile him." If you are a priest, as St. Paul was, you shall starve; and if you are a layman who presumes to feed the priest, you shall starve too. Holy and venerable prelates, dear to God and man, shall languish in German dungeons, because they say to the German Cæsar, as St. Anselm did to the English one: "I will not refuse obedience to the Vicar of Christ." To the furnace, shouts the Prussian rabble of unbelievers, with these obstinate malefactors, who are so senseless that, when they "hear the sound of the sackbut, and psaltery, and all kinds of music," they refuse to "adore the golden statue which the King Nabuchodonosor has set up." That is the way we arrange things in Prussia. How long it will last is quite another question. The Avenger bides his time. It is probable that before long these Prussian Babylonians will be "eating grass like an ox," that they may learn to "glorify the King of Heaven," and know that he "is able to abase them that walk in pride."[1] Meanwhile, jubilant Secularism, happily blended with discriminating "Culture-worship," is improving the work of his Church, which it has gagged and manacled, after this triumphant fashion. A competent witness, Dr. Krummacher, Court Chaplain at Potsdam, thus describes the neopaganism of Berlin, where he had charge of a large parish: "There is an almost total want of any interest in the Church, or connection with it, among the people, and of the population of half a million not more than thirty thousand attend public worship on Sunday, and those mostly women." In the work from which this is an extract, "the author speaks of the foundations of all morality being thoroughly corrupt and decayed, and faith, piety, respect for Divine and human authority *at an end*."[2] "We are ripe," said the Privy Councillor Eilers, many years ago, "for the coming of Antichrist;" and the rotten maturity advances every hour. Only the other day, the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, though deeply enamored of the very principles which have wrought this hideous

[1] Daniel, iv: 34. "Dieu, comme l'homme, choisit ses verges parmi les éléments les plus bas de la création, parce qu'il est de la nature des verges d'être brisées quand elles ont servi. C'est ainsi que l'Allemagne, apres avoir contribue a la moralisation des autres par les excès de son immoralité même, en recevra le châtiment trop merite."—R. P. Caussette, *ubi supra*, p. 17.

[2] Saturday Review, October 28th, 1871.

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ruin, gave a report of this relapse into worse than pagan barbarism, which, as the *Spectator* observed the next day, "is certainly one to excite very great reflection, both religious and political. The writer tells us that in Prussia, one-sixth of the Protestant benefices, on becoming vacant, will have to remain vacant for want of candidates; that while the population has been increasing, the number of Protestant theological students in the universities of Prussia has been rapidly diminishing, so that there were only 740 in all the eight Prussian universities in 1873, against 2203 in 1831." In other words, while the population has augmented by more than one-third, the candidates for the ministry have diminished by two-thirds. The same journal continues: "If neither the cultivated class care to teach religion, nor the uncultivated to learn it, the natural inference is that, for the time at least, there is likely to be a reign of the purest secularism among the Protestants of that part of Germany where such tendencies prevail." And this is not all. "As we have no belief at all," adds the *Spectator*, with admirable good sense, "in the possibility that there can be any permanent vacuum of religious belief in the mind of a great Western people, we should say that the ground for anxiety which this prospect holds out is not so much fear for the growth of simple worldliness and disbelief in the supernatural, as fear that *some strange and dangerous form of fanaticism* may take its place." After observing that among the acute and more or less educated unbelievers of America, Spiritualism, with its grotesque *diablerie*, "has run like a prairie fire," the *Spectator* concludes: "We should expect to see in Germany some very grim superstitions growing up as soon as the ground recently occupied by German Protestantism has been left fallow for a few years; and we should fear they would be superstitions of a kind likely to give great trouble, not only to the homes of the people, but to the government of the State." We shall presently see that this is exactly what is taking place in Russia, the recoil from human and official religions, and the contemptuous secularism which they engender, being attended everywhere by the same formidable results. Already the Prussian government is asking for new powers against the rising evil; and when it comes to a head, with brutal communism and rabid socialism in its train, the blinded statesmen of Germany will have to go in sorrowful procession to unbar their prison doors, and entreat the captive bishops and priests to come forth, to stay the ruin which they alone could have averted, by the tardy use of remedies which they alone can dispense.

But if liberty is dead and religion dying in Germany, a fate which Bossuet predicted for both in all non-Catholic lands, are not these trifling evils abundantly compensated by the delightful evidences of "culture" in its highly educated population? What evidences?

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If there is a people in all Europe distinguished by a total absence of grace and refinement, of all that the French call "charm," and by a coarseness and vulgarity of aspect and manners only matched by their impiety, it is the people of North Germany. Julius Fröebel, though a German, comparing the uneducated Indian natives of Nicaragua, Chili, and Peru with the masses of his own countrymen, frankly confesses that, "in almost every respect," and especially in that dignity of carriage which only true religion gives, "they are superior to our German peasantry."[1] Mr. Henry Mayhew, in his work on *German Life and Manners*,[2] goes much further. Comparing "*the middle classes*" of Saxony, the cradle of the so-called Reformation and the nursery of scholars, with the inhabitants of the "darkest dens" of the most abject quarters of London, he reports that, both morally and socially, the latter rank the highest! With a candor which we hardly expect in an English writer, he adds, alluding to "the cant which is extremely consoling to the minds of English clergymen about the social benefits of the Reformation," "We can conscientiously aver that the Rhenish *Catholic* population is by many degrees less squalid and less beggarly in their appearance."[3] "It is precisely," says another capable observer, "in the tracts of country which are Catholic to the core, that the peasants are most prosperous;" and further, "In the Catholic half of Westphalia," for the same contrast is apparent in all the German provinces, "they are more like well-to-do farmers than like peasants, in the English sense of the word."[4] Such are the combined triumphs of Cæsarism and secularism in a country which has ceased to be Protestant without becoming Christian.

The people of Russia, naturally inclined towards religion, and once conspicuous by an inherent docility of character, might have rivalled the Irish in purity, faith, and unity, if they had remained, like them, in communion with God through the Apostolic See. Under the fatal influence of a purely national and political State Church, wholly severed from Christendom, they are split into a hundred sects, and have substituted, as M. de Bonald observed, a formal or frantic superstition for the faith of St. Methodius, and the practice of the ancient Oriental Church as represented by St. Basil, St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, and St. Athanasius. It was the constant apprehension of those majestic doctors of the East, of whom the last three submitted their own affairs to the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, that only the supreme authority of the Holy See could keep a region so inclined to heresy in the true faith. As soon as that authority was denied, after being proclaimed by all the Eastern pa-

[1] Seven Years in Central America, ch. x, p. 585. [2] Vol. I, p. 384.
[3] *Ubi supra.* [4] Quoted in the Dublin Review, October, 1872, p. 341.

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triarchs in successive Œcumenical Councils, their worst fears were realized. The world has rarely seen such a monument of the withering effects of schism, as exists at this day in Russia. A hundred contemporary writers, German, French, and English, have described the present religious aspect of that land. Our space will only permit us to cite one, the latest in date, and a Protestant. His testimony will enable us to trace once more the effects of a so-called education not directed by the Church, to whom alone God has assigned the function of teacher of the nations.

"As education spreads," says our informant, "the sectaries multiply." He had good authority for the fact. "'I have never known a peasant learn to read,' said to me a parish priest, 'and think for himself, who did not fall away into dissent.'"[1] Yet it is certain that the ruling power in Russia, for which a fictitious religion is the instrument of an efficacious political unity, did not intend, in conceding to peasants the right of thinking, to promote this result. It is a delusion common to all non-Catholic leaders of men, to imagine that they can loose the spirit of revolt in one direction, and curb it in another. Vain dream! People who have been taught that it is their highest duty to rebel against the Church, are sure to learn, sooner or later, that it is their highest privilege to rebel against everything else. They are learning it so fast in Russia, that the savage measures of repression adopted by the late Czar Nicholas, who predicted that "Russia will perish by her religious divisions," have only accelerated the catastrophe which they were feebly designed to postpone. "The result of thirty years of savage persecution is, that the nonconformists are to-day more numerous, wealthy, concentrated, than they were on the day when Nicholas began his reign." Their formidable numbers are so respectfully estimated, that "already it is felt in governing circles that nothing can be safely done in Russia *unless these Old Believers like it.* Every new suggestion laid before the Council of Ministers is met, I have been told, by the query, 'What will the Old Believers say?'"[2] "Half the people, even now, are Old Believers, says a priest from Kem, more than three-fourths will be the moment we are free;" and Mr. Dixon adds from his own observation, confirmed by that of "a German who has lived in Russia for thirty years," that "the Old Believers *are the Russian people*, while the Orthodox Believers," who belong to the State Church, "are but a courtly, official, and monastic sect." And all the various sects, many of them holding opinions subversive of social order, who compose what is called the "Popular Church," "are as much the enemies of an official em-

[1] Free Russia, by William Hepworth Dixon, vol. 1, ch. 25, p. 267, 1870.
[2] Ib., ch. 27, p. 285.

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pire as they are of an official church. . . . . They refuse to pray for Alexander as a true believer, and they fear he is dead to religion, and lost to God." And while these sects maintain every odious doctrine which heresy can devise or fanaticism propagate, they all profess to derive their religion from the Bible! "Except in some New England homesteads, I have never heard such floods of reference and quotation in my life."[1]

Thus far we have seen nothing to shake our conviction that the Church of God was a more successful educator of the people, both in the interests of religion and of the State, of individual sanctification and of collective well-being, than any of the human agencies, secularist or denominational, by which the world has attempted to supply her place. Her superiority is as visible now as it was in the Middle Ages, and will be to the end of time. How should it be otherwise? She alone has a mission from God and the gifts necessary for its effectual accomplishment. She teaches *one* religion, not a hundred, and always teaches the same; and she makes loyalty to the civil power in its own sphere, whether monarchical or democratic, not a sentiment, a legend, or a caprice, but a sacred religious obligation. It is not her children who subvert states and plot conspiracies. "When you pretend," says the eloquent Bishop of Orleans, "that the Church speaks only for herself,—which you all do, whoever you are, if you profess any doctrine at all,—you forget to add that for the last 1800 years the Church lives and adapts herself, over the whole surface of the globe, and at this hour in the United States as in France, to all political systems constructed by the hand of man. She discharges her mission, defends her just rights, accomplishes her duties, and leaves sovereigns and peoples to arrange as they please their ephemeral constitutions. She is the adversary of nothing but iniquity and oppression."[2] And for this reason, making the law of God her sole rule and guide, and having no aim or purpose but the temporal and eternal welfare of the human race, her instructions tend as directly to civil tranquillity and the stability of states as to the increase of virtue and the perpetuity of the faith. How is it with her human substitutes? In replying to this question our last example shall be taken from the American Union.

There is nothing in which the least reflecting portion of the American public fancy they see more reason for exuberant national self-complacency than their system of *Common Schools.* The opinion is not shared by those, whether Americans or Europeans, who retain the admissible conviction, for which there is a good deal to be said, that man is not a machine, nor eternity a fable.

[1] Free Russia, ch. 33, p. 348; ch. 28, p. 313.

[2] La Liberté de l'Ensignement Supérieur, p. 9.

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Even they, who deprecate any revision of the huge code of Secularism which Americans have made a kind of national gospel, plead, with rare exceptions, that it is not *designed* to exclude religious instruction, which is properly a domestic affair, and is sufficiently provided for in Sunday-schools. That is the sole argument by which the existing system is or can be defended, except by those who deny the immortality of the soul. But "this means," as an intelligent interpreter of American opinion observes, "that thirty hours a week ought to be given to the dictionary and the multiplication table, and one hour to the catechism and the ten commandments." It assumes, that is, that their relative importance is as thirty to one; which is substantially equivalent to the proposition that religion is the least remunerative topic which can engage the attention of man. "Send your children to schools all the week where they will hear nothing whatever of religion, where that most vital of all concerns will be *a forbidden subject*, where the idea will be practically, if not in so many words, impressed upon their tender minds that it is of no consequence whether they are Christians, or Jews, or infidels, so long as they master the various branches of worldly knowledge which promote success in the secular affairs of life; and then get them into the Sunday-school, if you can, for a wild and ineffectual attempt to counteract the evil tendencies of the previous six days' teaching."[1] No one, we think, will be surprised to hear that even this feeble remedy, which would be inadequate, if it were applied over the whole surface of the country, is, in too many cases, not applied at all. "The *theory*," says M. Tremenheere, "on which the whole public school system of the United States is based is, that the religious instruction which is not given in the day-school is given in the Sunday-school;" and he adds, from personal observation, and the testimony of capable witnesses, that this theory "*is not carried out in practice.*" The most ardent advocates of Secularism admit that it *ought* to be, and that without this corrective agency the system would be self-condemned; but M. Tremenheere assures us, that "the theory of a complete education, according to the view adopted in the United States, *is not fulfilled*, in relation to a considerable proportion of the children at their schools."[2] Distinguished Americans, he relates, spoke to him in various parts of the country "in the most distinct and emphatic manner of the visible effect which, in their opinion, the small amount of instruction in the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, and the lax mode of teaching them in the Sunday-schools, were producing on the religious convictions and moral practice of the mass of the people."[3]

[1] New York Catholic World, January, 1876, p. 477.

[2] Public Education in the United States, etc., pp. 8, 26.

[3] Id. p. 48.

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The Rev. Dr. Edson, Rector of the Protestant Episcopalian Church of St. Anne, Lowell, in the State of Massachusetts, gave him this report, of which the gravity will be equally apparent to observers on both sides of the ocean: "My experience of now nearly thirty years as a pastor has, I am sorry to say, forced upon me the painful conviction that our public school system has undermined already among our population, to a great extent, the doctrines and principles of Christianity." To which some will perhaps reply that it was not intended to do it, and others that they do not care if it does. "I find them generally well grounded in the ordinary elements of what is called common education, and clever and acute as to all worldly matters that concern them, but very lax in their notions of moral obligation and duty, and indisposed to submit to any authority or control whatever, even from a very early age." The Church, it will be admitted, used to form quite other dispositions, and apparently does so still; for whereas Dr. Edson goes on to lament that the Protestant children, as a rule, will not come to the Sunday-school, he admits of the Catholics, with American candor, that "*they* are well looked after by their priests and I have no doubt that nearly the whole of them attend some Sunday or other catechetical instruction." After describing the general decay of all fixed religious ideas, and the growing contempt for even "parental authority,"—why should they obey the voice of parents, who are taught from the cradle that they may despise that of the Church of God?—he concludes as follows: "I look upon this very prevalent condition of mind with very great apprehension, for all history shows that this is only the first downward step to complete irreligion and infidelity, and thence to a corruption of morals such as was exhibited in the heathen world. I much fear that we are making sure and not very slow strides in that direction; and while I deeply lament it, I am free to confess that I see *no present remedy for it in this country.*"[1]

Yet he has himself noticed the contrast, and in his own neighborhood, between the influence of the Catholic Church and the destructive effects of that pagan Secularism which is only one of the poisoned fruits of schism, and a part of that *damnosa hæreditas* of which the Protestant world is the opulent legatee. There *is*, then, a remedy, if people would use it. There are Protestants in America who are wise enough to do so. We should like to know how this candid observer would have accounted for the fact, sufficiently notorious in the United States, that so large a proportion of the youth of both sexes, belonging to the more refined classes, are educated in Catholic schools? The present writer has visited

[1] Tremenheere, pp. 51-53.

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many an American convent, in which one-third, and in some cases one-half, of the pupils were Protestant young ladies. The explanation of this fact is furnished by a Protestant witness. Parents who have a care for the purity and dignity of their daughters know that they are safe with the spouses of Christ. "Many well-judging persons, of different religious persuasions, have assured me that the only *really useful and corrective* education is that of the Catholic schools and colleges. So far as I have known, these seminaries are crowded, not only with pupils of their own creed, but with those of other sects. And I have high official authority for saying that the ministers and missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church are at this moment doing more good for the cause of virtue and morality throughout the whole continent of America, than those of any other religious denomination whatever."[1]

If some refuse to appropriate blessings which are within their reach, it is probably because they do not value them. When Moses struck the rock in Horeb, the faint and thirsty wanderers in the desert were not so senseless as to refuse to drink because the miraculous fount of water was a gift from God by his prophet; yet there are millions in our day, who have not yet come out of Egypt, who die of thirst, or vainly seek to assuage it at every foul and noxious pool, rather than accept the water of salvation from his Church. Many of them, at least in America, seem to suspect that they have made an evil choice, and often put down the unfinished cup of death to whisper to one another that it tastes of poison. They shudder at the draught, but the next moment put their lips to it again. In clinging to the system of secular education, with a full apprehension of its deadly fruits, men seem to surpass the common measure of human infatuation. "In a considerable number of the many public schools I have visited," says M. Tremenheere, "in different parts of the United States, I have been struck with the entire absence of good manners on the part of the children. . . . . There was a marked want of any outward demeanor of deference and respect, and, on the part of the teacher, what appeared to me a most singular submission of himself to the children. Nothing was put to them as from authority, but the most trifling command was conveyed in a tone and in language implying that it was for them to judge whether they would obey it or not."[2] How different is the character formed by the spirit of faith and the teaching of the Church, is evident from his own generous confession: "The civilization of the New World," he says, "owes something, I think, to the French Canadians, for keeping alive a reflection of '*the best manners of the old.*' "[3]

[1] The Statesmen of America in 1846, p. 491. [2] Ib., p. 148.
[3] Reply to the Remarks of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters, p. 28.

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The language of American writers is still more emphatic. Mr. Horace Mann was Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. He tells us what it proposed to do, and what it actually did. The poles may be said to be in immediate contact compared with the huge interval between the design and its execution. "The *object*," he says, "of the common school of Massachusetts was to give every child in the commonwealth a free, straight, solid pathway by which he could walk directly up from the ignorance of an infant to a knowledge of the primary duties of man, and could acquire *a power and an invincible will to discharge them.*"[1] We should have thought our American friends were more practical engineers than to propose to build a bridge, without any materials and without any supports, of which the heart of an infant should be the buttress at one end, and an "invincible" phantom at the other. They would never span their own broad rivers with fairy structures of that kind. We are not surprised, therefore, to hear that the Massachusetts bridge over the infinite is still *à l'état de projet.* Owing to tumultuous discussions among the engineers, destructive of unity of purpose, "good and pious men wait until delusions more insane than Millerism, and more fanatical and licentious than Mormonism, shall have overspread the land, and generated their broods of scoffers and atheists," having an "invincible will" *not* to discharge their duties. "The influential, the wealthy, the learned, the pious are waiting until the combustible and explosive materials of prejudice and ignorance and sensuality shall have been scattered more profusely through our country, and heaped together in greater masses in our cities, to be kindled by the torch of some political or fanatical Cataline. God grant that when the leading men in our community awaken to a sense of their danger it may not be too late to avert it."[2] The prospect is evidently not cheerful. "I do not hesitate to affirm," he says elsewhere, "that our republican edifice at this time, in present fact and truth, is not sustained by those columns of solid and ever-enduring adamant, intelligence and virtue;" and then, describing "the rotten materials of the edifice," he adds, "unless, therefore, a new substructure can be placed beneath every buttress and angle of this boasted temple of liberty, it will soon totter and fall, and bury all in-dwellers in its ruins."[3] In other words, he thinks of American society in particular what Mr. Carlyle thinks of all Protestantized society in general, that it is "fast wheezing itself to death" in the fetid miasma of *naturalism*, "and deserves to die."

Perhaps any further evidence is superfluous; but as we are be-

[1] Reply to the Remarks of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters, p. 28.
[2] Ib., p. 173.
[3] Thoughts selected from the writings of Horace Mann, p. 180.

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ginning to adopt in England, owing to inveterate religious conflicts, the secularism in education which has brought America to such a pass, we need not fear to err on the side of excess. On the ninth of last December, the New York *Journal of Commerce*, deserting fiscal for ethical meditations, and referring to President Grant's too famous speech at Des Moines, made this reflection: "So far from prohibiting the teaching of religious tenets in the popular education, we would encourage by every possible argument a more general attention to religious culture wherever children can be brought under such wholesome influence. If we go much further in the direction whither the schools have been drifting, it will soon need something more than an article in the Constitution to keep the whole nation from becoming atheistic or pagan." That this is the logical result of Secularism nobody seems to doubt, and many do not seem to care. "We have been lately told by the public journals that the researches of Professor Agassiz into the growth of the 'social evil' have 'almost destroyed his faith in the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century;' and that 'a large number of the unfortunate women and girls traced their fate to influences which surrounded them *in the public schools.*'"[1] Nor have they even the poor consolation of being able to attribute to the debasing Secularism which kills religion and virtue any compensating influence in promoting mental activity, except in the lowest spheres of thought or human learning and knowledge. "We are behind most nations," says the venerable Dr. Brownson, who knows his country so well, "in *intellectual* and moral culture."[2] It is not strangers, who might be suspected of imperfect sympathy with the country which they describe, who say these things, but honorable Americans, able to estimate religious and social problems, and who look each other in the face without fearing to provoke resentment or contradiction. A New England physician, who shall be our last witness, and whose painful work, dedicated to "the Hon. William Sprague, ex-Governor of and United States Senator from Rhode Island," cannot be read without horror, thus describes in 1871, from a professional point of view, the desolating results of the common school system: "Irreligion and infidelity are progressing *pari passu* with the advanced guards of immorality and crime, and all are fostered, if not engendered, by the materialistic system of school instruction. The entire absence of all religious instruction from the schoolroom, *which has resulted from the utter impossibility of harmonizing the conflicting creeds*, ... is fast bearing fruit in a generation of infidels, and we are becoming worse than even the

[1] New York Catholic World, Jan. 1872, p. 442.
[2] Brownson's Quarterly Review, Oct. 1873, p. 509.

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pagans of old, who had at least their positive sciences of philosophy and their religion, such as it was, to oppose which was a criminal offence."[1]

We have now a basis sufficiently solid to support certain practical conclusions which demand the instant attention of all thinking men on both sides of the Atlantic. That Secularism, with its long train of ghastly attendant spectres,—*diræ facies, inimicaque numina*,—the destruction of reverence, obedience, parental authority, faith, virtue, of all, in a word, which constitutes the strength of nations, derives its fatal power from "the utter impossibility of harmonizing" a hundred rival creeds, is admitted both by those who advocate and by those who deplore the exclusion of religion from the common schools. The first contend that religious dissensions have made any other system "impossible;" the second, that, horrible as are its admitted results, there "is no present remedy for it." The evil is breaking up the foundations of society, but it must run its course. All who dread what is coming "are waiting," as Mr. Horace Mann says, till it comes! Yet it is certain that for calamities of a lower order the energetic American nation would soon find a remedy. What is this unmanly despair, this prostrate and impotent acquiescence in intolerable evils, but the evidence of a terrible judgment on the one hand, and on the other, an unconscious confession that Protestantism, by its destruction of all first principles, disintegration of faith and unity, suppression of authority, and ceaseless multiplication of rival sects, is ruining the life of nations, and preparing the way for Antichrist? What we see around us is but the fulfilment of an Apostolic prediction. Both St. Peter and St. Paul speak of "sects," which they call "works of the flesh," and of "self-willed teachers," as the special note and evil distinction of "*the last times*." They have come, as they foretold; and instead of inspiring fear, disgust, and condemnation, the very types in which their prophetic eye discerned the heralds and forerunners of Antichrist,—the men who "despise government," defame the Church, and "fear not to bring in sects,"[2]—are the popular dispensers of such shreds of religion as their contemporaries choose to accept, the echoes of all the antagonistic voices and humors of this lower world, and the boast of "modern civilization!" The unpardonable *crimes* of the apostolic age have become the characteristic *virtues* of ours! And the intelligent world, "plausibly amused," smiles at its own improvement. As each prophetic "seal" is opened, and the last tragic scene of the human drama approaches, it sees, not the signs of impending ruin, but of salutary progress. Nobody doubts that in the judgment of the Apostles, Secularism

[1] Satan in Society, p. 51.

[2] 2 Pet. ii: 10.

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would have been regarded as a compact, conscious or otherwise, between those two familiar allies, Satan and the world, for the destruction of the Christian faith and of human society. Nobody denies that, whether its advocates intend it or not, that result is being everywhere promoted "by sure and not slow strides." We are entitled, therefore, to ask—at least of all who still admit that union with God is advantageous to man, and that the tried instrument which alone during so many ages cemented that union is of simply incalculable value—what has the world gained, either intellectually or spiritually, either for time or eternity, by suppressing the Church which was the invincible guardian both of piety and learning, in order to substitute a new agency, which only destroys the one without adding anything to the other?

For even the admirers of Secularism perceive, and often proclaim, that the Church is doing the same work at this hour in the whole earth, forming the same characters and developing the same supernatural virtues, as in all the ages of the past. In the New World as in the old, she is training in the same hour dear children of God and loyal citizens of the State, and is the only efficient champion, as a Protestant writer has told us, "of the cause of virtue and morality throughout the whole continent of America." Is the world so obstinately bent on self-destruction, as to refuse the benefits of which she is the sole and inexhaustible source? If she gave it in the past all the truth, liberty, civilization, and refinement it ever possessed, is there any sign that she has lost the power to confer the same gifts in the present? The mould is not broken in which the pure gold with which she works takes its form. Look, says the Bishop of Orleans, contrasting her daughters with the unsexed types around them, at the army of consecrated virgins who go forth in her name and with her blessing to the ends of the earth, in quest of every want which can be relieved and every sorrow which can be consoled; and since you profess so much admiration for cultivation of mind, consider that "the three books which have perhaps been most widely read in our time are the works of Catholic ladies, the *Récit d'une Sœur*, the *Mémoires d'Eugénie de Guérin*, and the *Lettres de Madame Swetchine*."[1] But the same Church which in every age has offered to the love of God and the veneration of man, women like St. Agnes, St. Catharine, and St. Teresa, has not lost the art of creating men like St. Benedict, St. Francis, and the Curé d'Ars. And even her less worthy sons, who do not attain to *their* level—the thousands who, in a lower spiritual sphere, live in her light and act by her maxims—are, in America as in Europe,

[1] La Femme Studieuse, ch. x, p. 265.

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models of civic as well as of religious fidelity, true patriots and loyal citizens, lovers of their country as well as of their God, submissive to human while subject to divine law, and the very pith and marrow of earthly States, of which they never disturb the harmony by the selfishness of private aims, nor menace the existence by factious sedition, or the more fatal conspiracies of religious license. It is not they who disturb the repose of statesmen, or alarm the solicitude of magistrates; for their only weapon against the unjust is prayer, their only answer to the persecutor, resignation. And even when oppression becomes intolerable, when triumphant iniquity marks them as victims, and the knife of the secret assassin, or the axe of the public executioner falls upon them, they utter no imprecation, wisely content to bless the hand which gives them an earlier deliverance from a world which is not worthy of them. How easy would it be to govern that foolish world, and how tranquil would be the life of kings and peoples, of cabinets and legislatures, if they had only to fear the rebellion of those who never revolt, and the machinations of those who never conspire! Yet the imprudent rulers of that delirious world not only refuse alliance with the only power which can give them assured peace, the only force from which they have nothing to fear, but affect to regard this friend and guide of every soul of man as the special enemy against whom they must keep vigilant watch, lest it should artfully undermine the *authority* of which God has made it the supreme expression and unfailing support, or compromise the *liberty* which it prizes more than any human good, because it is the fruit and evidence of that diviner gift of which God has said, "the *truth* shall make you *free*."

It would seem that human folly could go no further. Yet it seeks still lower depths. There are even cases in which the perverse imbecility of earthly rulers, complicated by sordid political motives, seems to transcend the limits of the possible, and pass into the fantastic region of the formless and intangible. It is a bitter reflection that the government of the great and generous people of the United States should furnish the most discreditable example. We need not fear to misinterpret the incendiary speech of President Grant, at Des Moines, because all its critics, English and American, understand it in the same way. The former, in spite of their devotion to Protestantism, are unanimous in condemning it. Even the *Saturday Review* calls it contemptuously "a bid for Protestant votes;" while the *Pall Mall Gazette* sees in this reckless and criminal disturbance of public order a proof that "patriotism" is not General Grant's distinguishing virtue. Mr. Carl Schurz, a prominent orator of the Republican party, is reported to have said that its incitement to religious fanaticism, "serves better as a cloak for

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public rogues than as an instrument for national purification."[1] The *Review*, from which we borrow this observation, considers the speech an indication that "an unscrupulous political organization will create a third factor in our national elections," and that this wanton crusade against "so conservative, so law-abiding, and so useful a body as the Catholics of the United States," is mainly an artifice to divert public attention from ignoble frauds in which official persons are commonly believed to be involved. The New York *Catholic World*, to which we looked with interest for a reliable estimate of the President's electioneering rhetoric, discusses his speech in an acute and ingenious article, which will probably afford no little amusement to our brethren of the United States. Affecting, with a finesse which will not deceive their penetration, but which was perfectly legitimate on such an occasion, to accept General Grant's words in their literal meaning, our excellent contemporary thanks him, with diverting gravity, for uttering sentiments which are so entirely its own. "For we find nothing in the oration with which we are in the least disposed to take issue."[2] We also, the *World* adds, referring to the President's injunction to "*encourage free schools*," have always contended for the same boon. "Do we hear aright? Does the President of the United States maintain the proposition which has brought us so much contempt and derision? *What is a free school?* A free school is one in which every scholar can obtain an education without violating the honest convictions of conscience;" whereas, the pretended free schools of America are conducted on a principle which excludes a large section of the population from entering them. "To my certain knowledge," says a writer in the *Catholic Review*,[3] "there is in the whole United States not one single German Catholic congregation, having as many as seventy-five children, which is without a school of their own;" and the same thing is true, in various proportions, and according to the means at their disposal, of the Catholics of other nationalities. On a much smaller scale it is even true, we believe, of certain Protestant congregations. In all such cases, affecting probably at least one-fourth of the entire population, American citizens are compelled by a cruel and oppressive law to support schools which, as Dr. Edson told Mr. Tremenheere, "have undermined already, to a great extent, the doctrines and principles of Christianity;" and at the same time to accept the heavy burden of building and maintaining *other* schools, in which no such deadly results are to be feared. By all means, then, says the *Catholic World*, let us have the "free schools" which the President so warmly recom-

[1] Quoted in the Catholic Review, December 21st, 1875.
[2] Catholic World, January, 1876, p. 435. [3] January 8th, 1876.

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mends. We have not got them yet, but if he can help us to obtain what we have so long coveted, why should we refuse to co-operate with so powerful an ally? As an argumentative retort nothing can be more effective, and the irony is maintained with equal power and adroitness in relation to all the other clauses of President Grant's deplorable speech. But, while we applaud the prudent artifice of our American contemporary, who has contrived, in deference to a misguided public opinion, to expose injustice and rebuke insincerity in terms so inoffensive, the fact remains in all its shameful enormity, that the Chief Magistrate of a great nation, which by its Constitution is neither Catholic nor Protestant, has stooped to identify his private and personal interests with a scheme of public education which is creating, in the words of Mr. Horace Mann, "a generation of infidels, worse even than the pagans of old;" and that he inflicts this wrong on his country from no purer motive than the desire to vivify and reorganize his own political faction, utterly indifferent that its triumph should be purchased by the suppression of Christian liberty and the dissolution of public order, and by letting loose against the most religious and law-abiding section of the American community the worst passions of all for whom religion is only a name, and law only an instrument of oppression.

Only this incident was wanting to complete our estimate of Secularism, the agents by whom it is promoted, the motives on which they act, and the ruinous results to which their selfish and evil policy tends. Yet Secularism, as all classes concur in stating, is nothing but a product of "the utter impossibility of harmonizing multiform creeds." In other words, it is a product of the so-called Reformation, and, we suppose, one of its peculiar titles to the admiration of the human race. Like many other results of that anarchic movement, of which we perceive more clearly every year the fatal action upon modern society, it perplexes statesmen, puzzles preachers, and suggests to both that as religion is a factor of human life so unpliant and intractable, the only remedy is to get rid of it altogether. And they get rid of it accordingly. If after being expelled from the school it can contrive to maintain a precarious existence in the family, there is at present no law, even in Prussia, prohibiting that expiring effort. Modern legislation is yet content, with benevolent forbearance, to refuse it all public recognition, and, in once Catholic England, to sweep the children of God into the schools of Satan, with a coercive discipline of fines and imprisonment for all who refuse to come, or tarry on the way. The devout pupils of our Board schools, or at least a good many of them, may be safely trusted to pursue the system to its logical term, when they assume in their turn the civic toga, and to hunt religion out of the family, as their

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teachers have hunted it out of the school. And then people will be able to say of England, as Dr. Edson says of America, that secular education has proved to be "only the first downward step to complete irreligion and infidelity, and thence to a corruption of morals such as was exhibited in the heathen world." Perhaps when that auspicious era arrives, some Englishmen will still be found to say with Lord Bacon, only using the past instead of the future tense: "The misery is that the most effectual means *have been* applied to the ends least to be desired."

We may now be permitted to ask once more, in conclusion, without excessive or indiscreet curiosity, what the world conceives itself to have gained thus far, and what it hopes to gain in the future, by usurping the teaching office of the Church, and forbidding her any share in public education? We are quite willing to take its own account of the matter. If it can point to *any* definite and realized gains—moral, intellectual, or social—let it tell us what they are. Is this too much to ask? It may choose any region of the earth where Secularism is throned for the field of comparison. Shall it be Germany, England, or the United States? It may compare its own *best* pupils with the peasants of Ireland, Spain, or Italy, or even those of Chili and Peru, who know nothing but their catechism, from which they have learned both dignity of life and true philosophy. There is a good deal of Secularism in China, India, and Central Africa, with the usual cheerful results; but perhaps the world would prefer to apply the test nearer home. If it will only apply it *somewhere*, we shall be quite content. But we venture to stipulate that it shall be applied fairly and honestly. Now all possible or imaginable advantages which can accrue to man may be classed under two heads: those which affect him in his relations to God, and those which concern his position in relation to society. We assume that even the world will hardly pretend that Secularism has done much for him as respects the first. It does not profess to have brought him into more intimate communion with God. To do that, even if it had the power, is no part of its programme. But perhaps if Secularism affords him no help as a Christian, it consoles and elevates him as a citizen. To this proposition we take a preliminary objection. There is no example in the history of our race, at any time or in any country, and least of all in the highly cultivated societies of pagan antiquity, of either an individual or a community tending to higher social perfection, while constantly descending in the scale of moral and religious worth. That is the candid testimony of all the sages of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The burden of life was so intolerable to *them*, under conditions which modern society is striving to reproduce, that while they vainly invoked a Deliverer, the sum

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of all their thoughts was expressed, in every dialect which they spoke, in that "wild word" *despair.* They had matchless poets and artists, temples of surpassing beauty, public highways with which we have nothing to compare; yet morally they were dogs, and they knew it. The whole world of that epoch, it has been forcibly said, was divided into "beasts of burden and beasts of prey." The great law of nature was almost abolished, and instead of desiring to prolong life, the chief aspiration of many, including the most cultivated, was to have done with it. There was nothing to live for! And then, in this crisis of its unutterable distress, our compassionate God had pity on that perishing world, and there arose, in sight of heaven and earth, a Vision of unimagined beauty —"coming forth as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army set in array"[1]—to which He, at whose word it sprang into life, gave this triumphal name, "THE CHURCH OF THE LIVING GOD." Man wanted a teacher, and at last he found one. The reign of darkness was over. From that hour no soul of man was doomed to perish for lack of a guide. All that omnipotent love can do for the children of men shall be done, henceforth and to the end of time, by and through this Holy Church. In unity and authority it shall be second only to God. "The glory of Libanus is given to it, the beauty of Carmel and Saron; they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the beauty of our God."[2] We have seen it, and see it now, in the darkest night as in the brightest day, reflected in the burnished mirror of that unfailing Church. Like her Divine Founder she may say to the world, as she points to all the enduring monuments of her long and beneficent reign,—the countless saints whom she has formed for heaven, the unnumbered boons which she has imparted to earth,—"What more could I have done for thee, and have not done it?" Whatever there is on earth at this hour of truth, peace, and hope; whatever it still retains of concord, civilization, and pure refinement, comes from her. If the wrath of the Avenger is turned aside, and the bolt which was about to fall arrested; if the loving patience of God still waits for the return of the penitent; if evil does not wholly triumph over good, nor the children of light lose heart in their combat with the prince of this world; it is the Church, the *unchanged* and *unreformed* Church,—the Church, that is, *as God made her*, before impious imbecility pretended to improve his imperfect work,—which stays judgment, redresses wrong, makes justice triumph, and conquers the gates of hell. All the true joys we taste in this world, and all the rational hopes we form for the next; all the benedictions which God can give or man receive,—the light

[1] Cantic. vi: 9.

[2] Isaias xxxv: 2.

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of faith, the fire of charity, the virtue of the sacraments, and the strong protection of the Saints and of their glorious Queen,—are ours only because we are hers. Even the senseless world enjoys a respite from its inevitable doom, and is less vile than it would be, because she offers every day on her thousand altars the tremendous Sacrifice of reparation. As He listens to her voice, God forgets to punish, and the guilty escape, at least for a time, because the innocent hide them from the Judge.

Yet the thankless world, at the bidding of the cruel chief who rules not to save but to destroy it, greets her only with a frown of defiance, and finds nothing wiser to say to this Messenger of God and Teacher of the Nations than such words as these: "Depart from me, and leave me to myself. The benefits which you offer have no attractions for me. Your counsels weary and your reproofs affront me. I loathe the unity which has its source in authority, and the order which can only be maintained by submission. Chaos and anarchy have no terrors for me. They are the element in which I live. I have not, as you seem to imagine, any need of you. I can teach myself, or remain untaught. I am my own law-giver, prophet, priest, and king. When I am tired of one code of laws, I make another. If you provoke me, I can make laws for you as well as for myself. I have done so before now. Your impotent sentence, by your own admission, only takes effect in the next world; mine enforces its penalties in this. You and yours have had some taste of them already. There is war between us, not peace, and we serve not the same master. If I cannot have order except in alliance with you, I dispense with it; and if I must perish, as you tell me, I would rather perish without your help than be saved by it."

We seem to understand now why even He who came to seek that which was lost said: "*I pray not for the world.*"[1] Must we, then, conclude that its case is hopeless? Not quite. The Church will plead for it to the last with her mighty intercession. She is able to save not only her own, but many who as yet know her not. She will save by *teaching* them. The world may stop its ears, but the great Mother of all elect souls will not cease to speak. The Spirit of God is upon her, and speak she must. Even in this age of pagan Secularism she will continue to teach; and there is joy in the thought that many a poor captive of the world and the sects will listen in spite of himself, and, while she perseveres in teaching, will consent at last to be taught.

[1] John xvii: 9.

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RAMBLES IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

NEARLY three-quarters of a century ago Captains Lewis and Clarke of the United States army made their remarkable explorations through the Rocky Mountains, and published an account which, to schoolboys of their day, vied in interest with Robinson Crusoe, at the same time that it possessed the charm of being fact instead of fiction.

These bold explorers, passing through an immense tract of country where no white man had ever been before, encountered, on their way up the Missouri River, the Great Falls. Making a portage around these of about twenty miles, they continued their way up the main stream in a southerly direction for over a hundred miles, when they came to what is still called "The Three Forks."

The branch coming from the west was named the *Jefferson*. It being a little the largest of the three, and bearing more nearly in the direction the explorers desired to travel in order to cross the main divide of the Continent, they followed it to near its source in the main range of the Rocky Mountains, where the stream was so small that one of the party placed himself with a foot on each side, and "thanked God he had lived to see the day when he could bestride the great Missouri."

The middle fork was named the *Madison*, and flows directly north from its source away off in the snowy range to the south. The original explorers little dreamed of the wonders to be found around its head-waters, where is situated the Great Geyser basin of the West. Had any rumors of the magnificent spouting geysers to be seen there reached them, Captain Clarke on his return trip would probably have proceeded up the Madison instead of choosing the third of the three forks for his explorations.

The third or eastern fork was called the *Gallatin*, and takes its rise to the south and east in ranges of high mountains not forming a part of the continental divide. Up this fork Captain Clarke, in the summer of 1804, when returning from the mouth of the Columbia, took his way, and, after passing through one of the most magnificent valleys of the whole West, reached its head near the present site of the military post of Fort Ellis. This post guards several passes leading to the eastward through the range of mountains which separates the waters of the Gallatin from those of the Yellowstone. Through one of these passes, under the guidance of a friendly Indian squaw, Captain Clarke reached the Yellowstone; and constructing boats from the timber on its banks, he proceeded down the river to its mouth, unwittingly turning his back upon the

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great wonders of the Yellowstone, some account of which I purpose to give.

On a warm pleasant morning in July, 1872, a party of nine persons on horseback wound its way out of Fort Ellis and over the rolling hills behind towards a deep cañon, through which dashes one of the bright forks of the East Gallatin. Preceding the party were three or four pack-mules loaded down with bedding and buffalo robes, hard tack and bacon, pots, kettles, and pans for the trip. One of these mules was strongly suspected of having served for a long time in the army, for he had not gone far from the post before he began to play "old soldier," and very quietly laid down in the road, refusing to rise until a part of his load was removed and placed upon the back of one of his stronger or more willing companions, furnishing thus another evidence of the truth of the Darwinian theory that the lower animals are governed by the same feelings and principles as the more recent and, in some cases, the nobler development.

Through a wild deep gorge up into the rolling hills beyond, the party pursues its way, stopping now and then to adjust a pack, to allow the animals to nibble the fresh green grass which lines the road, or to drink from the clear ice-cold streams through which the wily trout is seen to dart at every step.

Bright green slopes dotted with flowers rise in succession before us. At length we reach the last one; the waters run the other way, and before us lies the broad beautiful valley of the Yellowstone, partially hidden by intervening hills, and bounded on the east by mountain peaks towering to the skies, floating clouds about their tops, and great snow-drifts extending far down the gorges in their sides.

We follow down a beautiful little valley, leave it where it turns towards the Yellowstone, and, rising a gentle slope to our right, reach the top of a commanding ridge, from which we have an unobstructed view of the Yellowstone River and its valley. It stretches far up to the mountains on our right, and away off to our left enters the gorge of what is called the first or lower cañon. Opposite to us the land rises in successive terraces or "benches," showing where, in long ages past, existed the shores of a great inland lake, which, fed by the streams above, remained at the level of these "benches," until the river, thundering through the gorge below, wore for itself a lower passage-way. Then the waters, draining out, lowered the level of the lake, which there remained until another break in the cañon below took place; the rains and snows of season after season in the meantime bringing down from the mountains around the disintegrated rock and vegetable matter to form in the edges of the lake these level benches; and so on until the

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cañon was worn down to the bottom of the lake, when the river cut out a channel for itself at the lowest level, and left these benches to tell us how they were formed.

On these level benches great herds of cattle are feeding on the luxurious "bunch" grass which covers them. Here they can live and fatten all the year round, save only in those exceptional winters when snow falls to a great depth and lies for a long time on the ground. The sight of these cattle reminds us of civilization; we take a good look at them; for it is about the last of such signs we shall see for some time to come.

We reach the bank of the Yellowstone just as the sun is sinking behind the high mountain peaks in our rear, forming long bands of bright sunlight and dark shadows across the valley. Our bivouac is formed beneath a wide-spreading cottonwood, and whilst the mules are being unpacked our rods are brought out, and, before the cook is ready for them, we have wriggling upon the grass around our camp-fire, enough fine brook trout to supply the whole party with a hearty supper.

No one but a man who has ridden for twenty-five or thirty miles through a new and interesting country, can appreciate the appetites with which those trout, fresh from the cold waters of the Yellowstone, were enjoyed, nor the sound sleep which followed our feast.

We slept as tops are proverbially said to sleep, breathing the pure air of heaven, with no canopy but the star-bedecked sky; and opened our eyes to greet the smiling sun as he came up over the tops of the mountains the next morning. Remember this was the last day of July, we were in sight of perpetual snow, the night was cool, we were covered with blankets and buffalo robes, and you who were sweltering in the heat of the East, may be able to fancy how we did sleep.

Our route the next day led us directly up the valley of the Yellowstone, growing narrower and more narrow as we approached the place where the river leaves the mountains. At times the trail, a well-marked wagon-road, led directly along the bank of the river, still unusually high for this season of the year; its peculiar light-green waters being tinged with mud. Now and then the stream was divided by wooded islands; and in places where from the formation of eddies the water had a chance to settle and become comparatively clear, great trout could be seen lying lazily in the water with heads up stream, or dashing suddenly to the surface to capture some imprudent fly, which, unmindful of the many sharp eyes on the watch for him, would venture too near the surface. In other places our route would lead us across the flat prairie bottom far back from the river-bank, where occasionally would lie a great tree-trunk, devoid of limbs and rubbed smooth, showing how at times

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during the spring freshets, the water extended back so as to cover all but the highest points.

We passed several ranches with little patches of cultivated gardens flourishing with potatoes, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and at one of them two or three little tow-headed children appeared on the door-step, to look with open-eyed wonder at the unusual sight of a party of white men.

Suddenly a fence appears, and inclosed by it a wide field of luxuriant grain. We cross the irrigating ditches leading from the hills, and from which this field obtains its moisture, and approach a house nestling in a beautiful little nook in the hills, surrounded by a grove of trees, and with a clear stream alongside. This is Boettler's ranche, with one exception the most advanced of the settlements in the valley. Here is kept a post-office; and letters and papers are mixed up with milk pans, cups, and butter dishes. For Boettler's is a dairy ranche, and one portion of it is literally filled with pans full of rich cream-covered milk, from which we are invited to drink with true Western hospitality. The noisy brook as it tumbles down from the hills has been led into a trough, and rendered still more noisy by being made to turn a wheel attached, with Yankee ingenuity, to a churn, where butter for the Bogeman market, some forty miles away, is made. It costs nothing to keep the cows, which roam at will over the broad rich bottom land or crop the sweet bunch grass on the foot-hills.

We turned our backs upon Boettler's thrifty homelike ranche, and continued up the river towards the second cañon. South of us on the other side of the river "Emigrant Peak" rears its top amidst the clouds, and in a deep gorge at its foot in "Emigrant Gulch," men are delving for gold. The mountains now come down close to the river-bank, and in one place we have to cross a steep spur along which the trail, still a wagon-road, runs, with the great river roaring as it rushes along, far below and almost under our feet.

We are now approaching the second cañon of the Yellowstone, and after crossing two deep rapid mountain torrents, turn to the left, and, leaving the wagon-tracks, which terminate here, follow a narrow trail into the mountains. At the very mouth of the gorge stands a great rock, a hundred feet high or more, and as we pass along at its foot, its face towards the cañon is seen to be worn as smooth almost as glass, with here and there deep furrows. This is a relic of the far-distant past, standing here like some old sentinel of the guards, to speak with his seams and scars of the battles he has passed through. As it cannot, like the old soldier, shoulder a crutch and tell how fields were won, we shall have to do it instead, and fancy the time when this immense gorge in front of us

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was filled to the top perhaps with a mass of ice, rock, sand, and rubbish slowly pushing its way down to the sea. This great glacier encounters here in its path the solid obstacle. Against it the mass crushes and grinds; other masses come behind, driving the forward portions ahead, and trying to open a way to the sea. Bravely the old sentinel stands his ground, whilst high up upon his front the rocky, icy mass is piled, and goes grinding, crushing across his face towards the narrow gorge at his side, down which it finally makes its way, flanking the obstacle, but leaving upon its face ample records of the struggle to tell to future ages the battles of the past.

Passing the "old sentinel" our way becomes more and more contracted; shut in by high hills on the right, by immense mountain peaks on the left, with the river dashing along at their feet. Right before us rises a steep wall of rock, seemingly barring out further progress; but wild animals have been here before us, and tame ones too; for far up along the steep hill somebody has evidently been trying to cut a road. We pick our way carefully among the rocks and along the narrow path, dismounting here and there where the route is steeper or more difficult than usual.

At length we reach the top, and gaze with silent wonder at the grand view before us. Still towering above our heads the hills on our right are covered with timber, whilst on the left the far higher, rugged, rocky peaks are devoid of all foliage except a few scraggly pines, and the long smooth slopes of their disintegrating sides in places extend from near the top down hundreds of feet to the very edge of the river, into which fragments of rock are continually falling. Directly before us lies a peaceful little green valley crossed by sparkling streams, beyond which rises another wall of rocks, narrowing the valley until there is just room enough left for the river to make its way. On the left, and almost beneath our feet, rushes the river, here of a bright sea-green color, there churned into a milk-white foam, where the channel is still further contracted by great masses of rock which have toppled from the crags above.

Beyond, far up through the gorge, the country widens out into a green valley covered with trees, through which the Yellowstone is quietly flowing preparatory to its mad rush through the gorge below, whilst still further beyond, as far as the eye can reach, mountains rise above mountains to the skies.

We take a long look at the wild but beautiful scenery, and then lead our horses down a steep slope to the valley below. Crossing this, we enter the narrowest part of the gorge, picking our way along the narrow path, between overhanging masses of rocks, sometimes crowded so close together as barely to allow room for the passage of a horse, much less a horseman. Many an exclamation of pain

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is uttered as shins come in contact with the sharp rocks, and one is tempted to echo the wish of the discontented individual who made the remark, that if *he* had had originally the making of man, he should have put the calf of the leg in front, where it would at least have been of some use. Here the slightest misstep would send one hurling into the raging caldron below.

After making the passage in safety, we halt to wait for the packs, eat a lunch, fish, and shoot young grouse, which are just now reaching a proper size. The packs get through for a wonder without being rubbed off more than once, and we push ahead again over dry arid hills to our camp by the side of a mountain torrent, by whose music we are lulled to sleep after a hearty supper on immense trout caught in the deep quiet pools.

The country is now becoming more broken and rougher than before. Dark, black, volcanic hills rise up in all directions around us, throwing up here and there a peak higher than the rest, in the gorges near the tops of which banks of snow appear, and from these come the ice-cold streams which cross our path at intervals. The disintegrating sides of some of these hills present a curious appearance, looking for all the world as if some great factory had been for ages dumping down on the slopes all their refuse coal and scoria. Some of the hills again present in places bright-red streaks suggestive of iron or cinnabar, and one of these is so strongly marked that it has been named "The Cinnabar Mountain." If it deserved its name it would prove a mine of wealth, and would ere this have been covered with "claims;" but no valuable metal, I believe, has up to this time been discovered in the vicinity.

Our route to-day leads us along the foot of "Cinnabar Mountain;" when we reach its southern face the formation of the mountain is seen, and in one place presents a curious spectacle. Volcanic action has thrown up the layers of rocks until the strata stand almost vertical, outcropping towards the sky. In some places the outcropped edges have become disintegrated, and form slopes extending from the top of the mountain in curves to the bottom. This is especially marked in one place, where the disintegrated material of a deep-red color sweeps in a graceful curve for hundreds of feet down the side of the mountain. Of course, the softest material is disintegrated first and fastest. Where the rock is very hard the weather seems to have but little effect upon it. Hence results a remarkable formation, to which the name of "The Devil's Slide" has been given. Two great ledges of hard rock have been thrown up until they stand vertically across the length of the mountain. These ledges, some six or eight feet across, are distant from each other some three or four hundred feet. Between the two the softer material has been entirely washed out to a depth, in places, of some

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hundred feet, leaving these great bare walls standing like the ways of some immense shipyard. The immensity of the work done impresses one with the magnitude of the watery power which performed it, and the long period which must have elapsed since the forces ceased to act, is shown by the great trees now growing in the amphitheatre between the walls, and the still larger ones which lie decaying on the ground.

We turned our backs upon "The Devil's Slide," casting many a glance behind, supposing we were taking a last look, and little thinking that in a day or two some of us should see it again.

Our route now leads us over ranges of desolate barren hills till we strike the valley of Gardner's River, up which we turn to the right, following a plainly marked trail along its bank. After travelling some five or six miles the trail grows suddenly fainter, and soon disappears entirely in the grass. The appearance of the country, several streams of warm water, which our horses refuse to drink, and the hollow sound given out by our horses' feet, assure us that the object of our search, the Hot Springs, cannot be far distant. All eyes are turned upon the ground searching for the trail. Some one looks up, and an exclamation of surprise arrests the attention of the whole party. Looking over to our right a great snow-white hill is seen looming up like an immense snowbank, surrounded by timbered mountains. We turn towards it and cross several smoking streams, where the yielding and hollow-sounding rocks under our horses' feet produce the disagreeable impression that it is barely possible we might break through and be swallowed up in some great caldron, or disappear we hardly knew where; but the smoking water suggests that the place might be uncomfortably warm.

As we proceed, however, we gain confidence and finally reach solid ground in a belt of tall timber, through which passes a trail with fresh horse-tracks upon it. This we follow, gradually rising until we reach an open and perfectly level plateau upon which, here and there, a great tree is growing, and bright-colored flowers are occasionally seen. To our left and in front of us high hills, covered with trees and grass, rise up from the plateau.

The dusty trail and some horses in a grove near by assure us we are nearing the end of our day's journey. Turning a point of the hill to our left, a magnificent but novel view bursts upon us. The valley, shut in by high hills, is, where we stand, only about two hundred yards across. It widens out farther up to as much as a mile and a half. As far as we can see, the whole valley above us is filled with a pure white marble-like structure, arranged in terraces, one of which stands some fifty or sixty feet in height, and is the snow-white hill we first noticed.

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Directly before us stands a column sixty or seventy feet high, which from its form has been named "The Cap of Liberty." At its foot, and extending some distance beyond, is a structure which looks as if the giants of old had been laying a foundation of the purest white marble for some great edifice. The perfectly horizontal tiers rise one above the other like successive layers of masonry, and at a little distance each successive layer looks as if composed of stone on which the chisel of the sculptor has engraved the most exquisite forms. We stop and look in wonder, dismount, and walk through a substance which reminds one of walking on loose flour. Approaching a place where the substance is a little damp, we take up handfuls of it, and find it just like plaster of Paris, and moulding in the hand like putty.

A closer inspection shows that the horizontal lines, which at a distance resembled layers of masonry, are the rims of basins formed by the deposition of material held in solution by the water. These basins are of all sizes, generally of a semicircular form, and rise to a height determined by the level to which the water rises in each. If, from any cause, more water runs in, the deposition takes place most rapidly on the edge, where the water is stillest, building up the edge and keeping it always just above the surface of the water at all points, and hence always perfectly level. Where the water runs out of this basin another one is formed, and so on indefinitely. Any one can start a new basin to forming by breaking an opening in one of the old ones.

The formation, although solid enough to bear our weight, yields to the foot, and as we move about we destroy thousands of beautiful forms, which probably have been years in forming. At first a feeling of regret is experienced at the idea of such destruction, but this is soon removed by the reflection that thousands of new ones are forming every day, and in every direction, wherever the water runs. These basins rise, step by step, from the general level of the plateau to a height of six or eight feet, where a large oval basin of boiling hot water is found, the source of all the basins below. We are warned by the heated air and seeing the centre of the pool boiling up eighteen or twenty inches high, not to test the heat of the water with an imprudent hand.

But whilst we are waiting, looking at and admiring all these wonders, our poor animals are nearly eaten up by the great buck-flies, which swarm around them like bees. Teeth, tail, and feet are kept constantly at work to beat them off; and now we begin to understand why it is that the drove of horses we have just passed are, on a warm day like this, crowded so closely together, trying each one to get in the centre of the herd, and rubbing against each other to drive away the innumerable pests.

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In a pretty little valley close by, thickly shaded with trees, and with a stream of snow-water tumbling down through it, several rude cabins appear. Near these are a number of tents pitched, and farther back shelters of a ruder kind, pieces of canvas stretched over a ridge-pole, with perhaps one end closed by a blanket. These are all for the shelter of the invalids who come out to this modern Saratoga of the wilderness in search of that health which the use of these waters is said in the most marvellous manner to bring.

Men, women, children, and dogs rush out to greet the newcomers; and a shade of disappointment may be seen to pass over the faces of some when all of us leap lightly from our saddles, and none, in the last stages of disease, need to be helped off; so natural is it for "misery to love company."

We locate our bivouac higher up in this pretty little vale; and saddles, bridles, and packs are hastily stripped from our suffering animals, with the hope that by rolling or running they may gain some relief from the swarms of flies. We were soon assured by the oldest inhabitants of the place that there was absolutely no escape for the poor creatures, as they were tormented all day long by a constant succession of flies, and that animals sometimes "*stampeded*" under the infliction, and sought places lower down the river, where the flies were not so bad. To guard against losing our horses, it was proposed to picket them out, but we were assured this was certain death, as no picketed animal could defend himself against the swarms of flies, and we soon, by ocular proof, became satisfied of that fact and let our animals run loose. The poor creatures, maddened by their pests, which would settle like a swarm of bees on their withers as the safest spot, ran off to the hills, and we felt secure in the fact that they were tired by their day's journey, and probably would not go far.

The buck-flies did not trouble us so much as they did the horses; but swarms of mosquitoes, bred probably by the ponds of warm water, surrounded us, and we were glad after a lunch to move about and explore the vicinity of our novel position.

Our first visit was to the neighborhood of the "Cap of Liberty." This singular column we found on inquiry to be hollow. In ages past this open space was filled with the hot water of the springs from above, which, running over at the top, deposited the substance it held in solution, and built up the column now standing. In the course of time the water found an outlet at some lower level, and left the column standing to tell its own story as to how it was formed. The storms and frosts of many a winter have beaten against it, and decreased somewhat its dimensions, without much, if any, lessening its height. Not far off stands another column of

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smaller size, and, standing between the two, the rush of subterranean waters could be plainly heard. On the plateau, between the two columns, several bath-houses have been erected, and troughs from the main spring conduct the water into the bathing-tubs. We saw the first primitive bathing-tub which had been used. It consisted simply of a hole dug in the soft yielding material large enough for bathing, and into this the water, hot from the spring, was led by a trough hollowed out of the surface of the ground. Over the hole is pitched a tent, and this constitutes the bathing establishment.

Other more pretentious structures have since been erected, and these are now occupied by wooden bathing-tubs, to which the water is conducted in wooden troughs. Three or four of these bathing-houses are scattered over the plateau, and each one is supposed to possess some special health-giving qualities; this one for rheumatism, that for gout, etc. Not being possessed of any chronic disease, and it being a warm afternoon, I chose for my ablutions the coolest bath to be found. A stream of what was called cool water was turned on, and I prepared for the bath with a feeling of satisfaction at the coming luxury. The feeling was, however, short-lived, and at the first plunge I thought I was so too, and uttered what must have sounded to outsiders like a dying warwhoop, for the water was almost scalding hot, and the sensation experienced somewhat akin to what may be imagined that of a lobster when being prepared for the table. What the *hot* baths would be I did not care to test, but for the benefit of future visitors I would suggest they go prepared with bathing dresses made of asbestos or some other heat-defying material. As I languidly sauntered back to camp I took a better look at the boiling caldron which supplies all this heated water. Thinking over my recent experience I could not help fancying what a splendid institution this would be for one of those hotels where all the provisions, beef, pork, mutton, wild turkey, tame turkey, venison, ducks, and potatoes taste as if boiled together in the same pot. On the edge of the pool, where the water is more shallow and cooler than elsewhere, a thin film of porcelain-like structure forms, looking like a thin layer of ice. As if in keeping with my idea regarding cookery several pots, kettles, pans, and bottles were standing in this shallow part, imbedded through the sheet of ice. Had the water been cold it would naturally be supposed these vessels contained milk and other substances placed there to cool. As it was, we were informed they were filled with the yeast settlings of the visiting housekeepers, put there to rise.

Later in the afternoon, when it became cooler, we all sallied out on an exploring expedition to see wonders which we were informed were awaiting us higher up the valley. Taking a steep, well-worn

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path, we mounted to the plateau immediately behind that on which stands the "Cap of Liberty."

This plateau is evidently an old one, for the pure white of recent formation is replaced by a dull-brown, the surface is much disintegrated and worked down into a soil. Here and there large pine trees are growing, and patches of grass and flowers are scattered about. Now and then we pass a vent with hot steam hissing forth, and occasionally a hole is met with from which the gurgling sound of subterranean waters issues.

Right before us is the grandest spectacle of all. On the far side of the plateau rises the wall of the next one. Tiers of beautiful pure white basins rise one above the other to the height of sixty or seventy feet—the basins of all possible shapes and sizes. Most of these are filled with water in all states of temperature except cold. Some are cool enough to bear the insertion of the hand; others are still and covered with the thin ice-like film already referred to; whilst others are in an active state of ebullition, showing an underground connection with the hot springs above. In one spot the hill of basins juts out with bold prominence and steep sides, at the top of which a bold stream of smoking water comes tumbling over. In places where the flow of water was greatest it was observed that instead of forming basins, the materials were deposited in the form of a cascade; and as the deposition appears to be uniform when the water, from finding some other outlet, ceases to flow, it leaves what may be described as an exact white *plaster cast of rippling water;* and so perfect is the imitation that in a photograph of the scene the eye is unable to decide which is running water and which solid stone. Hence the name "Frozen Cascade." The general effect may be described by imagining a thousand small-sized Niagaras, placed alongside and above and beyond each other, suddenly turned by a magic wand into solid white marble.

As we pass along the foot of this bold point we reach a spot where the water has broken out anew, within a comparatively recent period, and with its deposit overwhelmed a grove of trees growing upon some more ancient formation. The dead and decaying limbs stick out above the surface of the still forming deposit to tell how they were overwhelmed.

Picking our way through this grove, and tramping through the shallow spread of water which is warm to the feet, we turn towards the hill and commence to climb up its steep face, using the edges of dried or partially dried up basins as stepping stones, and crushing under our feet at every movement the beautiful crystal-like structure. At every few steps we pause to enjoy the ever-changing and always novel view presented to us. Each new view appears more charming than the last, as it brings in sight more water,

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nearly every basin in this portion of the "cascade" being not only full but running over.

At length we reach the top, and stand at the same time upon the highest point of the terraced slope and on the edge of the corresponding plateau, the witnesses of a scene which it is thought few white men have ever enjoyed. The eye cannot take in with satisfaction at the same moment all the beauties presented, and, after gazing for a moment in silent wonder at the magnificent spectacle, I turn from the more beautiful part, as though desiring to leave that for the last, and picking my way along the very edge of the plateau, halt at a point where the whole hill is brought under the eye, and each successive white marble basin filled with bright blue water. The edges beautifully curved and scolloped stand out in relief, one beneath the other, down to the bottom of the hill; and then with a gentler slope the basins disappear in the grove of dead and dying trees at its foot. Such a sight amply compensates one for many a weary mile of travel, and yet it is not the finest we are to see. Turning around and stepping a few paces back from the edge of the plateau, we find ourselves standing upon the rim of an immense boiling caldron, some twenty feet across, or rather a series of caldrons, for there are several of them, divided by walls built up by themselves, through apertures in which the water flows off from one to the other.

The pool nearest to us is of a bright sky-blue color, and on the edge where it is still we look down into its clear depths to an unknown distance. We approach the edge with a cautious awe, for a false step or a weak spot in the rock would send one to certain death. Step by step we approach and peer over into the depths below. One naturally starts back in affright; for the rock, growing thinner and thinner as it approaches the edge of the water, projects over as it rises, and the water is so very clear and pure that we seem to be standing suspended in mid-air. Closer examination shows the rock perfectly solid and firm; and now, becoming bolder we proceed to a more minute inspection.

The projecting edge rests just at the surface of the water. It is formed of beautifully undulating curves, and these are tipped with a series of pure porcelain-like pieces shaped like finger-nails. These are as hard as flint, as sharp on the outer edge as a knife, and so firmly attached to the rocky edge as to require a sharp blow with a hammer to detach them. This peculiar scolloped edge extends all around the pools.

Near by us is one of the partition-walls, through a break in which, highly colored with rich red and brown, the water flows into the neighboring pool, changing its blue tint into a rich brown or saffron. The color is not constant, but varies as the waters

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intermingle, so as to give almost every conceivable tint, and the variations are still further increased by the waters mingling with those of a third pool deeply tinged with yellow from the sulphur held in solution by the water which supplies that pool.

Now imagine all these pools boiling and bubbling in the centre, sending their little tiny waves surging to the edge, splashing up under the porcelain-scolloped edges, a white mist rising from the whole, the play of all these colors in a bright sunlight, and some faint conception may be formed of the sight.

Words are weak in any attempt to describe the picture, and the photograph makes no record of the colors, to which even the skilful painter's brush fails to do full justice. A most admirable picture of the scene I have attempted to describe has been painted by Moran, and was some time ago on exhibition at Shay's, on Broadway, New York. The same artist painted the view of the Great Falls of the Yellowstone, which was put up at the head of the Senate stairway in the Capitol. These falls we shall visit as we prolong our rambles in the Rocky Mountains.

We linger in admiration around these beautiful pools, noting the splendid play of the colors, and finding new beauties at every step. Apparently there is no living thing in the water, but where it runs off from the pools to dash itself into the basins beyond, there is deposited at the bottom of the channels a sort of vegetable substance, as fine and soft as silk, which clings to the rock, and waves back and forth in the rippling water like long feathery plumes. On these long plumes the water deposits a part of its coloring matter, and the effect as they sweep gracefully from side to side in the running water, flashing up their rainbow hues, is indescribably beautiful. All the way down the slope these colors can be traced, growing fainter and fainter as they near the bottom.

We turn our backs with regret upon this beautiful view, returning to it again and again afterwards, to gaze in wonder at a scene which changes and seems to present new charms at every new position of the eye, and at every new angle at which the sunlight strikes it.

We now climb terrace after terrace and reach plateau after plateau, all old, worn out, and disintegrated. Soil has been formed upon them, great trees are growing on them, and patches of grass and bright flowers are scattered about. This is the scene of the operation in former times of just such springs as those we have seen below, but now nothing more than a remnant of their working remains. Here a deep hole is encountered, up through which the sound of gurgling waters reach the ear; there a small vent through which hot steam issues forth.

Wandering along, we come suddenly upon a structure which at

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once arrests the attention. In the midst of a clump of large pine trees, and with some small dead ones imbedded in its surface, stands a rocky structure six or eight feet high, say twenty feet long and half as broad, looking like a great rough jelly-mould turned upside down. From the top and down the sides of this are running in every direction little streams of water, depositing their rocky material and building the mound still higher and broader, as they have been building it probably for thousands of years before Columbus told the world there was such a place as America. We climb upon the top of this oval-shaped mound, and find along the axis of its length a row of apertures of all sizes, from that of a quill to one of an inch in diameter, and from each one of these steam mingled with hot water is rushing forth with a noise which threatens to blow the whole structure to pieces. Each aperture is surrounded with delicate little porcelain finger-nails, beautifully colored; and the mingling of sounds produced by the hissing steam, has suggested the name which has been given to this singular spot, "The Beehive." An engine whistle placed over one of the vents of "The Beehive" might well impress the visitor with the idea that the iron horse had invaded these solitudes.

Our rambles at length brought us to the foot of a high steep bluff, covered with dense timber, where we were shown into a cave excavated by water trickling from above. We crawled down into it, enjoyed the cool atmosphere, lit a candle brought along for the purpose, and gazed in admiration at the thousands of stalactites and stalagmites which flashed back their rays to us. The formation of the rocky structure in which the cave was hollowed out was the same as that about the springs below. In fact the whole valley, four miles long and from two hundred yards to a mile and a half broad, is filled with the same material which abuts against the solid rocks of the hills at the sides.

Returning we walked for half a mile or more along the top of a ridge, stretching like an immense backbone over the plateau, and formed evidently by the water boiling up through the top and depositing its material from openings which we passed at every step. The waters have long since found some outlet at a lower level, leaving the former channels now empty. At one point we came to a wide opening, down which we looked into a great cave some twelve or fifteen feet deep, where countless bats, disturbed by the sticks and stones we threw down, flew from side to side in wild dismay at their solitude being so roughly invaded. The materials of which this great backbone is made are evidently identical with the hot springs deposit. They rest in layers, and the slightest break serves to show the manner in which the deposit was made. The rippling of running water is still there, but with none of the

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freshness of the recent formation lower down the valley. In fact nearly all this portion of the valley bears evidence of operations long since extinct. There was a time, however, when the disintegrating masses around us presented all the fairy forms and brilliant colors seen to-day at a lower level. Now quite a soil has formed on top, and in this are imbedded the roots of lofty trees. Taking into account the incalculable length of time which must have elapsed to form this great deposit, layer by layer, of almost inappreciable thickness, like leaves of paper piled one on top of the other, the period, after the water ceased to flow, required by disintegration and other causes to produce the soil necessary to support vegetation, and after that the time for these trees to grow up, one may form some vague estimate of the thousands of years which have probably elapsed since the active powers were at work on the space where we are now standing. Here and there a faint trace, as if a mere draining of the former system, exists in the form of a little pool, out of which boils water strongly impregnated with mineral substances, dyeing with beautiful colors the little basins which it seems to form as naturally as the leaves form on a tree or flower.

The number of charming views, beautiful forms, novel structures, and curiosities of all kinds to be seen here, seems to be limited only by one's amount of physical endurance; for whichever way we turn something new and strange is sure to meet the eye. Weeks might be spent in exploration, and every hour furnish a new wonder. Our time was limited to hours, and we found them only too short to explore the springs themselves, without attempting much in the surrounding country, which contains some magnificent scenery. From the top of the hill near the head of the valley, we obtained a fine view, which made us yearn to explore the deep cañons of the three forks of Gardner's River and the highlands intervening between them. Each of the three forks before reaching their junction in the valley below the springs, passes through a deep, dark, rugged cañon with almost perpendicular sides, and directly before us, far up on the eastern fork, we see a magnificent waterfall, with here and there a patch of snow, so hidden in the gorge that the warm August sun has not yet succeeded in melting it. Of this fall we shall obtain a closer view when we come to resume our rambles towards the Great Falls of the Yellowstone, but for the present we have to content ourselves with a distant one. Far off to the south of us can be seen great mountain peaks towering to the skies and covered with perpetual snow. These, we are told, are around the head-waters of the Madison, and with the wings of a bird we might reach in a few miles what on horseback will consume many difficult days' marching.

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Making our way back down the valley we linger about the great hot spring, admiring anew its formation and colors, and as we pick our way down the steep slope we stop to examine an impromptu shower-bath, which some enterprising individual has improvised half way down the slope, where the water has cooled sufficiently to render parboiling improbable. A pretty little arbor of pine boughs has been constructed over one of the basins, in which a board seat has been placed. A wooden trough, with one end so placed against the bank above as to catch the water, conveys it so as to strike the neck and shoulders of a bather seated on the bench. We did not stop to try the bath, but since bathing in warm milk is considered the height of luxury, we can readily imagine what a bath here would be, especially since the bather, if dissatisfied with the temperature of the stream he was under, could satisfy the most fastidious taste by doing as the thermometer does—rising for more heat, falling for less.

Returning towards our bivouac, we met and conversed with some of the visitors, some thirty of whom, men, women, and children, are here for the benefit of the waters. They are taken both externally and internally, and one old man we saw seemed to have made a mistake, and fancying his stomach a bath-tub, was trying with all his might to fill it at the earliest possible moment with water a good deal hotter than any coffee ever drank in more civilized regions. He was seated by a spring with a quart can in his hand, with which he dipped up the boiling fluid and poured it down his throat as fast as he could swallow, stopping only now and then to lick his lips and utter a grunt of satisfaction. I looked at him in astonishment, and asked him if he liked it.

"Oh, yes," he replied, "it is better than any of your coffee, tea, or such truck."

On his invitation I tried it, and it is no exaggeration to state that the first mouthful scalded me; the second one, taken with the usual precautions, I managed to swallow, and did not try a third. The old man regarded me with that silent look of pity with which a habitué of Saratoga regards the first attempt of a novice to enjoy a glass from Congress spring. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and other substances, smells like an old hen-house after the setting season, and I have seen *iced* drinks I like better.

Most wonderful stories are told of the cures produced by these waters. Persons so weak as to be held on their horses to get here are in a short time strong enough to move about and take all sorts of exercise. There is no question that with easy means of reaching these springs, and accommodations for visitors on the spot, which last would soon follow the first, people would flock there from all

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parts of the world. The route of the Northern Pacific Railroad, although not yet definitely decided, will, in all probability, go within seventy-five or eighty miles of the springs.

Returning to our bivouac, it was found that our poor horses and mules, tormented beyond endurance by the hordes of flies, had concluded to vacate the country, and seek less objectionable company lower down the river. Parties sent out in search of them found that, as is the custom of animals under such circumstances, they had taken the only route they knew anything about, and gone back on our trail. Rapid pursuit was made, but they were not overtaken till they had reached the cañon of the Yellowstone, some twenty-five miles away. Here the formidable rocky ascent before them probably caused them to pause just before they were overtaken. Had they succeeded in getting through the cañon we should in all probability not have overtaken them before they reached Fort Ellis, sixty-six miles away, which would have caused a serious delay in our ramblings towards the great lake and falls of the Yellowstone, for which we were to start in the morning. Additional precautions were, therefore, taken, and as it was out of the question to picket the animals in the daytime and find them alive at night, a man was detailed to watch them. So troublesome, however, were the flies that the poor creatures could not even eat during daylight, and occupied themselves in crowding together and rolling in the dust, to get rid of their pests. At night they had to be let loose to feed whilst their enemies were asleep, a few only being kept picketed in the best grazing ground, and with the hope that the rest would not desert them. This, however, proved a vain hope, and the horses, remembering how they suffered after the sun got up, concluded to get out of the way in time, and when daylight came all but those picketed were found to have disappeared.

In the western country when a man loses his horses the first thought is "Indians;" the last one "strayed." But here we were under no apprehension of Indians, for although they sometimes come as high up the Yellowstone as Boettler's ranche, they never, we were assured, visit this section of the country; although it is said there are near the lake region some few poor miserable wretches called "sheep-eaters," they are very seldom seen, and avoid, like any other wild beast, a white man. It is said, too, that occasionally wandering members of the Bannock tribe sometimes pass through the country, but they have a holy dread of it as closely allied with the infernal regions. It is stated to be a fact that should an Indian fail to return from this country, his tribe would never think of attributing his disappearance to murder, but would conclude, as a matter of course, that he had been swallowed up by one of the numerous hot springs or geysers, and gone straight through to

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report to his Satanic majesty. This renders the passage of white men through the country pleasantly secure.

We therefore had no fears that Indians had "jumped" our stock, and at once made preparations to follow it. Several parties were started out, and as it is best under such circumstances not to stand on the order of going, but go at once, myself and another officer mounted our horses, and ascending the hills back of our camp proceeded to search for the trail. We found it at last, but the horses were then evidently feeding, and much time was lost following the tracks here and there over the dry hard ground.

After some perseverance, and a good deal of grumbling and hard words, we found the trail leading, in as direct a way as the broken nature of the country would permit, in a northeasterly direction towards the home trail. Down into deep ravines and up on to high hills we followed it, slowly picking our way along over the rough rocky places, until the tracks lead us into the plain well-beaten trail we had followed two days before. Here the footprints were plainly seen in the dusty road, and now commenced a more rapid pursuit, as the tracks could be easily seen whilst we were moving at a gallop. A stern chase is proverbially a long one, and we now pushed forward as rapidly as possible with the hope of overtaking our truant animals, at least before they reached the cañon. As we rose the top of each hill we strained our eyes with the hope of catching sight of them, but it was not until we came in sight of the "Devil's Slide" that we caught a glimpse of a single moving object, and that proved to be one of our mounted men going on the same mission as ourselves. We soon overtook him, dismounted to rest his weary horse, and taking the lead we pushed ahead in rapid pursuit. The "sign" freshened, and as the prospect of catching sight of our animals increased we increased our speed as much as the weary condition of our horses would permit. As we neared the gorge of the cañon hope faded away, for in the valley before us no living creature was to be seen. We reached the first rocky point, and picked our way slowly across it, knowing that if the animals once got across the next point we were destined to have a long chase indeed. We moved rapidly across the little valley, looking forward to a climb over the rocky slope before us, when, casting our eyes to the right, we were gratified with the sight of all our animals quietly cropping the rich bunch grass on a side hill. As we neared them they looked up with a quiet stare, which said as plainly as words, "Is it possible we are of so much importance that you would follow us twenty-five miles!" We quickly shifted the saddles from our tired horses to some of the estrays, and arming ourselves with long sticks we made those animals "*hump* it" back to camp in a way which was a sight to see. We made the twenty-five miles in

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a little over two hours, hastily broke up camp, packed our mules, and left the beautiful "frozen cascades" behind us.

We followed across the country due south, crossed the middle fork of Gardner's River, a raging torrent up to our horses' girth, where the animals could scarcely keep their footing on the smooth round boulders which covered the bottom; struck the east fork, crossed that, and followed up its right bank by a steep game trail leading up the side of the valley. From a point on the steep side hill, where we stopped to take a drink from a little ice-cold spring which gushed from the rock, we had a splendid view of the Falls of Gardner's River, east fork, where the water makes a perpendicular plunge of sixty or seventy feet. Still toiling up the slope, we stand at length upon the flat horizontal ledge of rocks through a break in which, worn out by itself, the river makes its plunge.

Halting to rest, and turning back, a sight meets the eye which causes a burst of admiration from the whole party. Far down below us is the gorge through which we have just come; our pack-mules are still struggling up the steep pathway. Away off to the left and rear, rising one above the other, are the rocky broken hills surrounding the valley of the Hot Springs, here and there cloven with steep-sided openings for the passage of the branches of Gardner's River, whilst standing like a great white marble castle, in marked contrast with the dark foliage behind, is the prominent point in the "Frozen Cascade," glistening like snow in the bright rays of the now setting sun, a thin misty cloud of steam rising from its top. One might well linger in admiration over such a view, but the sun is fast sinking behind the western snowcaps, and we push on to find a pleasant camp in a grove of pines, with plenty of rich grass for the horses, bright clear water for them and ourselves, and a store of hard dry lodge poles for our fires. Years ago this must have been a favorite camping-place for Indians, for we find plenty of "tepic" poles, but all old, dry, and partially rotted under the rank grass which has grown up around and over them.

The next morning we encounter our first difficulty, for the trail becomes dim, and as no horsemen have lately passed over it we wander about for a long time searching for it in vain. We are now on the high rolling divide which separates the head-waters of Gardner's River from the Yellowstone, and have nothing to guide us but general directions and the fact that we know the Yellowstone lies to the east of us. We know, however, that one of Prof. Hayden's pack-trains has recently passed over the route, for we met it the day before, returning to Fort Ellis for supplies. If we can only strike its trail we will be all right. At length, after a search of several hours, we strike the broad fresh trail of the pack-train. With shouts our party is assembled, and we move confidently for-

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ward again towards the Falls of Tower Creek, some eighteen miles away.

That our elevation is now considerable we can plainly see, for along the slope of a low range of hills to the south, long snow-drifts extending well down are glistening in the bright warm August sun. Away off to the eastward the broken rocky mountains on the right bank of the Yellowstone, cut up into deep dark cañons, are in full view, and we pass every now and then clumps of "quaking asp," whose roots are fed by moisture from the melting snow. The country has evidently once been a fine game section, but now, as we move along, we see nothing but a few antelope, which scamper away as fast as their fleet legs can carry them, evidently well acquainted with the crack of a rifle.

Our route leads us through some beautifully wild wooded valleys, and at length we stand on top of a hill looking once more down upon the Yellowstone. In the valley below us stands the first and only bridge which has ever yet spanned the virgin waters of the river. It was built by miners, to enable them to reach the gold diggings on the head-waters of Clarke's Fork, a stream which empties into the Yellowstone several hundred miles below the point where we are now standing. Our trail leaves this bridge to the left, and we follow it till it enters a thick and matted wood, where we meet with our first difficulty in the way of fallen timber. It lies in almost every possible direction, and we twist and turn in all ways to avoid it, sometimes losing the trail, and now and then encountering a hill so steep as apparently to preclude the idea of our pack-mules scrambling up it. Rising all the time, we reach the edge of an immense chasm, standing directly across our path. The trail seems to lead to the left across a rocky ledge, along the steep edge of which I follow until the view opens a little, and a cry of alarm escapes me as I call to the rest of the party to halt, and hastily spring from my saddle. My horse and I are standing upon a projecting ledge with scarcely room enough to turn round, and I have a sort of feeling that at length I have reached one of the *ends* of the earth. The spot is an overhanging ledge of rock, the disintegrating edges of which render it uncertain at what moment the whole thing may go toppling over into the depths below. You cannot get close enough to the edge to see the bottom of the abyss before you, and from it, far down below you, comes up the hoarse roar of falling waters. This is Tower Falls, so deep down in this great rent of the earth, and so surrounded by tower-shaped masses of rock, that from this point no sight of it can be obtained. The tops of great trees can be seen far, far below where we now stand. On the other side of a vast amphitheatre the steep, almost perpendicular, rock rises up for hundreds of feet, cut into all sorts of fan-

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ciful forms by the action of water in former ages. At the foot of this wall, far off below us, the Yellowstone comes tumbling along with its characteristic sea-green color, here and there worked up into milk-white foam, as ledges of rocks interfere with the current. We are now looking into the very mouth—the lower opening—of the Grand Cañon, and its slopes near the water's edge are tinged with the bright colors which we are to see in all their glory at the other end of the cañon, some twenty-five miles above, to which point the Great Falls of the Yellowstone have worked their way back after, who shall say how many, centuries of labor.

The trail ends where we stand. There is no place for it to go, except into empty air. After gazing with that feeling of admiration and awe which a sight of magnitude and splendor always produces, I carefully picked my way back along the perilous ledge, and started to search for the trail which was to lead us down to the bed of Tower Creek. After a long hunt we found it, and commenced the descent by a path so steep that we had to dismount and lead our horses down. Down, down we go for hundreds of feet, passing by the tops of great trees, until we finally reach where their roots are imbedded in the banks of the creek, a foaming mountain torrent, rushing over a bed of boulders towards the falls below. Crossing this we turn down the narrow valley, and obtain a fine view of the "Devil's Den," a wild, narrow, dark gorge, through which the stream rushes boiling, to make its fierce leap before it mingles its waters with those of the Yellowstone far down below. The country is here exceedingly broken. Wild and beautiful high hills rise in every direction around the point where the two streams join, the inclosed space being also broken up with steep rounded hills, clothed in a luxuriant growth of grass, flowers, and trees. To the top of one of these hills we mounted, to enjoy a sight of the Tower Falls. The stream, after passing through the "Devil's Den," enters a still narrower gorge, with great pinnacle-shaped towers rising on each side, and, bending slightly to the right, plunges over a perpendicular precipice, fifty or sixty feet high, and in a sheet of foam strikes below with a roar, sending up clouds of cool spray, which makes the chasm below feel like an ice-house, compared with the heated air above. From a point lower down we get a side view, which, concealing the channel of the creek, makes the water appear as if plunging out of a hole in the solid rock. Far above is the projecting point of rock upon which we stood an hour ago, and we can now appreciate what a tumble a false step there would have given us.

The path down to the river is too steep for our horses, so, tying them to a tree, we pursue our way on foot, and climbing down to the very edge of the surging waters of the Yellowstone, put our

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rods together, and prepare to test the truth of the assertion that the speckled trout from that stream will not take the artificial fly. We stand at the mouth of a little stream, whose warm water and sulphurous smell tell of hot springs near by, and no fish rise to our flies. We wander lower down, and where Tower Creek comes plunging in with a roar, forming eddies, which we feel sure must entice the trout to lie in them, we try again. I select a large brown-winged fly with yellow body, and scarcely has it touched the surface of a deep pool, just above the mouth of the creek, than a pair of jaws, large enough to take in your hand, opens at the surface of the water, and immediately my reel commences to sing and my rod to bend, as if a whale were tugging at the line. What with the trout's surprise and fright, and my eagerness, it is a hard struggle to land such a monster through the rushing torrent, but, at length, my fingers are in his gills, and the great fish, with spotted sides of the color of liquid gold, lies panting on the shore. Another and another soon follow him, and in a time entirely too short, we have a string of three and four-pound trout, enough to supply the whole party, and entirely too large to carry up the steep ascent behind us with any sort of comfort. Our camp is pitched in a little valley close by, where we enjoy our feast with travellers' appetites, and are lulled to sleep by that most delicious of all sounds to the sleepy senses, falling water, provided always it does not come in the shape of rain.

Our next day's trip was over a rough and rugged path. We first had to climb the rough, steep, and wooded slope which bounds the valley of Tower Creek on the south. Here one of our pack-mules slipped, fell, and got rid of his load, which had to be repacked. Then the country opened out into rolling prarie, and as we reached a high point a magnificent view was opened to us. The whole surface below us, as far as the eye could reach in every direction, was covered with dense masses of pine timber. On the left was the Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone, beyond which mountain rose beyond mountain, until in the far distance to the south peaks covered with perpetual snow appeared. On our right we could trace the deep cañon of Tower Creek running far to the westward, whilst to our front Mount Washburne (named after the late Surveyor-General of Montana, the first modern explorer of the wonders of the Yellowstone) rose up as if to bar our further progress south, its long sloping sides striped here and there with long deep snow-drifts. Along the northern face of Mount Washburne the trail led us over a rough country; now passing through dense masses of timber, now threading our way through intricate meshes of fallen trees, and now deep down into great gulches washed out by streams running from the melting snow-banks above, we at length reached

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the top of a divide to the west of the peak, from which we looked down and over an immense wooded district, with the now far-famed Yellowstone Lake glistening in the distance. Here and there over the landscape rises a column of white steam, serving to remind us of the hot springs, geysers, and other wonders we have before us. We climb down the steep slope in front of us along a path well beaten by recent horse-tracks, and enter a pleasant region of thick timber, alternating with pretty little valleys well watered and covered with grass and flowers. In passing through one of these we missed the trail, and whilst searching for it came across a great bank of white plaster-of-paris-like substance, in which our horses sunk up to the fetlock. It was evidently a deposit similar to that made at the hot springs, and along its base sulphurous water was boiling up, and bubbles of gas rising through the stagnant pools.

Our directions were to follow along the southern face of Mount Washburne to obtain a fine view of the Grand Cañon and the Great Falls, and, as we were now fast leaving the mountain, we decided to halt for the night, and made camp in one of the bright little valleys alongside of a clear stream.

It being early in the afternoon, myself and a companion started out to search for the falls, and, guns on shoulder, we plunged into the deep forests. Our provisions were growing scarce, at least the fresh meat part, and we were not without hope of finding game of some kind. We proceeded, therefore, very carefully, walking lightly, and every now and then halting to listen. The stillness was almost oppressive, not even a breath of air seemed to break the monotonous quiet of the pine woods, when suddenly, as we rose the slope of a hill, and stopped as usual to listen, a startling sound broke upon the ear, of so singular a nature that we looked at each other in alarm. Again it sounded, with a dull sort of thud easily magnified into a growl.

"Listen; what is that?"

"A grizzly!" comes back in a hoarse stage whisper from my companion.

Now a grizzly bear is an awkward kind of an animal to meet sometimes, especially in a lonely wood with the only help within a hundred miles of you a mile or two away. The trees fortunately furnish one means of escape if resorted to in time, and we both instinctively picked out the most convenient one near. But neither of us contemplated such an ignominious retreat before an invisible foe, and now eyes and ears were eagerly bent in the direction of the sound, with the hope of obtaining some definite clue to its origin. For an instant it seemed to me that I was all turned into eyes and ears. Again and again did the sound come booming through the

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otherwise silent wood, and in the absence of any bodily presence light commenced to break in upon our frightened senses. It was observed that the sound came at regular intervals, did not vary at all, and did not sound like the voice of an animal. This set us to thinking, and in a moment the woods resounded with a shout and a cry.

"It is a mud volcano!"

The mere suggestion was enough to carry conviction, and we pushed forward in the direction of the sound, as eager now to go forward as we had been before to go back. We travelled in this way for nearly a mile, the sound being our compass, and at last, pushing our way through a thick piece of wood, stood in an open space, on the far side of which rose a steep bare hill. At the base of this was a circular pool of dark muddy water in an active state of ebullition. At regular intervals, a few seconds apart, a column would shoot up from the centre of the pool to the height of six or seven feet, scattering the dirty-looking water in every direction, and giving out the sound we had heard. At every burst of the volcano the water would rise slightly and a little run off through a channel, the depth and worn appearance of which showed that the flow at some periods was much more copious than at present. Near by was another pool, but of clear water, and in place of shooting up like the other it was quietly boiling, the surplus water flowing off in a drain. The side hill above was filled with vents, from dozens of which hot steam and water hissed forth as though eager to escape from the pressure below. In one place, in a sort of pocket half filled with well-mixed mud, the steam bubbled through and reminded one of boiling mush.

We stood, long wondering at this singular spectacle, the sounds given forth from the vents in the side hill reminding one of those heard in a railroad depot when half a dozen engines are hissing forth steam from their partially closed valves.

As we turned to leave the place we quietly laughed at the recollection that we came very near taking to trees to avoid a mud volcano.

Continuing our ramble, and with our eyes now open for new wonders, we entered one of those pretty little prairie-like openings which seem to be so common here. Talking as we walked, and thinking only of the singular phenomenon we had just witnessed, I suddenly became aware of a great pair of bright eyes surmounted by a long pair of ears, both of which were turned eagerly towards us from the other side of a pile of dead trees lying one on top of the other not thirty steps from us.

"Stop! What is that?" and I had to look twice before I could make out that the eyes and ears belonged to the head of a deer,

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whose body was concealed by the pile of fallen timber. Our camp was out of fresh meat. I was but an indifferent rifle-shot. If the deer ever made a spring she would expose her body, but in motion she would be safe from my bullet. These thoughts passed rapidly through my mind. As if by instinct, my rifle came down; a moment, and the woods resounded with a shot; and before my companion had even seen what caused my exclamation, the game disappeared behind the logs. A few steps forward, and there almost in the very bed from which she was startled by the sound of our voices, lay a fine fat doe with a bullet through her eye. Of course it was a splendid shot, of the William Tell order, and, of course, I accepted with becoming modesty all sorts of compliments about snuffing candles at fifty paces, etc.; but I could not conceal my exultation at our good luck, and exhibited an excitement entirely inconsistent with the aplomb of an old hunter.

The deer was quickly disembowelled, one leg cut off, and, shouldering this, the liver, and our two guns, we commenced a rapid movement towards camp, giving up for the time all hope of seeing the falls, and filled only with the idea of what a welcome sight we had for the rest of the party, and what a feast we should have when we got back. Oh, what a trip that was! I don't think I ever saw mosquitoes more numerous or more bloodthirsty. They swarmed around us in myriads, covering our faces, our meat, and our hands, and pushing in their bills wherever they could find an unguarded spot. We cut branches of trees to whip them off, but all to no purpose; for both of our hands were constantly occupied, and no sooner were they driven from one spot than they reappeared at another. But as night came on, and it commenced to grow cool, which it always does as soon as the sun sets, they gradually lessened their attentions, and allowed us to enter camp in triumph and comparative comfort. Our appearance was hailed with delight, and our little camp resounded with good cheer and merriment. This was the only deer we saw upon the whole trip, and although we saw plenty of "signs" of both deer and elk, we failed to catch even a distant glimpse of the animals themselves, and concluded that they, during the summer, resorted to the highest mountains, where, in the vicinity of the snows, they were comparatively safe from both heat and flies.

Seated around our bright camp fires we ate, drank, and were merry, planning our expedition to the Great Falls the next day, neither knowing nor caring for the disappointment in store for us.

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MIRACULOUS POWERS IN THE TRUE CHURCH.

Supposed Miracles. An Argument for the honor of Christianity against Superstition, and for its Truth against Unbelief. By Rev. J. M. Buckley. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1875, pp. 54. 8vo.

REV. MR. BUCKLEY'S pamphlet is the substance of a speech delivered by him in September last at the "New York Ministers' Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church." We place it at the head of our article, and shall review some of its statements, not because it is a production of any great merit; but because it seems to represent the opinions of that class of Methodists who pretend to be wiser and more enlightened than their fathers and their simpler brethren, and who would fain thrust out of sight the antiquated notions of their founder, though clinging tenaciously to his form of church government. Wesley's teachings, we can imagine them saying to themselves, are childish and superstitious, and can only provoke a smile from the advanced Protestantism of to-day; therefore, let them be dropped as noiselessly as possible. But his oligarchical system has in it the germs of wealth and power; and on that account it must be retained—let the disaffected[1] in the South and West grumble as they will, and cry out against the clerical yoke. Such, we fancy, is the guiding principle of those Methodist ministers who are trying to bring Wesleyan doctrine up, as near as possible, to the rationalistic level of the day, and by this show of liberality, on one hand, help to stifle the growing clamor for lay representation on the other.

Besides this general purpose, the immediate causes which gave origin to Rev. Mr. Buckley's address may be gathered from the pamphlet itself. Our readers must remember that not long ago Prof. Tyndall and some of his scientific friends or followers made a proposal that the efficacy of prayer should be submitted to the following test. Let two wards of a hospital be set apart; and let the patients in one be merely prayed for, while those in the other are treated as nature and science require. If after a sufficient trial the former are cured, it may be allowed that there is some reason for saying that prayer has power to set aside the laws of nature. This challenge, as silly as it was insolent, of which we have given the substance rather than the words, was flung in the faces of the gaping crowds who flocked to hear and applaud the British professor, who vends his materialism and thinly-disguised atheism under the

[1] The so-called "Methodist Protestants."

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name of science. They were for the most part, if not all, non-Catholics, on whom their religion, such as it is, sits very lightly. The challenge was not, and could not have been, meant for Catholics, whose doctrine about prayer and miracles does not depend on private judgment or individual caprice, but is grounded on fixed, unchanging principles, as Prof. Tyndall very well knows. Of the Protestant clergy some few—it is to be hoped, though we are not aware of the fact—may have given at the time a rational Christian answer. But many others failed to do so, or rather did the contrary. Some of them were for accepting the test outright; others, more cautious, declined, unless a perfect parallelism of condition between the two sets of patients, as to age, temperament, previous history, etc., could be secured beforehand. Others finally yielded the point by maintaining that prayer obtains spiritual blessings *only;* and that, if offered for temporal advantages, it fails to procure them —though the very act of such prayer may be justly said to produce a beneficial effect on the mind and heart of him who offers it.[1] This last theory contradicts not only the whole history of Christ's Church upon earth, but also the uniform teaching of both Testaments, Old and New. All that need be said of it is, that it is a characteristic specimen of the results of private interpretation of the Bible.

The prayer-test was not accepted; and this fact, especially when backed by such motives for refusing, must have furnished, no doubt, abundant matter of merriment, scoffing, and probably triumph, to the disciples of Materialism. It provoked, likewise, some disaffection and complaint in the Evangelical camp, on the part of those who thought it a pity and a shame that they had not been allowed to enter the lists, and with the aid of Heaven despoil the scientist Dagon of his boasted trophies,

> And with confusion blank his worshippers.

Among these, or their representatives, was a godly Methodist, Rev. Smith H. Platt, who had all along been a believer in the miraculous power of prayer. He had, indeed (apparently before the Tyndall challenge), been "cured," according to his own statement, of a rheumatic affection in the knees by the prayers of one Dr. Cullis, of Boston. But the next day he overtasked his strength, and relapsed into his infirmity. Yet this did not in the least destroy his faith in the prayers of Dr. Cullis, and in the reality of the cure effected by him. Let us listen to his own explanation:

"The next morning (after the over exertion) there was no essential change for the better, and I concluded at once that the Lord had

[1] Supposed Miracles, pp. 46, 47.

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healed me in honor of the Doctor's faith, but that he did not want me to be well, and, therefore, permitted me to overdo and bring back the difficulty." (Ibid., p. 37.)

This sounds very strange, to say the least of it. The Lord doing and then undoing His work, healing and forthwith making sick again! And why this change in the Divine counsel? Was it to punish Mr. Platt because his faith had abated since the cure, or because he had not been sufficiently thankful for the blessing vouchsafed him? Not at all. Nor would any Christian reader ever imagine the cause, unless Mr. Platt had been pleased to make it known. God, he says, wished him to be lame, that he might have leisure to write certain books, which he never would have written had he enjoyed the perfect use of his limbs. The reader will naturally ask, what was the character of these books, so valuable to the cause of God and Religion, that Divine Providence should undo its own miraculous work, to compel Mr. Platt to write them. The answer involves nothing short of downright blasphemy, and lest we should be suspected of exaggeration we prefer to give it in Mr. Buckley's words:

"Concerning two of these books, it may be said that *they are unfit for circulation;* and must have been the product of a mind abnormally excited on *subjects* usually, as far as possible, *excluded from the thoughts of decent people.*" (p. 39.)[1]

But though lamed for this high and holy purpose, Mr. Platt felt confident that a day would yet come when a triumphant answer to the Tyndall challenge would be given in his person. And, if we are to believe him, the day came at last. It was Sunday, July 25th, 1875, at Ocean Grove, N. J., where Miss Mossman, whom he had never seen before, called to visit him, and announced that the Lord had sent her to see and heal him. She touched his knee, prayed, and then declared him healed; but in spite of her declaration the pain returned on Tuesday, and repeatedly at intervals, until at last (he says), after long and desperate internal struggles, a permanent cure was effected.

Though such bungling and jugglery need no refutation, Mr. Buckley takes some pains to prove that Mr. Platt has not made out his case; indeed, this seems to have been one of his chief objects in writing the address. We shall certainly not follow him through the details, nor through his discussion of other late miracles, pretended to have been wrought by Adventists, Mormons, Spiritists, and other impostors outside of the Church. There must

[1] Are these the literary amusements of Methodist ministers in good standing, members, and preachers (as was Mr. Platt), at Annual Conferences? Mr. Buckley has no difficulty in avowing that he has had a very pleasant acquaintance with Mr. Platt, and has esteemed him highly during the last nine or ten years.

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be, in spite of three centuries of "enlightenment," a vast amount of gross credulity and superstition among Protestants, when they are found giving serious attention and firm belief to such shallow miracle-mongers. But it is the fate of those who disobey St. Paul (II. Thess. xi : 14), and reject apostolic tradition, to fall into the belief of "old wives' fables." They will not believe the miracles of God in His saints, and are condemned in just punishment to swallow any lying wonder that presents itself, any idle tale or absurd story, as the poet says,

> "of prophecies,
> And of a dragon and a finless fish,
> A clip-winged griffin . . .
> And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
> As puts one from his faith—"

if not in the true Gospel of Christ, surely in its sixteenth century counterfeit. We prefer to examine Rev. Mr. Buckley's notions about the purpose of miracles, and the duration of the miraculous power in the Church, as this will give us an opportunity of stating the Catholic, which in this as in everything else (much as our Protestant friends may doubt it) is the Scriptural view of the question.

Why are miracles wrought? Rev. Mr. Buckley, with an eye to his main purpose, answers thus adroitly:

"The purpose of divine miracles, comprehensively stated, is to demonstrate that *God speaks*. *This purpose* is well expressed in the words of Nicodemus, 'Rabbi, we know that thou art *a teacher* come from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him.' . . . . While it (a miracle) would be highly unreasonable without a purpose, it would be most reasonable with the purpose of obtaining a proper hearing for *a divine teacher*, and it was the only means by which he could obtain a hearing at once. And miracles accomplished *their purpose*. Christianity got a foothold in the world, and has kept Judaism a permanent dwarf, destroyed Paganism on the continent of Europe, and in many parts of other continents, made the New World technically a Christian hemisphere, etc." (pp. 7–8.)

The words we have italicized show the way, more artful than honest, in which the writer passes over from the general to the particular, *a dicto simpliciter ad dictum secundum quid*, as logicians say. Miracles prove, indeed, that God speaks; but Divine speech is manifold. Sometimes it teaches, sometimes it commands; at other times it warns, rebukes, threatens, or condemns; at others it is meant only to console, encourage, or reward. And all these voices from the thunder tones of Sinai down to the light, gentle sound heard by the prophet (*sibilus auræ tenuis*, III. Kings xix : 12) with their accompaniment of miracles, may be traced in the pages

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of inspired history. Since, then, God speaks through His miracles in so many ways, why does Rev. Mr. Buckley limit them to *one* form of speech, viz., the teaching or revealing of new doctrines? His mode of reasoning is, to say the least, unfair; but his object is clear. He would make out that miracles in the New Law were intended only to establish Christianity, and this end accomplished, they must disappear. Yet, Holy Writ nowhere teaches that this is the only or even the chief end of miracles. It teaches the contrary.

Miracles, he says, without a purpose would be highly unreasonable, but it is equally unreasonable to assign or limit such purposes according to our caprice, or, still worse, to gain a point for religious prejudice. "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?" (Rom. xi: 34.) It is at all times perilous to enter into the Divine counsels; but we may, by studying His works and their motives, as revealed by Himself, reason by analogy from them to His subsequent works, even when their motives are left unrevealed. This is the safest and most reverent way to investigate the "unsearchable ways" of God to man, by making Him, so to speak, His own interpreter. Let us, then, examine the Divine economy with regard to miracles in the Old Law, which was a prelude and type of the New. The great miracles of the burning unconsumed bush, the rod changed into a serpent, the leprous hand, still more the plagues of Egypt, the passage of the Red Sea, the cloud by day and pillar of fire by night, the manna from Heaven,—all these may be regarded as miracles intended to prepare the Jews to believe that God spoke on Sinai, and that Moses was His accredited messenger and prophet. They were necessary to establish the Law of Moses, to wean the chosen people from all relics of idolatry, to force upon Israel the conviction that "the Lord, He is God, and that there is no other besides Him" (Deut. iv: 35). They were meant to surround with solemn glorious testimony the covenant, that the Lord our God made with His people in Horeb, when He spoke to them face to face out of the midst of fire, with Moses as mediator between them (ib. v: 2, 4, 5). The Mosaic Church may be regarded as established from the day of that covenant, or from its renewal in the land of Moab (ib. xxix: 1). After that the worship of the true God alone existed among the Israelites, bound up as it was with their daily life, political, social, and domestic. The idolatry of their ancestors from beyond the river had totally vanished; and the son of Beor, among the blessings forced from his reluctant lips by Divine agency, had to acknowledge that "there was no idol in Jacob, no image-God to be seen in Israel," no soothsaying or other superstitious practice, flowing from idolatry, to be met with among the people of Jehovah (Num. xxiii: 21, 23). But did this bring about the cessation of

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miracles? If their only purpose had been to prove that God spoke as a teacher, and that Moses was His legitimate envoy, they had accomplished their end. Any repetition of them, therefore, would be without a purpose, and consequently unreasonable, as Mr. Buckley says. But this theory is repugnant to the whole history of the Old Testament. Miracles continued even after the Israelites had set foot in the land of promise; and the reasons why they were wrought are either explicitly mentioned, or may be clearly deduced from the narrative.

I. Even their very entrance into the land of their new inheritance was miraculous, the prodigies of the Red Sea having been renewed in the waves of the Jordan. The object of the miracle was, not to convince them that God had spoken through Moses, but that Josue was his legitimate successor, that the Lord was their protector, and that He would fulfil His other promises and dispossess their enemies of the land. It was also to be a warning to the heathen, and an encouragement to Israel to persevere in the service of the one true God. "This day will I begin to exalt thee before Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I am with thee also. . . . . By this you shall know that the Lord, the living God, is in the midst of you, and that He shall destroy before your sight the Chanaanite and the Hethite, ... that all the people of the earth may learn the most mighty hand of the Lord, that you also may fear the Lord your God forever" (Jos. iii: 7, 10; iv: 25). The great wonder (which stands without a parallel in sacred history) of the sun and moon arrested in their heavenly course, was intended to show that God was pleased to obey the voice of a man (*obediente Deo voci hominis*) who should be His friend and servant, and that He fought for Israel (Jos. x: 7, 14). During the period of Judges, from Aod down to Samuel, the frequent miraculous interpositions of Providence were designed to save the repentant Jews from their enemies, and to convince them that God alone was the author of their prosperity, and the false gods not only unable to save them, but the source of their calamities. The victory of Gedeon and his three hundred was given expressly to teach Israel that they were delivered from Madian by God, and not by their own strength (Judges vii: 2). All these were so many protests, if we may so call them, on the part of God against the tendency to defection on the part of His people, and signal encouragements to those who remained faithful to the Mosaic law. In the days of Saul, David, and Solomon, notwithstanding the evil example of the last towards the end of his life, public worship flourished and was in no danger from schism or idolatry. Hence, during this period, we find that the miracles publicly wrought were few in number, compared with those of Josue and Judges. But after the death of Solomon, when the

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kingdom was rent by the schism of Jeroboam, we find miracles multiplied both in Israel and in Juda, to rebuke the idolatry prevalent in the former, to sustain the constancy of those who even there were faithful among the faithless, and would not bow the knee to Baal, and to encourage the orthodox who dwelt under the rule of the descendants of David. This renewal of miracles began in the days of the chief seducer of the people, Jeroboam; it blazed forth with increased lustre in the glorious thaumaturgy of Elias and Eliseus; its flashes lit up the gloom of the Babylonic captivity; and even in the last epoch of Judaism shed a halo over those faithful patriots who fought and bled to save their country and religion from the idolatrous yoke of the Syrian.

II. Besides these miracles wrought for the defence and preservation of the Mosaic law, long after it had been established, we find recorded many others, the sole object of which seems to have been to enforce respect for sacred persons and things, and to punish the sin of sacrilege. Such were the cases of Mary, stricken with leprosy; of the seditious Core, Dathan, and Abiron, swallowed up alive by the abyss; of the two hundred and fifty laymen who presumed to handle the censer; of their fourteen thousand rebellious adherents slain by the pestilence; and of Achan stealing from the consecrated spoils of Jericho (Num. xii: 10; xvi: 33, 35, 49; Jos. vii: 11). To these we may add the casting down of Dagon by the Ark, the plagues brought by it upon Azotus, Gath, Accaron, and the Bethsamites; Oza slain by God for what might seem almost pardonable irreverence (I. Kings, v: 4, 6, 9; vi: 19; II. Kings, vi: 7). Two kings, Saul and Ozias, presume to invade the sanctuary and usurp the priestly functions; forthwith one, by divine sentence, forfeits his kingdom; the other becomes a leper till the day of his death (I. Kings, xiii: 14; II. Paralip., xxvi: 21). Passing over Antiochus and Heliodorus—models and precursors of the unholy kings and nobles of our epoch, in their crime and its chastisement—we have in the New Testament the unhappy fate which, by miracle, overtook two Christians, Ananias and Saphira—not to impress Gospel teaching on Jews or Gentiles, who may never have learned the facts—but evidently to teach Christians to respect St. Peter and abhor sacrilege (Acts v: 2–11). And all these miracles, as they were wrought, so too they have been put on record for a purpose. It is to warn and rebuke; and, if that be unavailing, to rise up in judgment and condemn those who, claiming to have no guide but the Bible, have come at last to believe that there is no such sin as sacrilege.

III. The miracles hitherto spoken of were public, and as such might have some indirect influence on the propagation and maintenance of an established religion. But many likewise are recorded,

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that took place in private, and were performed solely for the benefit of individuals. They were special tokens of affection, if we may so call them, on the part of God; meant only for His chosen servants and friends. They brought back in some measure the blissful days of Eden, when God walked in the garden and held friendly, familiar converse with our yet innocent first parents. Of this character were the frequent apparitions of the Lord to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were full of faith and needed no miracle to confirm it. Even if they did, one would have been sufficient. In one of these apparitions we behold Abraham, with the freedom of a privileged friend, beseeching and actually prevailing on God no less than six times in succession to change His counsel with regard to the doomed cities of the plain (Gen. xviii: 23–32). If we call it a miracle, when God alters or suspends the laws of nature, how much more applicable is the name, when the creature by a word moves the Creator to alter His fixed purpose and decree? And what was the object of these miracles? To give a proof of God's love for Abraham; and obviously at the same time to teach men, how powerful with God is the intercession of His saints. Let us recall here the case of Gedeon, who, after having been told by God that he was appointed to deliver Israel from Madian, asked in proof a miracle, and was convinced, as he himself confessed, when he saw the devouring flame evoked from the rock by the tip of the angel's rod. "Alas, my Lord God! I have seen the angel of the Lord face to face."[1] Yet, firmly believing as he did, he again demands a miracle, namely, that a fleece stretched upon the ground by night should receive the falling dew, while all around remained dry. His prayer is heard; for, rising early next morning he beholds the ground dry and the fleece alone saturated with dew. This ought to have satisfied even an unbeliever. But Gedeon—with what we should, humanly speaking, consider almost unpardonable importunity—is not satisfied, and seeks further proof. He demands that the miracle be repeated in a contrary sense; that the fleece remain dry, while the earth around it is bedewed with moisture. And the God of all mercy, instead of being wroth or reproaching him, works the miracle (Judges vi: 36–40). Here were two miracles quite useless, according to the non-Catholic theory, not wrought for the estab-

[1] It was believed by the Fathers, generally, down to St. Augustine, that the "angel" who appeared so often in the Old Testament, was no other than the Eternal Word, the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, under the form of an angel. Some have caught up eagerly this opinion, thinking thereby to damage our Scripture argument for the *cultus* due to angels. But all to no purpose. Even were Scripture silent, which it is not, tradition would suffice, as it has sufficed to establish the obligation of the Lord's Day. Unless the early Christians honored the angels, the Pagan Celsus would never have accused them of adopting angel-worship. He meant the supreme worship which is given to God, but his misrepresentation of the practice proves its existence.

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lishment of religion, but to gratify what seems at first sight idle curiosity or sinful importunity on the part of Gedeon. Had any such miracles been registered in the lives of our saints, what a welcome theme of jest and mockery to the anti-Catholic world! Why they were wrought in this special form, and what they were intended to teach, is well known to the Catholic Church, who alone has the key of lawful interpretation.[1] What shall we say of the miraculous stream that issued from the jaw-bone of an ass to refresh the valiant son of Manue, when wearied with thirst and fatigue after the slaughter of God's enemies (Judges xv : 19); or of David's choice of evils, offered him from heaven by the prophet Gad (III. Kings xxiv : 12); or of Solomon's gift of long life, riches, glory, and wisdom, because he had desired the last alone without any thought of the others (III. Kings iii : 11–13). What had these supernatural occurrences, which were unseen of men, to do with the establishment of religion? Again, amongst the miracles recorded of Elias and Eliseus, how many of them were performed without witnesses and solely for the benefit of individuals? Such were the wonders wrought on behalf of the Sareptan woman in a Pagan land by Elias, on behalf of the prophet's wife and the Sunamitess by Eliseus; to which may be added the daily provision of bread and flesh brought by ravens to the holy Thesbite in his hiding-place near the torrent of Carith (III. Kings xvii : 6, 16, 22; IV. Kings iv : 3, 7, 17, 35). Such, too, was the miracle wrought privately by Isaias in the bed-chamber of the sick Ezechias (IV. Kings xx : 5, 11). And the counterpart of all this may be found in the New Testament, where angels, unseen of men, either ministered to Christ in the desert with heavenly food after His long fast, or consoled Him in His agony in the garden (Matth. iv : 11; Luke xxii : 43). Never should we have known this, had He not been pleased to reveal it to His inspired historians for our edification and instruction. Many miracles, likewise, are related in the Old Testament, in which individuals were punished without any intervention of witnesses. Examples of this may be found in Baalam (Num. xxii : 28, 31), when his eyes were opened to see the angel threatening with his sword, or when he was rebuked in rational speech by the dumb beast on which he rode; in the wife of Jeroboam (III. Kings xiv : 6, 12) whose disguise could not hide her from the blind prophet Ahias, and who returned to her threshold bearing the message of death to her child, whom she had sought

[1] "Quando natus es ineffabiliter ex Maria Virgine, tunc impletæ sunt scripturæ: sicut pluvia in vellus descendisti ut salvum faceres genus humanum." "When Thou wast born of the Virgin Mary, after an ineffable manner, the scriptures were fulfilled. Like dew Thou didst descend upon the fleece to save the human race." Anthem at Vespers and Lauds of the Circumcision, 1st of January.

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to save by her secret visit to the man of God; in Giezi (IV. Kings v: 27) punished with leprosy for a sin known to none in Israel but himself and his master Eliseus.

It is evident, then, from Holy Scripture of the Old Testament that there are other purposes, besides the establishment of religion, for which God may work miracles. And if He did it under the Old, why should He not do it under the New Dispensation? Is the arm of the Lord shortened? Has He less at heart the maintenance of the revelation made through His only begotten Son, than the upholding of that, made through His servant and creature Moses? Is sacrilege less offensive to Him in the New Law than it was in the Old? Or are His chosen friends, who walk in the brightness of Christian faith, less dear to Him, less privileged to enjoy and dispense His bounty, than those who lived under the shadowy gloom of types and figures? There is, surely, nothing in the New Testament, nothing in the teaching of Christ or His Apostles, to warrant any such conclusion. On the contrary, our blessed Lord has positively declared, that any one not staggering in his heart but having the faith of God and believing that whatsoever He shall say shall be done, shall have his wish accomplished, were it even to raise mountains from their place and cast them into the sea. (Mark xi: 22, 23.) Again, He promises that every believer shall be enabled to do the same wonderful works that He has done, and even more wonderful (*majora horum faciet*) than those wrought by his own divine hand. (John xiv: 12.) There is here no limitation of time, place, person, or nature of the miracle.

"Christianity destroyed Paganism on the continent of Europe," says Mr. Buckley. But when? Not in the days of the Apostles nor of their immediate successors. He does not seem to be aware that a good portion of Pagan Europe was not comprised within the Roman Empire, and that even the Paganism within its limits was not destroyed immediately upon the appearance of Christianity. The Goths were converted only in the fourth century of our era; the Scotch, Irish, and Southern Picts, by their respective Apostles, Saints Palladius, Patrick, and Ninian, towards the middle; the Franks at the close of the fifth century. After the middle of the sixth century the Northern Picts received the faith at the hands of St. Columba; and, not long after, the Britons of Armorica were converted by St. Paul of Leon. In the seventh century the Angles and Saxons of England were brought to the knowledge of Christianity by Paulinus, Mellitus, and other envoys of Pope St. Gregory the Great or his successors; and, not long after, missionaries, English and Irish, were deputed for the conversion of Friesland and Franconia. The same century also witnessed the conversion of great part of Flanders by St. Eligius of Noyon, and of

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Bavaria (A.D. 699) by St. Robert of the royal house of France. In the next century the English Apostle and Martyr, St. Boniface, planted the faith in Hesse, Thuringia, and part of Saxony; St. Virgil, an Irish bishop, in Carinthia; St. Adelbert in Holland; and another Englishman, St. Willebald, had the happiness of seeing the Saxons, among whom he labored, all converted to Christianity before his death. In the ninth century Moravia and Bohemia, with the Sclavonians and Bulgarians, received the light of the gospel; while the first attempts were made to convert Denmark, Sweden, and Northern Germany. The next century added to the Church Prussia, Hungary, Poland, and Polish Russia; and the good work previously begun in Northern Germany, Gothland, and Sweden was successfully continued by the labors of St. Adalbert and the English Saint, Sigfrid. About the same time Russia was purged of its idolatry by the pious zeal of Queen Olga (or Helen). Its first faith was Catholic or Roman; and those writers, among whom are even Catholics, who imagine that it renounced Paganism only to take up the schismatical creed of Byzantium, are much mistaken, as has been proved by the learned Bollandists, Henschenius, Papebroke, and Stilting. In the eleventh century Norway became almost entirely Christian, owing to the English missionaries brought over by the holy King St. Olave; and the conversion of Sweden was completed by the preaching of Saints Ulfrid and Eskill. It was only in the twelfth century that Pomerania and Finland were rescued from the darkness of idolatry, the former by St. Otho, the latter by St. Henry, Archbishop of Upsal.

Thus, it appears, nearly twelve centuries, or more than half the Christian period, elapsed before Paganism was destroyed in Europe. Were those idolatrous nations converted by mere preaching, without miracles? Certainly not. If signs, as the Apostle says, are meant for unbelievers, Christianity could have been established among them in no other way. Why should they so readily believe a mere man, who came to teach them a new religion unknown to their fathers and hateful to human nature, and to overthrow the old one, which was intimately bound up with their education, traditions, political and domestic life? Were they to yield in his case, in a matter involving (as it often did) life or death, to a mere *αυτος εφα* which they would not submit to from the wisest of their own in the ordinary transactions of daily life? If miracles had been necessary for the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, why should the fiery Celt, the warlike Teuton, the fierce Hun and Sarmatian be denied that proof, which had been so freely accorded to the effeminate Greek and the degenerate offspring of Romulus? Were the pagan prejudices of the dwellers on the Rhine and Baltic less inveterate than those of the refined populations that

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clustered round the blue waters of the Mediterranean? The historians of these converted nations bear witness to the miracles wrought for their conversion; and we have no more right to withhold our assent from their testimony, than we could have to deny that Pepin ousted Childeric from the royal palace of France, or that the brutal William of Normandy conquered the Anglo-Saxons on the battle-field of Hastings.

But, besides the necessity of miracles to convince pagans amongst whom Christianity is preached, the other reasons, for which God worked miracles in the Old and New Law, still subsist and put it out of a rational man's power to deny that miracles may continue down to the end of time. We have enumerated those reasons above, not imagining nor inventing them, but giving the authority of Holy Scripture, in which they are either expressly stated or clearly implied. Man changes, but God does not change. He is, as His Apostle tells us (Hebr. xiii: 8), "yesterday and to-day, and the same forever." *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*, says holy David (Ps. lxvii: 36). Why should He not be wonderful in His saints now, as He was of old? Why should He not condescend even now, as He did in the case of His servant Josue (Jos. x: 14) to obey the voice of man, who makes himself worthy of His love, and enter the lists with His omnipotence to do battle for His Israel of the New Law? Is not reverence for holy persons, places, and things as essential now, as it was under the shadowy ritual of Moses? Or has sacrilege, which was such an awful crime in the Old Law, dwindled down to a venial trifle, needing no chastisement, in the New Dispensation?[1]

Rev. Mr. Buckley claims (p. 14) that he has "proved to a demonstration" that miracles no longer exist. It is worth while to examine this "demonstration." In the first place he tries (what he himself admits to be no easy matter) to "prove the negative" by an illustration.

"There are many caves and chasms in the mountain regions of our country not yet explored. Yet any one is authorized to affirm, that there is not in the United States a single living mastodon and that the species is extinct. So, though we cannot explore every cave and crevice of history, we can furnish conclusive and irresistible proof that miracles have ceased" (p. 8).

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[1] See the Protestant writer, Sir Henry Spelman, in his History and Fate of Sacrilege, a work written and published nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, and since reprinted (a fac-simile copy of the original edition) by two Protestant clergymen (London, 1846). The domestic annals of fully one-half the noble families of Great Britain painfully attest God's vengeance on the crime of sacrilege. Even in our country we have had examples of the chastisement dealt by God's hand to those who made light of His warning words "Nolite tangere Christos meos."

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This is simply no illustration at all, for it does not touch the point in question. It is well understood that the fossils of one period do not reappear in another; and all naturalists agree that the *mastodon* species is extinct. But all Christians do not agree that miracles have ceased. The far greater portion of the Christian world in our own day thinks differently; and so thought the whole Christian world for fifteen consecutive centuries. Miracles have been recorded by Christian historians and universally believed. If doubts have ever arisen, it was the character of the witness, not the possibility of the fact, that was called in question. We will try to give an illustration far more to the point than Mr. Buckley's. The Dodo (or Dronte), a gigantic bird of the genus *Didus* and of our own period, was found on the Island of Mauritius by the Portuguese at the close of the sixteenth century. It was seen repeatedly afterwards by Dutch and other travellers or colonists, down to a late period in the seventeenth century (1678, or some say in 1697). Naturalists have now come to the conclusion that the species has become extinct; and skeletons of the bird, whole or partial, are jealously preserved in the museums of London, Paris, and Glasgow. Now suppose a party of travellers, men of integrity and versed in natural science, were to visit the unexplored wilds of Madagascar or Australia, and there come across a live specimen of the Dodo, would not the naturalists of Europe unhesitatingly reverse their decision? Would they shake their heads dogmatically and say, "No specimen of an extinct species can possibly be found." No. They would admit the facts unreservedly, after satisfying themselves that the travellers were men of character and competent to judge. And so it is with miracles. These are not fossils of the ante-Christian period; and when their existence is alleged, they must be met, not with *a priori* theories, but with an inquiry into the character of the witnesses.

Mr. Buckley's second proof is this: "In the great Lutheran Reformation and the contemporaneous movement in Switzerland, believed by Protestants to be a mighty struggle with Antichrist, none of the Reformers had the miracle-working power. Neither Luther nor Melancthon, Calvin nor Farel, Zwinglius nor Manuel, claimed to work miracles." To the other Apostles, who preached a new creed but wrought no miracles, he adds John Knox and John Wesley. Why did he not add those other immaculate Reformers of religion, Cranmer, Henry VIII., and his spotless daughter Elizabeth? If Methodism is a mere offshoot of the Anglican Church, or, as John Wesley maintained for more than fifty years, nothing but Anglicanism pure and renovated, why not throw in the founders of the English Church by the side of those of Germany and Switzerland?

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Mr. Buckley's course of argument discloses the great secret of hostility to Catholic miracles. He seems to say, "You Catholics boast of your miracles; we, it is true, can show nothing of the kind. We claimed a divine commission to reform your Church, but when you asked us to prove our mission by miracles we had none to offer. But we have a safe refuge in the principle that miracles have ceased under the New Law. This renders our miracles unnecessary, and disproves yours." Does not this recall the fable of the fox, who wished to argue the rest of the tribe into sharing his loss? We may grant that the Reformers worked no miracles; but we cannot consent to be argued out of our own. Miracles were neither needed nor possible in the case of the Reformers. The change of religion was everywhere forced upon reluctant populations by covetous nobles and arbitrary princes by fire and sword, by crime; and in England, as Mr. Hallam admits, not without shame, by the aid of foreign mercenaries. Luther, of whose magnanimity we hear so much, shifted and shuffled, until he was sure of the material aid of Hutten, Franz Von Sickingen, Schauenberg, and other Franconian nobles. Zwingli attempted to coerce his Catholic fellow-citizens into the new religion by famine and bloodshed. Calvin had his theocracy, penal laws, prison, and the sword; and were he alive now and in power would burn Methodists as backsliders from Calvinism.[1] Would any man in his sober senses imagine that God gave miraculous power to those wicked men who, to say nothing of their opinions, relied solely on the arm of flesh?

But Rev. Mr. Buckley is mistaken in saying that the Reformers claimed no wonder-working power. They did not accord it to each other,[2] but some of them claimed it for themselves. Amongst others, Luther, says Sir William Hamilton (*Discussions on Philos.*

[1] John Wesley, amongst his other changes of creed, in 1770 renounced Calvinism and Antinomianism, to which his sect, as he said, "had leaned too much," and thereby incurred the wrath of the old-fashioned, rigid Methodists, the Jumpers, Whitefieldites, and the Lady Huntingdon tribe, whose chaplain (Hon. and Rev. Mr. Shirley) wrote that Mr. Wesley's change, or as he called it, "dreadful heresy," had ruined "the very foundations of Christianity."

[2] It is certain that no Reformer suspected another of being likely to work miracles. Zwingli believed Luther to be possessed by a legion of devils. Luther considered Zwingli and his Zurichers as not only liars but falsehood itself. (Letter to Probst, June 1st, 1530, in De Wette, III., 26.) He looked on them as already damned, as given over to the devil (verteufelt, durchteufelt, uberteufelt, etc., on the first page of the Kurzes Bekenntniss of 1544). He used to call Bucer "a lying varlet." At Marburg he angrily addressed him in public as "Du Schalck und Bube!" And Sir William Hamilton says of Bucer, "Cat by name and cat by nature," he "consistently displayed himself guilty of mendacity in every possible degree." John Knox has been well styled by Dr. Johnson the "ruffian of the Reformation;" and even John Wesley cannot allude without horror to his "reforming mobs." (Wesley's Works, New York, 1850, vol. iv., p. 328.) Yet the same Wesley was the leading spirit of the riotous mobs of Lord George Gordon in 1780.

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Literat., etc., Second Lond. ed., p. 505), had "an assurance of his personal inspiration, of which he was no less confident than of *his ability to perform miracles.*" He boasted of having raised three persons from the jaws of death, one of whom was his Catharine Bore, another was the humbled and repentant Melancthon at Weimar. He tells also of a gracious rain produced by his prayers, and gives day and date, June 4th, 1532 (Tischreden, Frankfort, 1567, f. 191). Luther believed that nothing could be refused to his earnest prayer; and that were he to ask seriously for the destruction of the world, nothing more would be required to precipitate the advent of the last day (Sir William Hamilton, ibid.). John Wesley, who denied that he had miraculous gifts, is not always consistent with himself. He speaks more than once of miracles, obsessions, diseases cured by his prayers, supernatural facts, which could not be naturally accounted for. These are scattered *passim* through his Journal. Take the case of John Haddon and his own (Works, V., 469). He admits the old Christian theory of miracles, and denies that "God has precluded Himself from working miracles in any kind or degree, in any age down to the end of the world. I do not recollect any Scripture wherein we are taught that miracles were to be confined within the limits of either the Apostolic or the Cyprianic age, or of any period of time, longer or shorter, down to the restitution of all things" (ibid., p. 328). He recognized the undoubted truth of the miracles wrought at the shrine of the Jansenist Paris, and said that one might as well attempt to deny the existence of the city of Paris (Works, III., 473). So that Mr. Buckley does not present quite fairly the religious opinions of his founder.

Mr. Buckley alleges, as further proof (p. 12), the fact that miracles are not wrought (1) by Protestant missionaries; nor (2) by "the best men in all branches of the Church Protestant; those most conspicuous by their humble piety and self-denying labors; those most blessed of God in genuine revivals;" those men and women in different branches of Protestantism "who profess to be entirely consecrated to God, wholly sanctified, body, soul, and spirit." The man who alleges proof of this kind must either be very innocent himself, or presume too much on the simplicity of his readers. It is not necessary to read Herman Melville, Ida Pfeiffer, Commodore Wilkes, or Dr. Marshall's "Protestant Missions" to discover why Protestant missionaries work no miracles. Without recalling the memory of such unprincipled traders as the Gutzlaffs of China, or the Pritchards of Oceanica, we need only point to Rev. Mr. Smith and his brethren of our own Indian Agency. Is it from men of this stamp that miracles are expected? In the next place, if the "best men of the Church Protestant," in other words Protestant

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saints, do not work miracles, does it logically follow that Catholic saints do not or cannot work them? Some might reason differently, and argue from the want of miracles to a want of sanctity. And surely, according to the Gospel, as well as Catholic teaching, men and women "who *profess* to be wholly sanctified, body, soul, and spirit," are not saints but Pharisees. The ante-Nicene Fathers, who testify to miracles, are dismissed by Mr. Buckley as worthless witnesses. He quotes, to their disparagement, passages from John Milton and John Wesley. Let Milton pass. He was a Socinian and (as Sir William Hamilton says), a polygamist in theory; no wonder that he "despised" the Fathers. But as to John Wesley, Mr. Buckley tramples on candor and honesty. In the very passage of Wesley referred to, after saying that he loves the Fathers in spite of some of their faults (and this is the passage Mr. Buckley triumphantly quotes), he goes on to say that one reason why he reveres them is because they were true Christians, and because they bore witness to the numerous miracles performed in their day. And this passage Mr. Buckley has suppressed. Here it is:

"I reverence them because they were Christians. . . . I reverence their writings, because they describe true genuine Christianity, and direct us to the strongest evidence of the Christian doctrine. Indeed, in addressing the heathens of those times, they intermix other arguments; particularly, that *drawn from the numerous miracles which were then performed in the Church, which they needed only to open their eyes and see daily wrought in the face of the sun.*"—(Works, vol. x., p. 76, Lond. ed., 1856; New York ed., vol. v., last page of Letter to Middleton.)

It would lead us too far to enter here into any detailed examination of the many illustrious miracles, related in the different ages of the Church, or even of a few of them. This has often been done by competent critics. Let the candid inquirer after truth investigate closely even one of these, weigh calmly the evidence in its favor, and, if it be proved, let him accept it, as he would any other fact of history. We ask him merely to do what we do ourselves, and admit no miracle for which the evidence is not satisfactory. But neither common sense, nor the Just Judge, will hold him guiltless who refuses to investigate on general grounds, such as the alleged cessation of miracles, the corruptions of the Church, etc. It was absurd, impious generalities of this kind (Matth. xii: 24; John ix: 16) that moved the Jews to reject the miracles of our Lord, and thereby fall into the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.

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GENERAL BANKS AS A HISTORIAN.

The Republic; will it endure? A Lecture delivered in Chicago and at other places, 1875 and 1876. By General N. P. Banks.

IF General Banks were merely a private citizen, appearing as such upon the lyceum platform, his utterances, however at variance with historical accuracy or violative of good taste, might be passed over in silence. But he is a gentleman whom many of his countrymen highly esteem for services in both the forum and the field. He has been honored for more than a quarter of a century with public station; and, as a representative in Congress from the historic State of Massachusetts, his public assertions necessarily carry weight for good or evil, and are entitled to candid, courteous, and impartial consideration. The fact that he has so frequently enjoyed public trust, is sufficient evidence of the readiness with which the mass of the people would heed what he might choose to say upon any theme which related to their interests. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in 1851. In the year following he entered the Congress of the United States, and became Speaker of the House in 1856, having served his constituency for five years with energy and distinction. Having been chosen Governor of Massachusetts in 1857, he secured the honor of two re-elections. At the outbreak of the late civil strife, President Lincoln sent him a commission as Major-General of Volunteers, and from that time, until he was relieved from command after the evacuation of Alexandria by the Federal forces in 1864, he participated in the struggle with sturdy zeal and varying success, proving himself a confident rather than a bold or a capable commander. He entered Congress again in the same year, continued a member of the House of Representatives for two succeeding terms, and occupied the important and responsible position of Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Fortieth Congress. Although his political prestige has been reduced by his military record, and, in the light of the calmer judgment of peaceful times, he is considered a man of only mediocre abilities, yet his popularity as a campaign speaker contributed largely to his latest candidacy, and he is again a member of the House of Representatives.

In the biographical dictionaries, General Banks is classified as a "statesman." There be, indeed, in these latter days, statesmen and statesmen; but whatever qualifications are required for rank in this very high category, whether the individual so ranked be prudent, learned, patriotic, far-seeing, and scrupulous; or, whether he be

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only a politician, owing his notoriety or success to accident and a certain small cleverness, it will certainly be admitted that he should be held to a fair and reasonable account for his public declarations.

During the winter of 1875–6, General Banks delivered upon the lecture platform a discourse entitled "The Republic; will it endure?" He thought it just and becoming to include therein a very curious, and, as it will be made to appear, a wholly unaccountable attack upon the Catholic Church.

The specific portion of General Banks's lecture which we propose to consider is included in his allegations concerning democracy, divine right, and hereditary sovereignty. General Banks, discussing these topics, said, in substance, as reported:[1]

1. That the elective principle existed in all ages of the world, and that democratic government had its inception from the very creation.

2. That the idea of the rule of kings by divine right and hereditary sovereignty was invented by a Pope for selfish political purposes, and first applied in the case of Pepin.[2]

Is it reasonable to doubt that General Banks has read the Old Testament? How, then, shall we account for his assertion that "democratic government had its inception from the very creation?" It existed in the mind of God; but General Banks's assertion has to do with political organization only. How shall we justify him in declaring that the divine right of kings was an invention of a Pope? How shall we account for his extraordinary discovery that the principle of hereditary sovereignty was unknown until the head of the Christian Church formulated it for selfish purposes in the coronation of Pepin in the eighth century?

The first political principle in the Old Testament is rule by divine right, and the second is hereditary sovereignty.

As early as chapter xiii. of Genesis we find divine right and hereditary sovereignty proclaimed by God himself to Abraham. Abraham is commanded to leave his own country and kindred, and depart into a land which God should show to him, and when he reached Canaan, "the Lord appeared unto Abraham and said, 'Unto thy seed will I give this land.'" In chapter xiii. we read again, "And the Lord said unto Abraham," after Lot was separated from him, "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever."

Will General Banks inform us what meaning he places upon these

[1] Chicago Tribune, November 16, 1875.

[2] This portion of the discourse was not reported *verbatim*, and is taken from the concurrent memory and understanding of auditors, of whom the writer was one.

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words of the Lord to Abraham, if their meaning be not rule by divine right and hereditary sovereignty?

God repeats his promise in chapter xvii: 8, and in the same chapter we find an explicit declaration of a like character concerning Ishmael (v. 20): "And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation."

Can General Banks discover any import in this except monarchy by divine right and hereditary royalty?

The Lord confers upon Jacob the divine right through the mouth of Isaac, whose heir he is: "Let the people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down before thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee."

Could there be a more lucid and positive affirmation than this of rule by divine right, and of the fact, as well as the principle of hereditary sovereignty?

Nor was the rule thus established by God Himself, "from the very creation," a democratic one. God appeared unto Jacob (Gen. xxxv.) and "said unto him: I am God Almighty—be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins. And the land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land." Jacob understood this assurance in its simple and obvious purpose, and, on his death-bed, he names his heir, proclaims him to the brethren, and prophesies that the sceptre shall not pass away from him. The land of inheritance is formulated by God in Numbers xxvii., and again in xxxiv. Here the Lord directs Moses, saying: "These are the names of the men who shall divide the land unto you—Eleazer, the priest, and Joshua, the son of Nun. And ye shall take one prince of every tribe, to divide the land by inheritance." The Israelites understood the law of hereditary sovereignty as being divinely ordained for their government; they say unto Gideon (Judges viii.): "Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son, and thy son's son also." General Banks will search the history of the Jews in vain for any trace of democratic government, as he intended the term to be understood, or for any application of the elective principle, either in the heads of tribes, "the princes of the people," in the national leaders, or in the selection of kings. Divine right and hereditary sovereignty mark every page of the history of the people of God. He chose the founders of the tribes; He authorized the great dictators of the Jewish nation to name their own successors if He failed to nominate them; and although the kingship was not assigned as the property of any branch in any

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tribe, the king was invariably named by God, anointed by some one appointed by Him for that purpose, and the throne passed from son to son so long as the natural heirs were worthy to wear the crown. Thus Moses selected Joshua, and the Lord approved of the action, and gave His commands unto him. On the death of Joshua, the people did not assemble *en masse*, or by representatives, and elect his successor; they knew that they were to be governed by divine right, and "they asked the Lord, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites?" (Judges i: 1), "and the Lord said, Judah shall go up." When the people desired a king they did not propose to elect one, as they would naturally have done, had they been accustomed to the democratic idea, as General Banks would have us believe. God acceded to their desire, and said, "Thou shalt set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose" (Deut. xvii.). It is true that Abimelech was not chosen by God, but neither was he by the people. He reached the throne of the Shechemites by a bloody usurpation and revolution, having murdered his brethren. But the sole claim which he made was that of hereditary sovereignty: "My father fought for you, and adventured his life for, and delivered you out of the land of Midian." Because he was a revolutionist and a usurper, "God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem," and in the conflict which followed, he lost his life. We see the principles of hereditary sovereignty and divine right even among the prophets; for, when Samuel became old, he appointed his two sons to govern Israel in his name; and when the people became dissatisfied with their administration, they did not organize a convention or foment a conspiracy, but prayed Samuel, as the chosen representative of God, to give them a king. (1. Samuel, viii.) According to divine direction, the aged prophet described the monarch whom the Lord would appoint, and made known to the Jews the despotic qualities which would characterize royal supremacy; but they persisted in their prayer, and Samuel, under the inspiration of God, anointed Saul and proclaimed him king. The people had no voice in the selection; Saul had no title whatever to the throne, except that of authorized selection by God, and his rule was, therefore, exclusively by divine right. Indeed, the people were greatly astonished at the choice, and cried out, in their amazement: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" Samuel answered: "Behold, the Lord hath set a king over you!" (1. Samuel, xii.) The royal authority was also intended to be hereditary in Saul's line, and would have so remained had not that monarch offended God by assuming sacerdotal functions. For this offence he was pronounced "unworthy to be the founder of a race of kings;" and Samuel, commanded by God, anointed David as his successor. So accustomed were the Jews to the idea of heirship, that, on the death of Saul, the North-

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ern tribes supported the claims of his son Ishbosheth, and David's title was recognized only by the tribe of Judah. A long war ensued, terminating in the murder of the Pretender by his own guards, and the universal recognition of the divine right of David and his heirs to be kings of Israel. David was succeeded by his son Solomon; Solomon was succeeded by his son Rehoboam. The ten Northern tribes revolted, according to divine orders, and accepted as their king Jeroboam, whom the Lord had chosen by the mouth of the Prophet Abijah; but it was a part of the Divine purpose to keep the crown in the line of David, and after many cruel experiences, through all of which we find the principle of hereditary sovereignty scrupulously observed, the revolting tribes were carried off into captivity. Rehoboam continued to rule over Judah, and was succeeded by his son, and the crown descended in legitimate succession in the house of David for five hundred years, and expired only with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity into Babylon. At no period in the history of the Jewish nation, whether the head of the state were a tribal chief, a priest, a prophet, or a king, do we find any trace of democracy. Their political institutions inclosed two principles,—divine right and hereditary sovereignty; the two principles which General Banks declares to have been invented by a Pope in the eighth century of the Christian era, or nearly three thousand years after they were in indisputable force among the chosen people of God.

General Banks will be equally unsuccessful in maintaining the existence of the democratic idea among the nations with whom the Jews had social or commercial relations. There "were kings that reigned in the land of Edom" before any king reigned over the children of Israel. (1. Chronicles i.) Kings governed Egypt when Abraham visited that country, and more than a century before Lower Egypt had been subdued by a roving people from the Mediterranean, who were also governed by kings. Indeed, we read of kings on almost every page of history contemporaneous with the Jewish, and the number of monarchs must have been exceedingly great in proportion to their domain. In one of the early chapters of Genesis we read of the battle of the four kings against the five. It was under one of the Pharaohs that Joseph acted as regent, and the immediate descendants of Noah were formed into a monarchy in which the Assyrian Empire was founded. When Joshua reduced the city of Ai he hung the king thereof (Joshua viii.); and afterwards contended against "kings which were on this side Jordan, in the hills, and in the valleys, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite" (Joshua ix.), who formed an offensive league against him. He rescued Gideon from an assault by five

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other kings, whom he slew. There were kings of Hazor, of Madon, of Shimron, of Achsaph; there were kings "on the north of the mountains," and kings "on the plains south of Cinneroth," and kings "in the valley," and kings "in the borders of Dan in the west." Joshua slew them all, destroyed their armed followers, and took all the land; and went on his victorious way only to find and destroy still more kings. He smote thirty and one kings "on the other side Jordan toward the rising sun," and when Joshua had become old and stricken in years, he divided his dominions among the natural heirs (Joshua xxv.).

General Banks need not fear the accuracy of our citations. So exact a historian as he would be liable to discard any version of the Scriptures except that which he had been pleased to adopt as his own. We have scrupulously, therefore, made every reference to the King James Bible, out of compliment to the correctness of General Banks as a chronicler of fact, to his impartiality as a commentator, and his fairness and courtesy as a public speaker.

General Banks may insist, however, that the Jews, being under the direct government of God, are not to be offered as witnesses against his proposition that the elective principle had been sanctioned in all ages, and that democracy "had its inception from the very creation." He may direct us to other nations than the Jews for proof of his assertion; and, to accommodate him, we will waive, in starting on the quest, that portion of his bewildering remarks in which he positively declares that the "elective principle had received the *Divine* and human sanction." The hero of so many brilliant and successful retreats will find no difficulty in admitting that he must give up this point also; for the Divine sanction, it will not be pretended, was ever given to any ancient polity, except to that of the Jews.

We shall seek with General Banks the evidence of his theory among nations who did not enjoy the immediate control of Providence. Shall we turn to Assyria? It is the oldest state of which either legend or archæologist affords us curious and reliable information. The Babylonians have a cosmogony of their own, corroborating, in many respects, the Mosaic account of the creation; and the first political feature discernible is a dynasty of native kings who reigned 34,080 years. This, of course, is fabulous; but not even in prehistoric fables can we detect a suggestion of General Banks's elective principle which had its inception "from the very creation!" Niebuhr[1] says, "This is evidently a fable; for while the kings at first reign upwards of two thousand years, the reigns of the subsequent ones become

[1] Lectures on Ancient History. By B. G. Niebuhr. In 3 vols. London. Vol. 1, p. 18.

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shorter and shorter, until, in the end, they have the duration of an ordinary human life. This dynasty, therefore, being quite fabulous, must be put aside; we must look upon it as analogous to the empire of Nimrod in Genesis. But it may be asserted that where it ends, at least two thousand years before Alexander, the real history of Babylonia commences." But the first fact of the authentic history is the existence of kings. Berosus, a Babylonian priest who lived sixty-two years after the taking of Babylon by Alexander, wrote a treatise on the antiquities of his nation, based, as he claims, upon ancient documents; and he found no trace of an elective principle or of a democracy; for, according to his sources of information, Babylon was ruled by a king, Zoroaster, immediately after the deluge, and the crown was hereditary. Niebuhr does not wholly decline the authority of Berosus; he virtually admits that the dynasty of Zoroaster included eight kings; that it was succeeded by another dynasty including eleven kings, and this in turn by another and another, the duration of each being determined by extinction, revolutions, or invasion. The authentic history of Babylon and Assyria contains no form of government except the monarchial, and the sceptre was always hereditary, no matter how won, or by whom won.[1] It is true that the Medes threw off the rule of the Assyrians, and, for a period, lived without kings. But it is equally true, on the authority of Herodotus, that this period was one of anarchy, each tribe of the Median people governing itself as best it could, under a tribal head, until a chief arose strong enough to reunite the scattered factions.[2] It appears to be equally true in all ancient history, that, when kings did not rule, anarchy did. No democracy arose in the early years of the world upon the ruins of an empire; the elective principle never tossed a crown off a despot's head, nor set up a senate to express the popular will.

Unhappily, too, for General Banks, the Assyrian rule, in addition to being hereditary, was exercised by divine right; for the Assyrians had their Divinity, such as it was, and rendered unto it abject and awful homage. Assur, the god of gods, was also king and father of kings; the ruling monarch reigned under divine protection, and offences against the throne were, therefore, offences against the deity. The king was high priest of Assur, and his commands, whether in religion or politics, were absolute.

New light has recently been thrown upon ancient history in the East, by the deciphering of monumental inscriptions, as well as by the large increase in the number of well-preserved antiques, whose

[1] Analogous cases are often met with in the East, as that of the Seleucid Demetrius, under whose name money continued to be coined after his death, it being intended to preserve his kingdom for his son. (Niebuhr, vol. 1, p. 30, note 2.)

[2] Niebuhr, vol. 1, p. 36, note 6.

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recovery supplies omissions and corrects misapprehensions concerning events which shaped the destinies not only of the Eastern nations, but of the world; but this new hieroglyphic and monumental testimony is all damaging to the roseate theory of General Banks. It supplies historians with a complete list of Assyrian kings, whose hereditary sovereignty was disturbed only by conquest or revolution from 1850 B. C. downward.[1] It demonstrates also that monarchy was the universal régime among contemporaneous nations; and that every tribe numerous enough to fight and strong enough to rob, and nearly every city capable of defence, was ruled by a chief whose power was absolute, and whose office was hereditary. Some of the finest of the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum were found in the palace and temples which a victorious Assyrian conqueror erected about 860 B.C., the one to perpetuate his own glory, the others to honor the gods who had protected his royal person. Shalmanezer, son and successor of this monarch, won some of his greatest triumphs east of the Euphrates, and he invariably won them from kings. Macaulay says that "historians rarely descend to those details from which alone the real state of a community can be collected. Hence posterity is too often deceived by the vague hyperboles of poets and rhetoricians who mistake the splendor of a court for the happiness of a people." But all the trustworthy evidence which has come down to us of the Eastern nations relates almost exclusively to courts, kings, and wars; the people existed as subjects, soldiers, or slaves. The kings constantly crowd the foreground, the people, like the Greek chorus, appear to perform whatever part the exigencies of the royal military hero or the wishes of the despicable tyrant require. "History," as left upon the monuments, "is neither more nor less than biography on a large scale," as Lamartine said, but it is always the biography of despots, not of democrats. Rawlinson[2] thus epitomizes the political institutions of all the early Asiatic nations: "The form of government is, in every case, a monarchy; the monarchy is always hereditary; and the hereditary monarch is a despot." Unlike General Banks, this patient and unerudite historian was unable to discover either democracy or the elective principle, in any land, among any nation; "despotism," he says, "is the simplest, coarsest, rudest, of all forms of civil government. It was thus naturally the first which men, pressed by their need, extemporized." In Egypt, whose dynasties are traced back 3000

[1] Ancient History, from the Monuments. Assyria. By George Smith, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum.

[2] Ancient History, from the earliest times to the Fall of the Roman Empire. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford.

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B. C., the joint ideas of divine right and hereditary sovereignty were so intimately allied that the first dynasty of kings coalesced with the last dynasty of gods.[1] The sun was the great God; "the king was a kind of sun on earth, and was believed to be descended from the gods." The government of Egypt "began with the native gods; they were succeeded by a dynasty of demigods, and these again by one of deceased kings, who likewise were not human beings."[2] So devoid were the Egyptians of the perception of an elective principle having the Divine and human sanction from the very creation, that, to complete the record of their royal houses, "they had recourse to the fabrication of a series of dynasties,"[3] uniting men with gods, the rule being always by divine right and the sovereignty hereditary. Does General Banks presume that the obelisks and pyramids support his proposition? The obelisks belong to the eighteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, and the pyramids to the dynasty of Memphis, more than 2000 years before Christ. There was no democratic rule in Egypt prior to the building of these wonderful works; and the history of the country is too well authenticated from those times downward to admit of any debate regarding an elective principle. The political history of Egypt is repeated throughout Africa; kings ruled by what their base cultus reckoned a divine right, and dynasties were changed only by revolutions.

Shall we look into Persia? We shall find no elective principle there. The earliest form of government was tribal, which crystallized, by natural process, into a monarchy,[4] and the tribal chieftainship, like the later crown, was despotic and hereditary. The relation between the gods of Persia and the king was extremely intimate, and the occupant of the throne was deemed the highest and most sacred representative of the deity. The Persians were religious fanatics in politics and in war, and, wherever they carried their victorious arms, they burnt and destroyed the temples of their nature-worshipping enemies.[5] Throughout Asia, wherever the domination of the Persian throne in the time of Cyrus was not acknowledged, there were no political institutions of any fixed form. Nomadic bands wandered hither and thither, to-day conquering, to-morrow conquered. Dynasties kept the Persian throne with a relatively secure tenure, and they were sometimes changed by such military tactics as resulted in the elevation of Darius. The

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[1] Ancient History, from the Monuments. Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300. By S. Birch, LL.D.

[2] Niebuhr.

[3] Niebuhr.

[4] Persia, from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest. By W. S. W. Vaux, A.M., F.R.S.

[5] Ibid.

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chief general of the army murdered the king, and his son, according to the established rule, mounted the throne. The murderer, finding the young monarch too self-asserting, put him and all his children to the sword, and awarded the sceptre to his personal friend Darius. Although Alexander overthrew the Persian empire when he defeated Darius at Arbela, even that conqueror respected the principle of hereditary sovereignty, by which he held his own throne, and the native line of Persian rulers continued to exercise a nominal dominion over the province of Persis, as dependents on the Greek empire. The oldest monumental inscriptions at Persepolis are over the figure of a king; and another inscription, also referring to the king, indicates the personal protection which his majesty was believed to receive from the gods.

Nowhere, of late years, has the antiquarian and archæologist been more successful than in India, whose traditions, scriptures, and legends have been made familiar to modern ears and eyes through many trustworthy media; and we are now in possession of "the very words of the men who wandered by the banks of Indus three thousand years ago; and possessing those words we are truly nearer to them as intelligent beings than we can even hope to be to Egyptian or Ninevite.[1] The Rig-Veda hymns date back twelve centuries before the Christian era, and these, unhappily for General Banks, give no hint of an elective principle, but describe and glorify kings. One of the ancient lays declares that "the king, before whom there walks a priest, lives well-established in his own house; to him the earth yields forever, and before him the people bow of their own accord. Unopposed he conquers treasures. The gods protect him." The divine rewards were plentifully lavished on the king, who gave his Brahmin priests thousands of girls and tens of thousands of elephants. Kings were more or less identified with the gods, and the royal authority was a rigid application of rule by divine right. The "Ramayana," the Odyssey of India, is the story of a hero, now worshipped in India as a god, who was the son of a king; and the native Homer, knowing nothing of General Banks's theory of a democracy sanctioned by God and man from the very creation, and being familiar with only a single political form, to wit, the monarchial, represents even the monkeys as governed by a king, with whom Rama enters into a compact for the invasion of Ceylon.

Rule by divine right was quite as clearly established as hereditary sovereignty among all the nations that achieved renown prior to the development of political power in Greece. Philology alone

[1] Ancient and Mediæval India. By Frances Power Cobbe, Frazer's Magazine, 1870. A review of Mrs. Manning's work on the same subject. 2 vols. London.

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advances convincing proof of this, and General Banks will not except to the dictum of Prof. Max Müller, although we fear that his reluctance to do so cannot be based upon an acquaintance with the writings of that pertinacious scholar. Müller says: "If I ventured to characterize the worship of all the Semitic nations by one word, I should say it was pre-eminently a worship of *God in history*, of God as affecting the destinies of individuals and races and nations, rather than of God as wielding the powers of nature." In other words, the Semitic nations saw God in their governments, which regulated their destinies; and to this stupid superstition despots were often indebted, as much as to their guards and armies, for the prolongation of their intolerable and hideous conduct. Of the people who lived in Italy a thousand years before Charlemagne, Müller says: "We could easily prove by their language that they had kings;" the name for king is the same in Sanskrit, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic; and "we know again that kingly government was established and recognized by the Aryans at the same prehistoric period."

In many of the oldest tongues the same word means king and God!

General Banks may not care to dispute that in China the earliest and the unbroken form of government is hereditary monarchy by divine right; he may not, however, be equally amiable in surrendering prehistoric England. It becomes necessary to assure him that the architecture and sculpture of that country prove that kings were the original rulers, and that the *cromlechs*, of whose history and character so much was written a few years ago, are royal tombs, whose occupants governed the island in advance of Roman invasion or contemporaneous knowledge, the date of the commencement of whose reigns is entirely unknown.[1]

We have said nothing of Greece,—Greece of the poets and the mythologists, or Greece of history. We might be excused for omitting it from the discussion altogether, because General Banks was ingenuous enough to admit that the Greek republics, on account of the prevalence and legality of slavery, were republics only in name; and he did not urge them in proof of his assertion that the democratic principle had existed "from the very creation." We do not propose, however, to take advantage of General Banks in any respect; we decline to accept the concession which might thus be claimed with entire propriety, and our omission of Greece up to this point

[1] The Druidical Temples at Asbury. By the Rev. John Lockhart Ross. It is strange that General Banks and Rev. Mr. Ross should not be better acquainted; they have a bond of friendship in their common anti-Catholic prejudices. The fault, we fear, lies with General Banks; for, on second thought, we remember that he is on no more familiar terms with other historians.

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in the discussion, has been with the specific design of putting not only Greece of the legends, Greece of the kings, Greece of the aristocrats and the oligarchies, but even the Greek republics in evidence against General Banks's proposition concerning Divine right and hereditary sovereignty.

The first objective characteristic of Greek mythology is the existence of kings; the second is their Divine right; and the third is hereditary sovereignty.

In the authentic history of Greece, popularly so-called, the first fact discovered is the existence of kings; the second is hereditary sovereignty; and the association of royal prerogatives with the attributes, functions, and protection of the gods, was so universal and complete, that it was equivalent to rule by Divine right.

The Greek republics were such, it is true, only in name; but in whatever quality and quantity of democracy we are to accredit to them, we shall discover not only the absence of the pure democratic principles—as General Banks and we alike understand it—but we shall establish the existence of the principle of hereditary sovereignty; and the records of the republics themselves shall prove that kingly government by descent was the only ancient polity with which the Greeks were acquainted.

General Banks argued that the existence of slavery in these republics practically nullified their claim to respect as popular democracies. He would not hesitate to admit, we presume, that slavery and pure democracy are inconsistent in principle, and incompatible in fact. For this we thank him; and it will be extremely interesting, a few moments later, to carry the admission to its logical end, waiving, in advance, any right to his thanks in return, being fully convinced that we shall receive none.

Taking, in a collective sum, the fables, legends, mythology, and poetry of that nation, we have prehistoric Greece; and the literature, thus classified, bears us back to the farthest limits of Hellenic guess, tradition, or knowledge. Whatever form of human government the Greeks conceived to be the oldest, we shall find within this literature; mythology and the poets lead us unerringly, if the historians cannot, to what Greece supposed to be "the very creation." What form of government is thus revealed? The democratic? Never. Can we find here any trace, even a faint one, of General Banks's elective principle? None.

The most fantastic mythology discloses Uranus, the oldest of the gods, king of heaven and earth. His sons, the Titans, assailed and dethroned him; and Saturn, the boldest of the conspirators, was permitted to mount the regal chair on condition that he should destroy his male children, in order that the crown should not descend in his line. Here we have a king, rule by Divine right, and

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hereditary sovereignty on the very threshold of Ionian culture. Jupiter, the great god of the Greek and the Roman, obtained his immortal supremacy by this principle of hereditary sovereignty thus proclaimed from "the very creation;" for Rhea, the wife of Saturn, concealed the birth of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto; and, after a bitter strife, Jupiter wrested the sceptre of the world from both his father and his assailants, and divided the universal do minion between his two brothers and himself, keeping heaven as his own domain, assigning the sea to Neptune, and awarding hades to Pluto.

The fabulous lore of Greece, so abundant in detail, so rich in imagery, so extensive in range both of imagination and tradition, only confirms the deduction afforded by this brief résumé of the essence of mythology. The poets, tragic, comic, or epic; the dramatists, the philosophers of Greece, the classic orators, the lawyers, the demagogues, and the men who by street harangues, aroused the martial passions, or inflamed the malicious and selfish caprices of the populace—none of these, so far as we can judge by the residue of their writings or utterances, had any belief in the existence of a pure elective principle, or any suspicion that such a form of polity was known to, or prevailed among, their ancestors. The Greece that preceded the republics in history, in story, and in song, was a royal Greece. The republics were but aristocracies, in which the most forcible, the effective, and the favorite popular ideas were those associated with royal glory and hereditary power.

Thus the Greek chorus cries in Sophocles' *Electra*, after hearing of the disaster in the chariot race which resulted in the supposed death of Orestes:

"Alas! the race of my old sovereigns hath perished, it doth seem, e'en to the roots."

Again Electra cries:

"O King Apollo, hear propitiously
Their prayer," etc.

We can scarcely open a page of Homer without finding allusions to kings, rule by Divine right, and hereditary sovereignty. Nor is our reading exceptional; yet, lest so precise a scholar as General Banks should demur to Catholic construction of the classics, we will offer him a commentator no less distinguished among statesmen, no less popular among the enemies of the Catholic Church, than the ex-Premier of England, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who has made Homer a study in such hours as he could spare from politics and polemics, and who has given to the booksellers if not to posterity, more than one volume on the works and the personality of

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the father of poetry, from which lovers of classic verse are able to derive new recreation. Is it possible that a recondite savant like General Banks, who essays to lecture on the forms of government which have existed "from the very creation," has not read *Juventus Mundi?* It is evident that he has not. Homer, moreover, was something more than a poet; he was a historian. But he was still more; he painted whenever he could, with the brush of a Claude Lorraine, and no page of what he offers as Greek history, fails to make his beloved nation, its heroes, its institutions, or its laws, as much more admirable than they were in fact, as his Greek pride and prejudices, and the marvellous genius of his pencil, could inspire. He systematically belittles and degrades everything and everybody inimical to Greek interest or Grecian glory, while he exalts, at the same time, his own country and countrymen to the skies that enveloped Mount Olympus. And yet Homer never suspected that his nation possessed so beautiful and ennobling a gift as the elective principle! The rule of the kings by Divine right appears to have been clearly believed by him, and is no less explicitly understood by Mr. Gladstone:[1]

"The King, as such, stands in a special relation to deity. The epithet Theios, Divine, is only applied to such among the living as have this relation. The king is also Diotrephes, or reared by Zeus and Diogenes, or born of Zeus; and these titles are given rarely below the kingly order even to a prince or ruler, or of inferior degree or eminence. *It is expressly declared that kings derive the right to rule from Zeus, from whom descended, by successive deliveries, the sceptre of Agamemnon.*"

Here General Banks must surely see kings rule by Divine right, and hereditary sovereignty in a single sentence. Yet he cannot doubt, that if history were capable of developing so startling a fact, as that rule by Divine right and hereditary sovereignty were coined by a Pope for the furtherance of papal pretensions, Mr. Gladstone would have run upon the fact during some of his incursions for antiquated polemical weapons to be refurbished against the Vatican, while General Banks was zealously engaged in planning some of his retreats. Again, speaking of Agamemnon and the great chiefs, Mr. Gladstone says:[2]

"The office which these persons bore was hereditary in the line of the eldest son."

And once more:[3]

"The case of Telemachus supplies us with an express declaration of the title of the son to succeed his father."

The principle of hereditary sovereignty seems to have been

[1] Juventus Mundi, p. 417. [2] Ib., p. 422. [3] Ib., p. 423.

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universal and unqualified, and its application to have been disturbed only by usurpation or revolution.[1]

"We have other means of connecting the name of Iasos with western Peloponnesus.[2] For Amphion, the King of the Minneian Orchomenus, was the son of Iasos. He was also the father of Chloris, whom Neleus married, and who became Queen of Pulos. . . . Further, Homer acquaints us that he (Amphion) and his brother Zethos, first founded and fortified Thebes; for, says the poet, not even they could hold it unfortified. As his daughter married Neleus, this fortification must have been effected four to five generations before the Iroica. But he founded no dynasty in Thebes. On the contrary, we find from Homer that Œdipus ruled there, apparently in succession to his father, two generations before the war. And, according to tradition, he was the descendant of Kadmos, who had colonized Thebes from Phœnicia."

Not to carry to the verge of minimism, these evidences of kings, Divine right, and hereditary sovereignty, General Banks can satisfy himself by reading the Iliad or Odyssey, if his leisure permits, and Mr. Gladstone's commentaries will supply him with a safe and convenient guide. He will not fail to observe that the ex-premier almost mourns that Homer could not give to heroic Greece a tinge of even constitutional democracy, such as would be consistent with an Englishman's ideas of political prudence. "There is no decision by numbers," he says,[3] "*the doctrine of majorities is an invention, an expedient of a more advanced social development.*"

Mr. Gladstone has been unable to trace the democratic idea or elective principle back to "the very creation;" and yet Mr. Gladstone is accounted a man of exact and general information, albeit in matters relating to the dead past, whereas General Banks has never been accused, so far as we are aware, of scholarship of any kind whatever; scholarship—"Pity 'tis, 'tis true,"—not being a necessary qualification for a statesman in our country and our time.

When we enter upon the authentic history of Greece, the portal we cross is that of a royal palace, and our first salutation is made, on bended knee, before the footstool of a king whose sceptre is hereditary, and whose diadem boasts the touch of Divine right. "The kings," says Niebuhr, "descended from the gods, rule as instituted by the gods." This skeptical historian, always slow to accept as fact anything savoring of the mythical, says: "All the tribes of Greece anciently had kings belonging to some heroic family." In a word, the principle of hereditary sovereignty obtained so fixedly among the Greeks, that in their myths, as in their acts, they feel compelled to annihilate a reigning dynasty, in order to place a fresh hero on the throne. Niebuhr notes this:[4]

[1] Juventus Mundi, p. 48, *et seq.*

[2] Mr. Gladstone follows a nomenclature of his own in Juventus Mundi, which he explains in his preface.

[3] P. 434.

[4] Vol. 1, p. 212 *et seq.*

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"I have already noticed the peculiar manner in which the heroic age, and especially its kingly families, are made to disappear and perish. . . . All these stories evidently have no other meaning than to explain how the Greek people of the mythical age and the race of heroes vanish from history."

It would be a mere waste of space to dwell upon the administration of the kings of Greece, about whose epochs and achievements there is no dispute. They ruled by Divine right; their prerogatives passed to their sons, and the succession was not taken away, except by social or military violence, when it had not been extinguished in death.

An examination of the laws and conduct of the Greek Republics confirms General Banks's admission that they were democratic only in name. The number of free citizens was exceedingly small in proportion to the whole population,—and the freedom of this small number was political, rather than civil. The free citizen of Athens was not subject to any power outside his own state; but he had very little liberty within it. He was as much a slave to the state as his own bondsman was to him. Corinth, Athens, and Sparta[1] were politically free; but their people were civilly enslaved. The idea of personal liberty, such as it exists among us, was quite unknown in the most glorious days of these *quasi* democracies, and even idealists, like Socrates and Plato, did not understand it, nor think it the proper aim of their country.[2] As for Aristotle, he repudiated democracy with unconstrained candor, and proclaimed his belief in an aristocracy.

The Greek Republics were aristocracies. It is absurd to affirm that they were anything else. The few ruled the many. They were what we may justly call aristocratic despotisms. The minority held the mass of the people in an abject subjection for which we have no modern parallel, except Russia and the German Empire. Slavery, in a most horrible form, was maintained by law; church and state were united; freedom of speech was not tolerated, and the wisest and purest sometimes suffered, like Socrates, for differing in opinion from the faction which happened to be dominant; and when all regular or judicial methods of tyranny failed in accomplishing the desired limit of interference and oppression, that ingenious device of spite and malice—ostracism—was flung into the hands of demagogues for the worry and persecution of the innocent. The *demos* of Greece never has been clearly understood, or satisfactorily explained. We do not know what part, even, the free fraction of the people actually had in shaping the destinies of the republics. But

[1] Macaulay says, the Spartans were "tormented by ten thousand absurd restraints, unable to please themselves in the choice of their wives, their suppers, or their company."

[2] Vide The Republic, lib. ii., iii., iv.

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it is a singular fact that through the quickly-shifting scenes of Greek democracy, we find the pro-cohesive and conservative principles to be Divine right and hereditary sovereignty. Nor is this to be wondered at, for upon these rested the foundations, historical, political, traditional, and poetical, of the nation. Lycurgus, for instance, became lawgiver under the sanction of the Delphic oracle,[1] and he was a member of the royal family of Sparta. He proved a despot of the most stubborn character, and, while he unified and strengthened Sparta, he destroyed every vestige of personal free dom. The moral standard by which the efficiency of individual conduct was measured was deception and hypocrisy.[2] In Athens, the rule of the archons was hereditary, and after it became elective within limits, the aristocracy grew bolder and more oppressive, and the *Agora*, or General Assembly of that portion of the people which was entitled to merit, ceased.

Draco was one of the nobles, and so little respect had he for the rights of the people that he made death the penalty for every crime, and reserved to the aristocrats the function of determining what constituted crime. Solon was a lineal descendant of King Codrus. Pisistratus was an heir of the kings of Athens, and after his death his sons continued to govern the republic solely by right of hereditary succession. Miltiades traced his lineage to a ruling family of Corinth. Themistocles owed his first popularity to his princely origin; Miltiades, Aristides, Pericles, were all aristocrats, and their right to command was hereditary. Cimon belonged to the most ancient nobility of Athens, and, when he was expelled after brilliant service for the republic, he was succeeded by another hereditary aristocrat, Pericles. When one-man rule passed away, mob rule ensued, and then Athens fell an easy prey to Sparta, still clinging to hereditary aristocracy; and when aristocratic rule was restored, the first act of the Thirty was to limit the franchise to three thousand of the citizens.

We do not propose to touch the history of Rome. Every lad poring over his desk knows that the Romans did not enjoy any elective principle; that their government was by kings, hereditary, and of Divine right, until invasion, excess, and decay, after producing many changes—none of which had the form of genuine democracy—finally overthrew the empire.

It is possible that General Banks will not be content with our chronology. He may place his creation as far back as the surmises of Haeckel and the ultra German scientific speculators suggest. He is certainly at liberty to do so; and if he detects in that unknown but much talked of bourne, whence no traveller has yet returned,

[1] Niebuhr, vol. i., p. 259. [2] Constitution of Lycurgus, discussed by Rawlinson.

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satisfactory evidence of the elective principle, enjoying both the Divine and human sanction, the world will owe him a heavy obligation. He may make the startling discovery that democracy existed among the protozoa.

There are, however, fashions in chronology as well as in science, and we wish to give General Banks the benefit of the very latest, if it be not a highly approved style of hypothesis in dates. The beginning of the Pharaohs, for instance, has been placed as early as 2800 B.C. That is approaching very nearly to "the creation;" but then, on the other hand, it only confirms the existence of kings and not of democracy. Here is China. Industrious guesswork may be credited with establishing the historical period of the flowery kingdom as early as 2637 B.C. But unfortunately, again, it is a dynasty that we find there. There are the Indo-Europeans; Prof. Whitney is quite sure that philology demonstrates their national existence at least 3000 B.C. Did they not contrive, inherit, or maintain an elective principle at that dim and awful distance from the possibilities of precise investigation? No; they were petty tribes having hereditary chiefs. It is to be deplored, moreover, for the sake of General Banks's argument, that the speculators who recede beyond usually accepted historical limits insist that, as they recede, civilization disappears; kingdoms become tribes, and kings petty chieftains; tribes disintegrate into inchoate, quarrelling, savage elements, and finally man, instead of appearing in a magnificent transformation scene from savagery into an elective principle with the Divine and human sanction, proves to be a mere brute having nothing in common with his fellows except ferocious and deadly instincts.

We have now explored antiquity to "the very creation," for the elective principle which this distinguished soldier and statesman promised us we should find there. That promise history has been found unable to fulfil. He assured us also that the rule of kings by Divine right and hereditary sovereignty, was a comparatively modern invention of the eighth century of the Christian era. On the contrary, we have found kings, Divine right, and hereditary sovereignty in every age and among every nation of antiquity; and if any political institutions existed "from the creation," it has been made manifest that these political institutions included kings, Divine right, and hereditary sovereignty.

We approach the assertion of General Banks in regard to the Pope and King Pepin with sincere mortification, and we shall not inflict upon the unfortunate author of such a statement, an unnecessary word of reproof, much less an expression of reproach or derision. The facts whose publication General Banks's deliverance compels, is too convincing a demonstration of the quality of mind

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possessed by that gentleman, and too pitiless a commentary upon the sense of responsibility cultivated by a representative public man, to admit of additional odium at the hands of a Review to which the American name and honor are exceedingly dear.

General Banks stated, in substance, that the Pope, by making Pepin King of the Franks, established the principles of the rule of kings by Divine right and hereditary sovereignty, these principles not having been previously in existence, and that the Pope did so in order to further his own selfish interests as represented in the temporal power.

We shall quote only Protestant historians upon the action so characterized.

Parke Godwin, in his *History of France*, vol. i., p. 392, covers this event thoroughly. "Was it not time," he says, professing to speak for Pepin, whom by the way, he calls "Pippin," "to bring the protracted comedy of the Merovingian dynasty to an end? For more than sixty years, his family, fertile in great men, had by their valor defended, and by their wisdom governed, the Frankish nation. During that long interval they had been at the head of its armies, maintaining the integrity and unity of its possessions, repulsing invasions, subduing revolts, and forming alliances, and receiving oaths from friendly or conquered princes. . . . No doubt the old Merovingians had been the vital men of their day, but now their descendants were merely the dead images of that vitality. . . . . Before entering upon so important a step, his prudence, if not his religion, suggested the propriety of advising in regard to it with the acknowledged head of Christendom. Accordingly he dispatched an embassy composed of Burchard, Bishop of Würtzburg, and Fulrad, Abbot of Saint Denis, his own chaplain, to the See of St. Peter with the significant question, 'whether it were better that one who wielded no authority in the land, should retain the name of king, or that it should be transferred to him who really exercised the royal power.' Zacharias the Pope was, no doubt, prepared for the question and the answer. He replied that he should be called king who had the proper wisdom and power for the office, and not *he* who was king only in name; anticipating in this the famous saying of Napoleon, '*Les carrières aux talents*' (the tools to him who can handle them). It was a sensible, *even a democratic response*, answering farther than was needful," etc.

This is the statement of Gibbon in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*:[1]

"The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace, and nothing

[1] 6 vols., vol. v., p. 28. Phila. ed.

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except the regal title was wanting to his ambition. His enemies were crushed by his valor; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the saviour of Christendom, and the claims of personal merit were repeated and ennobled in a descent of four generations. The name and image of royalty were still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his obsolete right could only be used as an instrument of sedition. The nation was desirous of restoring the simplicity of the constitution, and Pepin, a subject and a prince, was ambitious to ascertain his own rank and the fortune of his family. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom. The blood of Clovis was pure and sacred in their eyes, and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff to dispel their scruples, or to absolve their promise. The interest of Pope Zachary prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favor. *He pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite in the same person the office and authority of king.*"

Could there be a more explicit statement of the true basis of democracy?

Gibbon continues: . . . . "The Merovingian race disappeared from the earth, and Pepin was exalted on a buckler *by the suffrage of a free people accustomed to obey his laws, and to march under his standard.*"

The mayoralty of the palace was an elective office. The right of Childeric to the throne was merely dynastic, and Clovis, the founder of the dynasty, acquired his right, partly by concession of the Roman Emperor, who had no right in particular, and partly by conquest. The question, therefore, is between a hereditary sovereign, who is also an imbecile, and a great leader elected to his post, and acceptable to the entire nation.

Hallam[1] gives this version:

"The Mayor Pepin, surnamed Le Bref, to distinguish him from his grandfather, inheriting his father Charles Martel's talents and ambition, made in the name and with the consent of the nation, a solemn reference to the Pope Zacharias as to the deposition of Childeric III., *under whose nominal authority he himself was reigning.* The decision was favorable, that he who possessed the power should also bear the title of king. The unfortunate Merovingian was dismissed into a convent, *and the Franks, with one accord, raised Pepin to the throne,* the founder of a more illustrious dynasty."

Here we rest the case. It is due to General Banks, in the sorrowful attitude in which this unimpeachable evidence, all drawn from enemies of the Catholic Church, leaves him, to add that the action of the Pope in relation to Pepin's inquiry, has been the cause of many and very bitter wrangles between historians. It has been assailed as unwarranted interference by a spiritual prince in temporal affairs; it has been eloquently defended by Gallicans themselves. We do not choose to make or quote any defence. The historians whom we cite are all Protestants of high repute, and all inimical to the Papacy, and we prefer to let the recital stand even in their hostile phraseology. It is also true, that in the order

[1] The Middle Ages. Student's ed., p. 12.

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issued by the Pope for the coronation of Pepin, the hereditary right to the crown was declared to be thereafter in his family. This was in accordance with universal and immemorial precedent, and the legitimate succession was based, not upon any novel or ingenious assumption of divine right, but upon the fact that the nation of the Franks had chosen to be ruled by a new dynasty, to whose lawful members they voluntarily bound themselves with the same fidelity which they had observed toward the preceding dynasty of the Merovingians.

This, then, is the truth:

1. The hereditary king upon the throne was an imbecile.

2. The next officer in command was the Mayor of the Palace, Pepin, who held his office by election, and had been for years the actual king.

3. He wished to become king in name as he was in fact and by faithful public service, and the people wished to make him king.

4. Pope Zachary never interfered in the situation until his opinion was solemnly asked, and his reply was the formulation of the true democratic principle that the people had a right to make him king whom they chose.[1]

5. Pepin was made king, not by the Pope's selfish and individual action, but by the joyful suffrages of a free people.

Only a word remains to be said. General Banks frankly admitted that the prevalence and legality of slavery in the Greek republics nullified their democratic claim; and we assume that, with equal candor, he will concede that slavery and theoretical democracy are ideas essentially opposed to each other.

General Banks, then, gives his argument away; for the Catholic Church first formulated democracy, when it declared the perfect equality of men before God. This equality was unknown prior to Christianity. Every nation of old, Jewish as well as Greek, held

[1] Historians do not hesitate to repudiate altogether the alleged connection of Pope Zachary with the coronation of Pepin. The "Universal History" (London, 1740), which has been held in high esteem, says (vol. xxii., p. 108), "There is, therefore, nothing more easy, more natural, or more probable, than the simple and short account given in the old Chronicle, that, in the annual assembly of the great men, in the month of March, it was proposed to remove Childeric and to place Pepin on the throne; which, being unanimously resolved, was, with little ceremony, performed." Regarding the version quoted by the eminent Protestant authorities cited above, the "Universal History" pronounces its substance "modern," and says, "But to the whole of this story there are some very strong objections. Such as that the ancient chronicles are equally silent as to the concurrence of the Pope, and as to this solemn coronation; that the pupil of this Saint Boniface (who, by the way, was an English monk, and, till by command of the Pope he assumed the name of Boniface, was called Wilfrid), was an entire stranger to this transaction; and that, long after the supposed sanction and coronation, Pepin's conscience was uneasy till his scruples were cured by another Pope." General Banks, however, is welcome to either horn of his dilemma.

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slaves, and bought and sold them; and the practices of the most enlightened nations, in this regard, were too sickening to be dwelt upon. In Athens, at one time, there were 20,000 citizens and 40,000 slaves. Poets and philosophers looked upon slavery with complaisance. Homer considered it a proof of the wrath of Jupiter, and esteemed this victim of divine vengeance as half-witted. With Homer, a slave is but half of a man.[1] Plato indorses this curious opinion; and Aristotle explicitly affirms that nature meant one portion of men to be free, and another to be slaves, and set upon each appropriate marks of distinction—a thought which Richard Rumbold, whom Macaulay speaks of, seems to have had in his mind when he said, on the scaffold: "I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred, to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled, to be ridden." The Catholic Church, as quickly as it was possible for her to take any action upon the subject, proceeded to enact laws embodying the words of Christ spoken by the Apostle: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female;" and, in the records of Councils, century after century, will be found solemn and effective declarations mitigating slavery, and affirming the natural rights of the slave. The Church could not, at once, procure universal emancipation. For the slaves were Cæsar's, and she was able to render them only such assistance as her own position in society permitted. But this assistance was constant and energetic. The slave who took refuge in a church was not restored to his master until the latter had agreed to impose upon him neither corporal punishment nor additional labor. The Church defended with money and eloquence the freed slave who was in danger of reduction to servitude. Priests and monks, under the sanction of the Church, devoted themselves to slavery as a ransom for captives who were thus restored to their wives and children. Even the altar ornaments and sacred vessels were sold to purchase freedom for slaves, and it was expressly ordained that, when the Church property was thus used, neither the freedman nor his heirs should ever be required to return the whole, or any portion, of the amount expended in his behalf. The Council of Rheims, in the eighth century, excommunicated those who attempted to enslave men; and the Council of Coblentz declared that persons were guilty of homicide, who seized a Christian to sell him into slavery.[2] The whole record of the Catholic Church is consistent with the principles herein affirmed. Let General Banks point out, if he can, any contradiction in her doctrine, whereby she can be shown to waver in her devotion to the best interests of all classes of society,

[1] Inventus Mundi, p. 444. [2] This subject is discussed in extended detail by Balmes.

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of the low as well as the high, of the slave as well as the free. It is not her function to prescribe forms of political government. She leaves that to the people; and when they have agreed among themselves, she requires them to respect the institutions and authority, thus legimately created, until they shall have been legitimately changed. She is the conservative force of civilization.

Her democratic spirit is further illustrated in regard to woman. With only one or two exceptions, the position of women in all nations prior to the Christian era was little better than that of the slave. The life-long victim and serf of man, she was slain by authority of law, if weak in childhood; or, permitted to mature, she was bartered, sold, or exchanged, by father or husband. The skilled woman of the Iliad is worth in the market four oxen. Aristotle, calm philosopher, and the greatest Greek of his age, writes of the inferiority of woman to man in terms closely similar to those which he applies to the inferiority of slaves. It was undoubtedly to the civil subjection of woman that St. Paul had reference when he writes to the Galatians, "there is neither bond or free; there is neither male nor female." It appears to be a prudent distribution of duties even in a democracy, that to the domestic burdens of woman political cares and excitements shall not be added; but there is nothing in the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church to prevent a woman from sharing the democratic suffrage, if she could legally exercise it, than there is to withhold from her the crown of a monarchy when it falls justly upon her head.

The Catholic Church recognizes and teaches the Divine right of government, but she expressly repudiates the notion that Divine right is tied down to any particular *form* of political government. There is absolutely no justification for General Banks's charge, and that reckless gentleman must have borrowed the slander from some absurd calumniator, or thrust it into his context without any clear consciousness of what he was doing. The doctrine of the Catholic Church, in regard to the source of political power, is thus stated by the greatest of her Doctors, from whom there is no dissent, St. Thomas Aquinas: "The law, strictly speaking, is directed primarily and principally to the common good; and to decree anything for the common benefit belongs either to the whole people, or to some one acting in their place." Again, "Wherefore, the choice of rulers in any state or kingdom is best when one is chosen for his merit to preside over all, and under him are other rulers chosen for their merit, and the government belongs to all, because the rulers may be chosen from any class of society, and the choice is made by all."

Bellarmine is still more direct. He is speaking of Divine right in civil power: "This power resides immediately as to its subject, in

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all the multitude, for it is by Divine right. The Divine right has not given this power to any man in particular, for it has given it to the multitude."

The simple truth is that General Banks was merely "speaking to the sea." The people of Athens assembled in the Pynx, the seats of which were cut out of rock; and Themistocles turned the speaker's platform from the land to the water, because the popular fancy of Greek sovereignty was associated with the sea. Themistocles, the most consummate of demagogues, calculated, with the sagacity of instinct, that thereby he could most successfully arouse the prejudices, and inflame the passions of his audience. So General Banks "spoke to the sea." He assumed that his audiences would be chiefly non-Catholic; he surmised that the favorite vogue on the rostrum at this time is to excite the feelings of Protestants against their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens; and he expected the popular applause which usually follows so equivocal and sentimental a course. How lamentable the weakness of such conduct on the part of a public man! What a noble and manly sense of moral responsibility is thus displayed! How fine a conscience moves this representative of the dignified commonwealth of Massachusetts! Temporary success waited upon Themistocles; so pleasing fortune may coyly loiter with General Banks. But even the Greeks wearied of the demagogue; he, who had caused the ostracism of Aristides, was himself ostracized. The momentary plaudits of the thoughtless were remembered by him and them, only as a reproach in the unloved obscurity into which he sank forever.

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BOOK NOTICES.

MANUAL OF UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY. By *Rev. Dr. John Alzog*, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with Additions, from the ninth and last German edition, by *F. J. Pabish*, Doctor of Theology, of Canon and Civil Law, and *Rev. Thomas S. Byrne*. Vol. II. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1876.

English-speaking Catholics are under very great obligations to the translators of this work, the second volume of which has been lately issued by Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati. It supplies a want long felt in England and Ireland, as well as in the United States, by ecclesiastical students, and by intelligent lay Catholics generally. Before it appeared, we had absolutely no work, in English or Latin, sufficiently critical and comprehensive, without being at the same time too voluminous to be made a suitable text-book in our seminaries. This occasioned trouble to professors in preparing matter for their classes, which all were not willing to undergo, and incalculable loss to successive generations of students. Palma was the best class-book to be found in Latin; but it was hard to procure, and is very incomplete as a history. It is a collection of dissertations on detached historical subjects, admirable of their kind, but which do not show us the march of historical events in their synthetic unity. This is an objection that cannot be urged against Alzog. According to him, "Church history, in its objective sense, is an explanation of the origin and growth of the kingdom of God on earth, of its progress and spread from age to age, during both the period of preparation before Christ and of fulfilment after; and, in particular, a statement of the foundation, nature, development, and vicissitudes of the Church of Christ, the regeneration of man, and his gradual union with God, through Christ, in the Holy Ghost;" and, in the progress of his work, he loses sight of no particular matter involved in this true and philosophical conception of his subject. The ancient world and its relations to Christianity, the life and labors of Christ, the history of the apostles, the form and constitution of the Church, Christian life, worship, discipline, persecutions, heresies, missions, councils, doctrinal developments, ecclesiastical writers, the aim and growth of religious orders,—all these, and other important facts in the history of the Church, he notes and discusses, briefly, it is true, but with such abundant references to standard sources of information on each particular topic, that any one desirous of pursuing it further, can do so to his heart's content.

His Scientific Introduction—on the nature, division, and sources of Church history and historical criticism—is admirably adapted to prepare the student to fully profit by the study of the work, and to train his mind to habits of criticism that will be invaluable to him in his more extended historical studies afterwards. All through the book, he is kept in mind of the principles laid down in this Introduction, by signs affixed to the names of the authors cited in the footnotes, and which determine the intellectual and moral weight of each in particular.

We are happy to be able to congratulate the learned translators on the manner in which they have done their work. Their task was a most difficult one, but they have, thus far, performed it faithfully and well. Their success in putting into intelligible and idiomatic English the Scientific Introduction just referred to, is of itself an achievement for which they deserve the highest praise; but the notes, additions, and amplifications by which they have elucidated and enriched the body of the work show more clearly still the reach and value of their labors.

The style, in which the two volumes have been brought out, is all that

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could be desired. The price ($5 a volume) is undoubtedly high for a book so much needed by a class whose means are generally very limited; but, taking into account the nature and variety of the work to be done by the publishers, we are surprised that they have been able to put it at so low a figure. The volumes, though well adapted for library use, are rather too heavy and unwieldy for the class-room. For this reason, we think, in future editions of the work, it would be an improvement to bind each volume in two separate parts.

Ritter's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, in two volumes, would be a more convenient class-book. It is written on the same plan as Alzog's, but is clearer and much more concise. Still, it would hardly suffice for a three years' course, and, if we are not mistaken, it is disfigured by prejudices and opinions that would make it unacceptable to entirely orthodox readers.

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY. By *Joseph Haven*, D.D., LL.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1876. Pp. 416.

This book seems to have grown out of the author's lecture-notes. It may be regarded as a series of popular lectures on the history of philosophy. The style is imbued with Germanisms. For the beginner in philosophical studies the book contains much useful and sound information so far as the mere statement of facts is concerned. This is especially true of the part treating of ancient philosophy. The chapters on Plato and Aristotle are exceptionally good; though in them is to be found little or nothing that marks the author's originality. Perhaps they are good because the author did not strike on an independent line of treatment. We learn from the preface that the author brought to bear a certain amount of enthusiasm on his subject, and that he has written three other works which have had a favorable reception. And still, judging from the book before us, we can safely say that he lived and died talking and discussing his favorite theme without a proper conception of philosophy in its bearings and relations. He had learned to repeat systems and remember facts with more or less accuracy; but to think philosophically was beyond the grasp of his intellect. He is unable to go back of a system in order to determine what in it is good and what is bad.

We consider it unphilosophical in the author to break the *nexus* between the East and the West, and to begin with the philosophy of Greece. True, he quotes Schwegler for the precedent, but that does not in the least mend his case. Whatever of good Greece had in her system, was imparted to her by the East. Her sophistries were her own. Egypt, Palestine, Chaldea, each contributed its share to build up the thoughtful theories of Pythagoras and the lofty ideal of Plato. Philosophy is meaningless apart from the profounder questionings of theology, even as man without God would be an anomaly.

When the author breaks away from the plain unvarnished tale to comment upon it, he is frequently illogical. Here is an instance: He says on page 71, "The sophists were of great use in philosophy;" and in explaining how, he adds: "They taught men to doubt, and so made them more cautious ultimately in philosophizing." He further tells us that "they prepared the way" for Socrates. As well might he have said that a plague is physically useful, that tares prepare the way for the good grain, in a word that evil is good. A Socrates was needed; but assuredly he was not, as the author would have us to infer, the outcome of sophistry. He was needed as the physician is needed for the dis-

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ease, as the husbandman is needed for the field overrun by briers and thorns, as the sun is needed to dispel the darkness of night. And then a Socrates could not create truth; he could only lead back to it from the paths of error into which the sophists had led men.

Again, on page 194, Dr. Haven asks, "What was the result now of all these profound investigations from Thales downward?" And he answers: "They are the germ of modern philosophy, the seeds of things, the dawn of a brighter, higher day, that shines on us; our eyes behold what these old kings and prophets of the mental world desired to see, but died without the sight" (p. 195). With Hamlet, we call this "words, words," meaningless words. Not to stop at the bad composition, we must say that it admirably illustrates the author's philosophical obtuseness. He seems not to know that philosophical speculation is as much a necessity, with a people of education, as is thought itself; that all these questionings are the oscillations of man's soul away from its final resting-place; that they are yearnings of the intellect to fulfil the law of knowing, to which it is subject. He seems not to know that these speculations in one shape or other were the determining principle of men's lives and actions; that thoughts invariably become facts; that the idea which yesterday was an object of curiosity, has to-day become a hotly contested problem, and to-morrow will be an impelling force driving men to action for good or for ill. The absence of such knowledge proves his inability to treat the history of thought.

Still another instance of philosophical obtuseness. On page 241, speaking of the characteristic feature of the Cartesian system, the author says: "The *starting-point* of the whole system, the *basis* of all belief and certainty, is *doubt*." (The *italicizing* is the author's.) Shade of Descartes! Was it for this you wrote so clearly and beautifully, that it should be said of you that you made *doubt* the *basis* of your philosophy? Was it with prophetic vision, in which you saw Dr. Haven dabbling with your system and misinterpreting it to this extent, that you requested none to read your books but those disposed to think? The philosophic sins of Descartes are many, but this piece of absurdity is not one of them. The fact of consciousness expressed in the famous formula, *Cogito, ergo sum*, and the principle of evidence form the basis of the Cartesian system.

We now pass to the final question to be answered in connection with the book under review, viz.: Can we recommend it to our Catholic institutions of learning? How does it treat the great masters we would have our Catholic youth know and revere? There is a chapter devoted to scholastic philosophy; but it is evident the author has very little sympathy with the subject. He has not the least idea of the value of scholasticism. It is to him a dry skeleton. His ideas of it are drawn from the history of scholasticism, not from a sympathizing study of its great masters. St. Thomas's beautiful method and profound reasoning were unknown to him. At least he shows no appreciation of the Angelic Doctor. The author reveals his true animus towards the great mediæval philosophers on page 217. There he announces an important discovery which he has made. He tells us that in the days of Bacon "men were beginning to think for themselves independently of ecclesiastical dictation and the authority of the fathers." Remember, "beginning to think"! This was in the latter part of the sixteenth century; Bacon was born in 1561. So it is now an ascertained fact that up to that time men did not think for themselves. Gerbert did not think for himself! Of course not; neither did Roger Bacon, even though he did anticipate in detail the inductive method of Francis Bacon; neither

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did St. Anselm, though he dictated the proof of the existence of God, with which Descartes is frequently credited; neither did Albertus Magnus, who could find no public hall large enough for the audiences that hung on his lips; nor Thomas Aquinas, the greatest genius of mediæval times! This is news indeed, and news enough. We close the book lest we hit upon something still more wonderful. Catholic youth require more wholesome food than that prepared by Dr. Haven.

MATHILDA OF CANOSSA, AND YOLAND OF GRONINGEN. By *Rev. A. Bresciani, S. J.*, Author of "The Jew of Verona," "Leonello," etc. Translated by *Anna T. Sadlier.* New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 31 Barclay Street. Montreal: 275 Notre Dame Street. 1875.

This story carries us back to the gloomiest period of Italian and German history. European nations were then emerging from the barbarism that followed the downfall of the Roman Empire. International wars were as yet unknown; but civil strife was the normal condition of every country. Feudalism had just been consolidated into the forms it retained down to the fourteenth century, and was spending itself in fierce and sanguinary contests between vassals and their lords, and between the latter and their sovereigns. In the Church the condition of things was most deplorable. The system of lay investitutures had practically secularized the great majority of the bishops in all European countries. They had become mere civil lords, more familiar with the sword than the crozier, with the helmet than the mitre. Had Richard of England lived about the middle of the eleventh century, and sent to Leo IX., instead of Celestine, the coat of mail of a Philip, bishop of Beauvais, with the request: "Look, if this be the coat of thy son, or not!" he would hardly have received for answer: "No, it is the coat of a son of Mars; let Mars deliver him, if he can." In that century, bishoprics, abbacies, benefices of every kind, holy orders, were bought and sold with little regard to the qualifications, intellectual or moral, of the recipients. Licentiousness soon became as widespread as simony; and schism, inaugurated to perpetuate both, threatened for awhile the unity itself of the Western Church. There were not wanting bold and generous spirits, who, like St. Peter Damian, denounced in no measured terms the disorders of the time; nor others, who sought to heal them by the more violent remedy of the sword. But their efforts would have been in vain, had not the genius and the indomitable courage of a Hildebrand been brought to the rescue of religion and social order. He thoroughly understood the magnitude of the struggle in which the Church was engaged. He knew that the question at issue was, whether she should remain Catholic and free, such as her Divine Founder had made her, or become national and the handmaid and slave of the civil power, and, ultimately, be torn into as many sects as there would be petty rulers in each kingdom to usurp her authority. That authority once lost, the great Pontiff felt nothing else would remain that could hold in check the fierce spirit of that semi-barbarous age, or keep society from plunging back into the chaos from which the Church had called it. What he did to meet the exigencies of the time, how he labored, both before and after his elevation to the pontificate to remove abuses, to restore discipline among the clergy, to give freedom to the Church, and peace and protection to oppressed nationalities, we need not tell the reader. These things are among the facts of mediæval history with which all are familiar.

The object of the volume before us is to bring out the real nature of

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the struggle between St. Gregory and Henry IV., to describe the important part taken by the Countess Mathilda in that struggle, and to show us, in the person of a noble woman, a brilliant example of heroic fidelity to the Holy See under the most trying circumstances. This it does with singular ability and success. It does not, like most of our historical novels, give us fiction in the form of history, but history in the dress of fiction. It is truly a historical romance. The real heroine is not Mathilda of Canossa, but Yoland of Groningen, a German countess. This selection of a heroine interferes very materially with the unity of the story, but it was necessary to the object the author had in view. In point of fact, Mathilda had never been in Germany, and it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to depict Henry in his true colors, had not a good part of the scene been laid in that country. In the estimation of those who read for something more than mere excitement or pastime, this defect will be more than compensated by the truth and beauty of the narrative, the insight it gives into the domestic, monastic, and court life of the eleventh century, the extraordinary antiquarian research displayed by the author, and the clearness, precision, and force with which he states and argues the questions at issue between the Church and the Empire in the days of which he writes.

With the exception of a few verbal mistranslations, clearly the result of inadvertence, the story has been faithfully rendered into our vernacular, and in such style as might lead one to suppose that it had been originally written in English.

LES DROITS DE DIEU ET LES IDEES MODERNES. Par *l'Abbé François Chesnel*, Vicaire Général de Quimper, Paris et Poitiers: Henri Oudin. 1875. 8vo., pp. 394.

Our Christian ancestors for fifteen or more hundred years had a great deal to say about the duties of man, duties towards God, the state, the family, and his fellow-man. To know those duties accurately was considered the height of Christian wisdom; to perform them faithfully was the perfection of Christian life. They were taught in the schools, they were inculcated from the pulpit; they formed the material of ponderous treatises for the learned, and of homely manuals for the humbler classes. But, ever since the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century has begun to develop its pernicious fruits, all this has been changed. A new language has been introduced; and we hear no more of *duties*, but of *rights*. We hear of the right of free thought, the right of free speech, the right to freedom without limit in the political order. And from this, with fearful but logical steps, the claim has extended to freedom in the social and moral order. Some, alarmed at the result of their own wild theories, are trying to draw back; but the logical wave they set in motion will not return at their bidding. The consequence is that Europe sees at this day, and our own country may soon see, a numerous and formidable party of men, who have progressed from the rights of free thought and free speech to the right of free pillage and bloodshed. And meanwhile, amidst all this silly, criminal prattle about the rights of man, nothing is ever heard about the sovereign rights of God, as if the Lord and Master of all stood among his creatures alone without a right that they will recognize.

This is what seems to have roused the indignant zeal of the worthy author of the book before us, as its very title shows. He divides his work into three parts or books. The first treats of the absolute sover-

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eignty of God over man, whether individually or socially considered. This may sound to most persons a very simple, plain truth; and so it is. But man needs to be recalled perpetually to the acknowledgment of this elementary truth. Its denial is at the bottom of all the evils that weigh so heavily on our humanity. However clear to right reason it may be, it is an unpleasant truth; and the will rejects it first, and then tries to darken its light in the eyes of the understanding. Satan and his rebellious crew in heaven, and afterwards our first parents in Eden, found this yoke of the Divine sovereignty as unbearable, as do the Liberals and Freemasons of Europe in our day. Some who pretend to moderation, while admiting God's sovereignty over the individual, will not allow it over the social man. And this is the basis of State worship, which is the practical Atheism of our times, the curse that is desolating Europe and threatens, even now, to invade our own country. In the course of his argument the author shows that the State, like all creatures, must be limited. He discusses and defines the limits of its power, and enumerates its duties, which, he says, may be reduced to two general heads, Religion and Justice.

This is the only part that has yet appeared, and the author intimates that the issuing of the other two will depend on the reception that may be given to his first essay by the public. The work is generally written not only with that clearness which results from the "*lucidus ordo*," but also with solidity. We must say, however, that the form into which he has thrown his book, that of a dialogue between master and scholar, is open to objection. Not that the dialogue may not be used to great advantage in religious or philosophical discussion, for the examples of the great masters of antiquity, Plato, Cicero, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and others, are proof to the contrary. But the interlocutor to be convinced should be on an equal footing; he should be an adversary who reasons, not a disciple who learns. The remarks of the scholar would seem, in some places, to lengthen the dialogue uselessly, if not tediously. And, even if it had the laconic brevity of a Catechism, the catechetical form would scarcely be available in our day against the enemies of the Church, to confound or convert whom the book has been written.

CHARACTERISTICS FROM THE WRITINGS OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. Arranged by *Samuel Lilly*, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, with the Author's approval. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co. 1876.

This volume ought to be, and, no doubt, will be, most welcome to American Catholic readers. As far as we know Catholic opinion in the United States, there is no writer in our language so much admired here as Dr. Newman. This we consider complimentary in no slight degree to American Catholics. Among the learned everywhere he is admitted to be the greatest intellect of the age, and one who has had very few superiors in any age; but that he should be so regarded by all classes of Catholics in this country is a proof of their ability to appreciate mental gifts of the very highest order, even when used in a manner not calculated, nor even intended, to captivate the masses. Dr. Newman is assuredly not a popular writer or preacher in the ordinary meaning of the term. Yet his sermons and lectures are read here with no less pleasure than profit, by the least as well as by the most cultivated classes. How is this to be accounted for? Only by the fact that with faith there comes an infused logic or intuition of truth, more or less vivid, as faith

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itself is allowed to influence our conduct, and which, in the apprehending of moral and revealed truth, does for Catholics what reflection and study are not able to accomplish in others. We once heard Dr. Brownson say that what he considered the nice points in his philosophical lectures, he had always found to be best appreciated by Catholic audiences composed chiefly of the working classes; and we all remember how instantaneously audiences of this kind were wont to respond to the keen and elevated satire of Dr. Marshall four years ago.

But it is not the intellectual gifts only of the great Oratorian that are appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. The many beautiful traits of character revealed in his writings, but fully understood only by those who have known the charm of his society, have enkindled a love for him in the hearts of our people greater than is felt by them for any other living author. His candor, his humility, his charity, his love of country, the strength and tenderness of his friendships, the sacrifices he has made, the sufferings he has endured for the truth and for fidelity to his convictions of duty, are claims to the affectionate regard of all men, long since recognized and felt by Catholics in America.

This volume of "Selections" enables one to form a better idea of Dr. Newman's character and intellectual ability than a desultory reading of detached productions of his could possibly give. It tells us, in his own words, the history of his religious thought from boyhood till his conversion in 1845, and of his earnest though fruitless efforts to find a theological basis for Church of Englandism. It presents him to us as a philosopher, historian, theologian, preacher, and lecturer, showing us, as it were, at one glance, the depth, brilliancy, and versatility of his talents in these various capacities. And yet, there are many other points of view in which he might be made to appear to no less advantage, about which this volume is silent. His knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, especially of the former, is said by those who know him best to be most profound. His "Church of the Fathers" is a masterpiece in the line of hagiography. "Calista" is, we think, unequalled, as a work of fiction, in any language. His verses show him to be a true poet, and we have it on very good authority that he is an accomplished musician. About the time of his conversion he broke into fragments a valuable Cremona, which, for long years, had been the solace of his lonely hours and less cheerful moods. It is needless to say in what spirit he made this sacrifice of an object so dear to him.

But the chief merit of these selections is yet to be told. They are a collection of thoughts, sometimes brilliant, often original, always beautiful and suggestive, on a variety of subjects connected with the philosophical and theological issues of the present time, clothed in exquisite language by the greatest living master of style. Each separate extract is either a sketch that will be remembered as a masterpiece, or an analysis exhaustive in its reach, startling in its distinctness, or an argument that leaves absolutely nothing to be subsumed or said by an opponent of the truth.

To say that this volume is worth its weight in gold would be to give but a faint indication of its worth. We consider it the most valuable addition ever made to English Catholic literature. It is a book that must live, as a classic, as a model of style, and as an authority on the subjects discussed in it, as long as the English language is spoken or understood.

We wish the Messrs. Sadlier had given it to us in larger and better type, and with as few typographical errors as are usually found in their publications.

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THE STUDENT'S HANDBOOK OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE. Containing sketches, biographical and critical, of the most distinguished English authors from the earliest times to the present day; with selections from their writings and questions, adapted to the use of schools. By *Rev. O. T. Jenkins, A.M.*, late President of St. Charles's College, Ellicott City, Md., and formerly President of St. Mary's College, Baltimore. 12mo., pp. 564. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1876.

The compiler's intention, as we are informed in the preface, was to prepare a text-book of British and American literature "which, in its general bearing, would be free from sectarian views and influences, and, in the extracts, be entirely unexceptionable in point of morality." The general object, then, is most praiseworthy—to reform, or rather to do away altogether with that system of text-books which has prevailed too long, and in which Catholic authors are carefully ignored and excluded, as if they had contributed nothing to literature worthy of preservation and study. But if, besides the recalling of Catholic works to their legitimate place in education, it be further intended to eliminate from the extracts everything that is distinctively Catholic—on the same grounds that whatever is offensively anti-Catholic is expunged from Protestant authors—the new system will not be generally approved. It is an improvement on the old, but it is far from what it ought to be; and though something perhaps may be said in its favor, we can scarcely reconcile ourselves to it for more reasons than one. In the first place literature itself would be the loser, for the highest degree of æsthetic beauty may be found in what is distinctively Catholic. What would become of "Evangeline" if its peculiarly Catholic features were to be swept aside by this critical besom? Not only the beauty, but the very life of the poem would be destroyed. Besides, a text-book like the present, which deals out some small measure of justice to our authors, is scarcely likely to meet countenance and obtain circulation outside of our own schools and colleges.

The remarks and criticisms of Father Jenkins are often elegantly expressed; they always show good taste and correct judgment. But in a book of this kind the work of selection is far more difficult than that of critical judgment, and will be rarely found to please all, or a majority of readers. They are more apt to note defects on this score, than the many excellencies of a text-book. And, indeed, it must be admitted that on this point the work before us is open to criticism. It seems to have been only a first sketch, and doubtless would have been considerably enlarged had the author lived to perfect his plan. But the editor might have remedied the defect. Why, for example, should there be no mention of the great parliamentary orators, Chatham, Sheridan, Grattan, and others? Names are wanting, even in the literature of our own country, to which obscurer names might have been made to give place. And in a book for a Catholic college the memory of the gentle Crashaw, whom Cowley saluted as "poet and saint," and of the author of the "Virgin Martyr," ought to have been preserved. Men too amongst us, like Brownson, the author of "Mohammed" and others, whom we could name, have been strangely overlooked.

If Father Jenkins's work should ever be reprinted, and we hope it may, it would not be amiss to add a supplement, which will make up for present deficiencies. Indeed, it is only by this method that such books are generally brought to some degree of perfection. The typography, binding, etc., are in Mr. Murphy's usual excellent style.

[*Owing to the length of several articles in the present number, the space devoted to this Department of the Review has been necessarily curtailed, and a number of notices of recent publications are, therefore, held over until our next issue.*]

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THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF THE CITY OF ROME,

AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CATHOLICS IN THEIR VARIOUS NATIONALITIES.

La Caduta di Roma per le Armi Italiane considerata nelle sue cagioni e nei suoi effetti da C. M. Curci, S.J. Firenze: L. Manuelli, 1870.

ST. PAUL says: *As the body is a unity and has many members, and as the fact that the members of the body are many, does not prevent the body being a unity, so likewise is Christ* (I. Cor. xii. 12). If it had been the design of God to make an entirely new creation for the Christian redemption, that should come into the world totally severed and disjoined from all that existed previously, and so absorb everything into itself, the second Adam would have been brought into the world clothed with a body totally void of all connection with anything that then existed in the world. But this every one knows not to have been the case. Christ took His human body from the existing world. His Mother was a maiden of the nationality of Israel, of the tribe of Juda, and of the house and lineage of David, and His birth took place by the disposition of Divine Providence in such a way that immediately after His seeing the light His name was entered as a subject on the census roll of the great Roman empire. In this respect the second Adam perfectly conforms Himself in His entry into the world to the example of the first Adam, whose body by the same analogy was fashioned by the hand of God, "*de limo terræ*" (from the moist earth) which,

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after receiving the breath of life, became the living soul, man, and obtained the name of Adam (Gen. ii.)

As Christ, then, is the beginning of the renovated order of the human creation, which through Him receives the heavenly gifts by which it becomes regenerated, so Christ in return does not fail fully and in all respects, one only excepted, to identify Himself with the world that existed before His incarnation. Hence it is that He stands before all the generations of Adam's family as—

I. *The second Adam*, a very and true man, born of woman.
II. *The Son of the Virgin Mary*—in fulfilment of the promise that a virgin should conceive and bear a son.
III. *The Son of David* and the *King of the Jews*—in fulfilment of the promise made to David.
IV. *The seed promised to Abraham*—in whom all the nations of the earth should be blest.
V. *A subject of the great Roman empire*—that is, connected with the nations of the world, whom He has come to redeem, by submitting Himself equally with them to the jurisdiction of the great empire over the nations that had been acquired by the ancient city of Rome.

He has proved Himself to be the second Adam by his sympathies for all the sufferings of the children of the first Adam which were brought under His observation.

He proved Himself to be the son of the Virgin Mary by His acknowledgment of her on the cross as His Mother; to be the son of David by His granting the prayer of the blind man who appealed to Him as the son of David; to be the King of the Jews by accepting the title to this effect over His head on the cross. He acknowledged His being a son of Abraham by the rite of circumcision; his subjection to the Mosaic law by His presentation in the temple; and lastly, He has acknowledged His character as a subject of the Roman empire before all the world by submitting to the sentence of death passed upon Him in the Roman court of Pontius Pilate. In a word, sin excepted, He would be a perfect part and portion of the world which He came to redeem.

Thus the Christ who is the author of our redemption comes into our world in every respect perfectly associated with it; and, as it is all-important to observe, not merely perfectly associated with that which existed at the time of His coming, but likewise with the past, with all that had previously existed. As the second Adam, he owns Himself associated with the whole world that began from the first Adam; as the son of Abraham, with the whole people descended from Abraham; as the son of David with the family of David and

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its fortunes; as a Roman subject with the city of Rome and all the nations subject to Rome. And the practical consequence of all this is, that, when we become members of His body as Christians, in Him and together with Him we become equally associated with all with which He condescended to associate Himself by coming into our world as man.

Hence follow a series of consequences attended with no slight practical results. If, through being a Christian, I am associated with the world descended from Adam, then it becomes me as a Christian, as far as circumstances permit, to acquire a correct historical knowledge of what has befallen the world descended from Adam. As a Christian my business is not with piety only, but also with knowledge. I need consequently, as a Christian, to acquire a fair and competent knowledge of the general history of the world, and how it has fared with people descended from the first forefathers of the human race. Next, I need a more special knowledge of the people descended from Abraham, and after this a more special knowledge still of the fortunes of the royal house of David; and lastly, I need a knowledge of the city of Rome and her empire over the nations. All this strictly follows from my being a Christian. It may be quite true that my lot in life may be to have to work so hard for a livelihood that, as the first law of the creation is to sustain and preserve the life that has been given, I may have extremely limited opportunities of acquiring the knowledge that it becomes me to acquire as a Christian. In such a case, of course, I must be satisfied to do the best that I can with such aids and helps that I can readily lay my hands upon.

But a considerable proportion of the Christian people are able to devote either the whole of their life previous to their legal majority of twenty-one, or at least a notable portion of it to the acquirement of knowledge in their various schools of learning; and all these schools have to be furnished with adequately skilled professors and masters in all the various branches and departments of knowledge, which the pupils frequenting them require for their future career, whatever this may be. The body of knowledge thus taught on the one hand and acquired on the other is of two kinds: First, the general knowledge above described, which it is becoming that every Christian should acquire, for the sole reason that he or she is a Christian, and which such Christian, granted the condition (which is a personal privilege and a special favor of Divine Providence) of being in easy or affluent circumstances, is therefore bound, with all reasonable care and diligence, to set to work to acquire; and secondly, the special knowledge and training proper to the particular calling or profession of which the person concerned may have made a legitimate choice.

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The first kind, or the general knowledge, to the acquirement of which all who have the requisite conditions of leisure and means are bound in decency as being Christians, forms the indispensable substructure on which those who are intended for their several careers in the various liberal professions proper to civilized social life are supposed to build their superstructure of special professional or scientific knowledge. Those again who are born to the simple enjoyment of great rank, wealth, and social position, are undoubtedly to be held bound in Christian decency to extend and perfect their acquirement of this body of general knowledge. Hence it is from the higher Christian academies and universities, where such studies can be carried to maturity and perfection, that the great and eminent Christian statesmen, magistrates, and public men may be expected to come forth, to the great social advancement and good of the commonwealth.

Now, in the body of general knowledge above described, the "Roman empire" stands forward as the object of the very greatest prominence. And here a question arises for which, although at times there has raged no little contention about it, and it has afforded no slight matter for fierce combat on both sides, what has been said above furnishes the key to apply a satisfactory solution. On the one side it has been contended we are Christians and not Pagans! What are we Christians doing, laboring with such extraordinary care to form the susceptible minds of our youth on the corrupt and degraded models of the Pagan world? To what purpose has the Christian redemption come to us, with its heavenly renovation of mind and heart, if all that we Christians can do is to go back to the beggarly elements of a lost and superseded state of society, and to exalt the old Roman mind, while we cover up and hide out of sight the glories of the redeemed world. On the other hand it is urged that Christ declared that, by His being lifted up on the cross, He would draw all things to Himself; and, in token of the accomplishment of His words, His title, "King of the Jews," was written in "Latin," "Greek," and "Hebrew," over His head on the cross; that is, in three choice languages of the world, outside of which there existed nothing but error, ignorance, and barbarism. The solution to the question thus debated, which we gain by what has been just said is clear, and such as should easily carry conviction to both parties in the dispute. We are undoubtedly as Christians connected through Christ with the old Roman empire, for the one reason, if others were wanting, that He has elected to be Himself connected with it by being entered on its census roll, and by accepting a sentence of one of its law courts as the mode of offering the sacrifice of Himself for the redemption of the whole human race. Christ, as we know from the Apostles' Creed,

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has chosen the Roman empire to be the power by whose public sentence He would lay down His life; and he has further chosen to exhibit His power in weakness by subsequently taking to Himself the chief city of the empire, to whose law courts he paid the respect of accepting their sentence of death, to become the chief seat of government to the end of the world for his mystical body the Church. As long as Rome, the chief seat of the government of the Church, is the same Rome which was the central seat of the old empire's government of the nations, here is the link of a standing chain by which as Christians we continue to be bound up with the old empire. But our connection with it comes to us through Christ, and, if we are connected with it, we are so connected only as Christians. We are not to be, like the rest of the world, blind admirers of Old Rome, but being made free by a truth higher than anything known to Old Rome, whatever there is to be found in Old Rome that is grand and noble, this becomes part of the spoil of which the One stronger than the strong man armed has despoiled him, and which He has given and distributed to His own people.

It is for the unbelievers of the world, the men without God, and to whom the future is a hopeless, undiscernible blank, blindly to admire the old Roman empire. For us Christians there is, doubtless, much to be learned from its history and through its literature; but the principle that we must bring to its study is always to bear in mind that we have to approach it as Christians—that, if there is very much to be learned from it, this must always be on the condition of that which we learn being subject to correction from higher Christian truth. One extreme most commonly leads to another; and the large and lamentable degree of failure on the part of the one school in respect of duly remembering that the history of Old Rome, and its treasures of classic literature, both Latin and Greek, are to be used and read subject to the correction of Christian truth and morality, is no doubt the chief if not almost the only cause of the partial cry that has been raised for the banishment of the Classics from the Catholic education of youth.

That their banishment, however, from Catholic education is a simple impossibility must be a matter of the plainest evidence; but on the other hand their subjection to Christian truth is not the less a sacred duty; and events have now come to pass which we must contend go a very great way to impose upon the consciences of the teachers in Catholic schools, more than ever, the duty of taking the necessary pains to establish firmly and clearly the true connection of the old empire with the Catholic Church in the minds of their pupils. This, in other words, is to make sure that every Catholic pupil receiving a liberal education is brought to understand how it comes to pass that the Roman prefect, Pontius Pilate, has a

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place in the Apostles' Creed, and why Jesus Christ condescended to come into the world as a subject of the former Roman empire, and why, from having been the first few days after His birth enrolled on the register of the subjects of the empire, and having subjected Himself to the death of a public malefactor from one of its Provincial tribunals, He has since vindicated His power over the earth, by appropriating to the purposes of His Church the city which was the seat of the very empire that passed the sentence of death upon Him.

Many reasons exist which may be given to show cause why the Divine plan of human redemption should have predetermined to fix upon the city of Rome as the permanent home and seat of the supreme government of the Church; one of these is sufficient for our present purpose. Christ had said to His Apostles previous to His last commission given to them to go into all lands to teach His religion, "All power is given to Me in heaven and on *earth*." The infidels of the earth, to whom the Christian doctrines appear to be the merest useless pious phantasies of the weak-minded and the devotees, laugh in their sleeves very complacently at the claim that the Christians make of the supreme power of the founder of their religion; they can very well afford to make the Christ of the Christians welcome to His power in heaven. In this they are quite consistent, as it is no concern of theirs one way or the other who may or may not have supreme power there. What they understand perfectly, however, to concern them, is the claim that He has likewise supreme power over the earth. Here the disposition of Divine Providence has been such that while there is, on the one hand, very much to prove the faith and to try the fidelity of those who believe, the supreme power of Jesus Christ over the earth, on the other hand, has a veil largely cast over it to hide it in mercy from the eyes of the unbelievers, in order that their contempt and contumacy against it may not add, measure to measure, in the increase of their condemnation. Still, the Divine plan would not leave the generations of men without at least one signal proof set up in the midst of the nations of the world to bear its umistakable evidence, that Jesus Christ, the victim of the unjust sentence of Pontius Pilate, does possess supreme power not only in heaven, but also over the earth; and the proof consists in this, that all the nations and people of the earth have placed before their eyes the fact, that He who thus suffered death takes Rome, the eternal city, the city which in past times asserted its power to subdue all the nations of the earth to its single rule, and makes this very city, and not any other city, the supreme seat of government for His glad message and covenant of salvation for all the people, tribes, and kindreds of the earth.

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Again, it may also be added that He was willing in this respect to show His tender consideration for His people. In His own person He would not receive testimony from men; He would be known as the simple "Nazarene," and make no account of the contempt of the world for the native of so obscure a spot as Nazareth. But then, if He Himself chose to be a Nazarene, His people are not to be Nazarenes, but "Romans;" they are to inherit the name, the renown, and the dignity of the conquerors and the masters of the world. He would bear Himself to be the despised and the rejected of men; but His followers, as long as they are faithful to Him, are to be constituted in honor, and to be called Romans, a name which has earned an imperishable fame in the sight of all the nations of the earth.

However, all that God was pleased to do for the former Israel, to exalt the Hebrew people to great honor, and to make their city of Jerusalem the mistress of the nations, was conditional on their being faithful to the law of Moses. "If Israel would have walked in My ways I would have humbled his enemies perhaps to annihilation, and I would have laid My hand upon those that troubled him" (Ps. lxxx. 14). The rule of God for His former Israel remains the same for the Christian people. If they are to be honored on the earth, honor can come to them only so long and in so far as they honor and conform themselves to the Christian law. If God is to be required to humble their adversaries perhaps to annihilation, and to lay His hand upon those who trouble them, they in return must walk not in their own ways, but in His ways. And if the behavior of the Christian people had been better, and more pleasing to God than it has been, their social position in the world would have been better and more honorable than it is. "Woe to the world," said Christ, "because of scandals" (Matt. xviii. 7). St. Paul also speaks of Christ "having in readiness to punish all disobedience when *your* obedience is fulfilled" (II. Cor. x. 6).

The above homely and practical truths properly precede and serve as a suitable introduction to the following passage from Padre Curci's remarks on the fall of Rome under the arms of the Italian kingdom:

"If you put together the three elements, which up to the present we have observed in the conduct of Europe relatively to the fall of Rome, to wit:

"I. The sanction given to the prevalence of force over right.

"II. The manifestation of a positive hostility to the Catholic Church, which shows the general desire to see it in fetters.

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"III. The haughty contempt for the strongest and most universally prevalent feeling among the Catholic nations—

"Put all this together and you will see on what an overwhelming force of reason the inference as to the civil and moral decadence of modern Europe comes to stand. A decadence which resembles that of Paganism in its worst period, when besides having no other law than that of brute force, it was a persecutor of the Church and a tyrant over the people, two qualities which always appear in the pages of history as walking hand in hand" (*La Caduta di Roma per le Armi Italiane*, p. 62).

The whole body of the Catholic people dispersed throughout the various nations of the world have now been familiarized, for five years, with the sight of the empress city, Rome, reduced to the servile condition of serving as maid of all work for the new Italian kingdom. "The mistress of the nations has become, as it were, a widow; the chief over the provinces has been brought under tribute" (Lam. 1. i).

When we compare the real magnitude of the injury which the Italian nation, as represented by the faction now dominant among them, has done to the honor and public credit of the whole body of the two hundred millions of Catholics spread over the world, in their different nationalities, with the whole sum of the various symptoms that have been publicly manifested indicating the displeasure and indignation of this vast multitude against the act of the Italian government, can we be otherwise than painfully struck with its deplorable inadequacy? Who could easily see in the generation now upon earth the successors to the Crusaders of the middle ages? Let it be pleaded in our defence that the Catholic faith is now very much more widely spread over the earth than it was in the days of the Crusades; that those who are so scattered among heterodox populations, who are so separated from each other by space, language, and difference of local interests and ways of life are taken too much by surprise, at an unexpected calamity, to know how to act, what to think, or how to communicate and to take counsel one with another. Let it be said that addresses of sympathy with the Pope in his humiliation have poured in on all sides, that the generous offerings of his people from all parts of the world flow into his treasury, and that the sacred person of the prisoner of the Vatican receives far more honor from all quarters of the world than the sacrilegious invader of his city receives from the daring faction which makes use of his royalty and name for purposes of their own. Granted all this, and would that we could make the picture still more rich in palliatives, under cover of which we might conceal from view the terrible distance which separates us from the

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courage, the daring, and intelligence which gathered all the choice warriors of Christendom round the standard of the cross. Let our defence be what it may, and would that we could plead much more effectually in our own behalf, there, nevertheless, still remains before our own eyes and the eyes of the whole world the fact, that a mere Italian faction, not representing the faithful Catholic multitudes of Italy, dares to seize upon the capital city of Christendom. This act of daring becomes the more remarkable because the faction in question not only treats the wishes and feelings of the vast majority of the Italian people as if they were not worth being regarded, but, as if this was not enough, they equally set at naught the whole of the two hundred millions of the Catholics in their various nationalities throughout the world. In this, it must be confessed for the present, they appear to have reckoned quite with their host, and to have come most comfortably to the conclusion that they need not care two rows of pins. For, if the worst comes, these two hundred millions can never go any greater length in manifesting their dissatisfaction than in addressing a greater or less number of feeble, pious condolences to the person of their chief Pontiff on the events that have come to pass; a mode of acting from which the faction in question, as may be readily supposed, do not expect to have to experience any very serious inconvenience.

Perhaps, indeed, some portion of the tranquillity—let us use this word rather than "apathy"—of mind, with which, in the main, the vast body of the Catholic populations have acquiesced in the sacrilege of the Italian faction, arose from a certain perception of the truth that the care and protection of the city of Rome is the concern of the Powers above; that "qui conque mange du Papa en crêve;" that the same God who drowned Pharao and the Egyptian army in the Red Sea, holds the city of Rome in His keeping; and that, by and by, He will manifest His power in the city of Rome, as He did in the city of Jerusalem when an entire Assyrian army fled in dismay from an invisible power that defended the city, leaving multitudes of their dead behind them. That, by and by, those who have invaded Rome will be in a greater hurry to escape out of it than ever they were to gain it into their possession.

Let us by all means hope the very best, as regards what may be said in defence of the vast helpless multitude of the Catholic people, whom the comparatively mere puny handful of daring Italian associates treat with such absolute disdain, that they do not give to their dissatisfaction, and to their sense of the injury inflicted upon them, so much as the honor of a place in the calculation of the obstacles that stand in the way of their designs. When Nehemias was rebuilding the walls of the city of Jerusalem, Tobias, the Ammonite, said contemptuously: "Let them build, if a jackal comes

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up he will be able to leap over their wall." (II. Edras iv. 3.) The Italian faction which now occupies Rome has about the same estimate of the power of the two hundred millions of the Catholics, to oppose their designs. "Hear, O our God," exclaims Nehemias, "for we are despised. Turn back our shame on to the head of these men. Give them over to contempt in the land of captivity."

This patent and manifest helplessness of so vast a multitude under the infliction of so dire an injury, does not arise from the operation of any one cause, neither is the remedy in the hands of any one nation or people. It is a remark of Pascal, that those who are being drifted away by a current at sea never know how fast they are being swept away from their course until they come across some rock or fixed object, when they then at once discover their true predicament. The fact of the city of Rome in the hands of the puny Italian faction which has seized upon it, and which is able, in defiance of the whole of Christendom, to hold its Supreme Pontiff a prisoner in the Vatican Palace, stands before the Catholic multitudes of all the nations upon the earth, as a fixed object before their eyes to show them the huge current of anti-Christian civilization, to a companionship with which they have blindly committed themselves, and in partnership with which they have been unreflectingly content to know themselves to be carried forward by the general current.

It is impossible for a mind possessed of any power of reflection, added to a Christian sense of right and wrong, not to fix his eyes upon this fact, that the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church is at the present moment in the power of a hostile faction, and, like a second Daniel, in the den of lions. God, it is true, has sent his angel, and, for the present, has shut the mouths of the Italian lions. The lions of the Italian faction are gathered round him, eager for their victim, but One above has said to them, "Noli tangere Christos meos," and a supernatural dread has fallen upon them. The aged and venerable Pontiff still rules over his flock from the place of his imprisonment, and all the treasures of the Catholic Church, the sacred records of the past, the acts of Councils, the relics of the martyrs and saints, are still untouched. But in whose custody are all these treasures to be for the future? Divine Providence, in times past, for a thousand years from the time of Charlemagne downwards to the time of Napoleon I., provided the Holy See with an armed defender of its city. One of the great Christian princes of Europe received from the reigning Pope the "Crown of the Holy Roman Empire," and this Prince became by his coronation oath the sworn protector and supporter of the rights of the Papacy. Since the present century has set in not one of the princes of Europe is found worthy to have this crown given to him, per-

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haps it may even be true that not one is found who could so much as dare to be a candidate for it, in consequence of the obligation which its coronation oath would impose upon him.

Is it then the will of God that the Papacy should remain for the future without a material defence and protection, to supply the place of the armed crowned defenders, whose race has become an extinct species, not one being found worthy or competent to succeed? It will be manifestly contrary to all intelligent faith in the Omnipotence of the Divine government which rules over the universe of men, for us to surrender helplessly to the thought, that, because the line of crowned defenders of the Central See of Christendom has come to a default, the last hour of Roman Catholicism has struck.

It may be perfectly true that we shall have to remain, possibly for an indefinite time, outside the knowledge of the counsels of God with reference to the future position of the Holy See in the world, and that we must content ourselves with what faith alone reveals to us, viz., that God has His counsels, and that in due time He will make these known to all the nations. The sacred proverb says: "Altiora te ne quæsieris," and the wisdom of old Rome has said:

> "Negligens ne quâ populus laboret
> Parce privatus, nimium cavere."

The various Catholic multitudes in the different nations of the world, have, however, now the plainest possible evidence placed before their eyes, how completely they are an object of contempt to the Italian faction, who do not see in them the least appreciable obstacle to their sacrilegious seizure of the chief city of Christendom, and who do not apprehend being in the least degree seriously incommoded by any power they may possess to raise an outcry, or to manifest their displeasure. "O, my God!" exclaimed Nehemias, "we are despised." What then was the effect upon the mind of Nehemias, of his perception how completely he and his people were despised, by those who surrounded them, and who were lookers-on at their work. The effect this had upon him, was to nerve and steel his resolve to go on with his work and to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

This is precisely the effect which the contempt the Italian faction has shown for us, should have upon our minds. We are despised, nothing can be plainer than this. The empress city, Rome, "degraded by an Italian faction to the level of a third rate national capital, such as Lisbon or Madrid. The Christian mistress of the nations become a widow, and her Supreme Pontiff a prisoner, constituted under the dominion of a hostile power"—who can help

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pointing the finger of scorn at the huge helpless multitude that has to make itself easy and comfortable under the indignity. Well, what can be plainer than that we are despised? Shall we mend matters by pretending not to see that we are despised? No! the act of contempt is patent, and in the face of day, and there it is, set up and exposed to view in the city of Rome, in the sight of all the people of the earth. We are despised, and there is no mistake about it. What are we to do? The answer is plain. Do like Nehemias, in a perfectly similar plight—go forward with greater determination than ever to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

"To rebuild the walls of Jerusalem," are words of great import, and of wide and extensive application,—but they have this advantage, that they are capable of being understood by every individual of the great Catholic multitude in every part of the world in a manner profitable to himself and others,—but for our present purpose we must be permitted to narrow their application and to concentrate their meaning upon one particular subject.

Doubtless, one of the reasons why the whole Catholic multitude throughout the world has received the wound inflicted upon it by the Italian faction, with such comparative silence and stupor, is the failure to appreciate adequately the deadly nature of the wound. "Conticuit populus meus," says the prophet; "eo quod non habuerit scientiam" (Osee iv. 6). The fact of the city of Rome being the city which affords the seat of government for the Christian nations, has passed in a superficial way for a geographical accident, rather than for any fixed provision of the Divine plan for the government of the world for which great and serious reasons can be given. Hence the unreflecting Catholic multitude manages to satisfy itself very easily with the thought, "Surely any other city will answer just as well." Why should the Pope, for example, have any difficulty in accepting the offer, understood to have been made to him by the British Government, of a residence in the Island of Malta? What is there so particular in Rome above all other cities or places, that the Pope cannot be at least quite sufficiently well provided for anywhere else? What is there again in Rome that should make the whole body of the Catholic people throughout the world at war with the Italians, if the latter, in the fervor of their joy for the acquisition for the first time of the consciousness of being a united nation, have seen in Rome that kind of pre-eminence which would best reconcile all the other cities of Italy to the central seat of the new national government being fixed there? Why should the Catholics of the world begrudge the newly-born Italian nation the possession of the one city of their country to which all the other cities of Italy would cheerfully yield precedence, and why should the Pope render himself any obstacle to so necessary and judicious an ar-

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rangement? Under the new state of things all the guarantees that can possibly be required for the perfect freedom of the Pope in his spiritual capacity, are freely and generously offered by the Italian Kingdom; what more then can the most orthodox and zealous Catholic by any possibility desire?

There is perhaps, if the sad truth must be confessed, little ground for wonder, in the present state of popular Catholic knowledge on the subject of Rome and Roman, that the Catholic multitudes should be induced to acquiesce for the moment in an order of ideas that screen from view the real depth of the wound inflicted, and which steer clear of the unwelcome conviction as to the terrible decadence of faith and intelligence that must have been known to have spread far and wide in order to allow of the possibility of that which has come to pass. The prophet's words recur again and again: "Conticuit populus meus eo quod non habuerit scientiam." We do not know, and it is, for our misfortune and calamity, no part of our current popular system of instruction, that all classes, high and low, rich and poor, should be made to understand what the city of Rome is to the Catholic religion. All the nations of the world know the sound of the name, "Roman Catholic;" but to be familiar with the name Roman, as the associate and companion of Catholic, is rather a simple fact than a pledge that our multitudes at all rightly understand the real force of the reasons why all the nations of the world have now for several generations unanimously agreed to call themselves not simply Catholics, but Roman Catholics.

Here, then, Nehemias's example and pattern finds something definite on which to set to work. Here is a manifest and well-defined gap in the walls of the city, where the defences require to be rebuilt and to be made secure. Our multitudes, even where the recent act of the Italian faction fills them with a certain vague sense of a wrong perpetrated, fail to render a reason to themselves clearly and distinctly why the act in question contains so great a wrong; and the cause is, "want of the requisite knowledge." Did we all know the true reason of our being Roman Catholics we should know why and on what grounds to cry out that the city of Rome is the gift of the God who reigns above to the whole body of the Christian people, to be to them their Centre of Unity, where they can claim brotherhood with all the other nations of the world, to be the seat of supreme government for the Christian religion, and the treasure-house where all the various precious records and documents of the Divine Revelation can be securely preserved in the hands of their proper responsible custodians. Rome in the custody of the Sovereign Pontiff, and of all the various members of his household and his court, is in the hands of those to whom God has given Rome,

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and through the sacred person of St. Peter's successors every person in any official position in the city becomes responsible to God for his care of that which is committed to his keeping. Rome in the hands of an Italian faction is not only a jewel of great price in the snout of a swine, but none of the Christian treasures Rome contains are safe in their keeping. The sole cause, then, why a cry of indignation is not raised against the sacrilege of the Italian faction, from every part of the earth, is the same which drew forth the lament of the prophet, "Conticuit populus meus eo quod non habuerit scientiam."

In the spirit, then, of the faithful and undaunted Nehemias it will henceforward become us to resolve to redress this great defect, and to take such measures as lie within our reach, to bring about for the future that at least the necessary knowledge shall not be wanting to give nerve and vigor to the universal cry of Catholic indignation against the daring and sacrilegious usurpation of the capital of Christendom.

And here we have only to reflect upon the rich resources which the providence of God places at our command, to be filled with a kind of wonder and amazement, that through the goodness of God we should possess a territory so vast and ample, and by our own inertness should fail so largely to reap from it the harvest it is calculated to yield.

Let us quietly and impartially look into the case that is before us. We have, then, the very obvious fact before our eyes that every one, male or female, who has the least pretension to have received a liberal education, has been taught the history of the Roman Empire; and all men who have this claim, with a certain proportion of the feminine sex, acquire their share of knowledge of the literature, Latin and Greek, which was the basis of a liberal education in the time of Imperial Rome. Here, then, is the plain and obvious fact of a connection existing between Ancient Rome and the liberal education of the youth of the nations of the world. There is simply no such thing known as a liberal education in which old Rome has not its place, and in which it is not in all cases represented by its history, and in the majority of cases also by its literature. In the case of the youth of the Catholic Church, Old Rome and the New Christian Rome are combined together. The authority of the Roman Pontiff extends over all that concerns the education of the youth of the Catholic Church; and, with the exception of the national literature proper to each nation and people, all of which is everywhere amenable to the judgment of Rome, all liberal education is founded on the Sacred Scriptures and the Christian classics, and on the history and literature, Greek and Latin, of old Rome.

The history of old Rome and its literature necessarily bring up

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the present city of Rome before the mind. It is simply impossible for the mind to dissociate the world-wide action of the old Rome, which is the substance of all early liberal knowledge, from the present Christian city, whose acts of Christian government extend far more widely still over the earth. The human understanding and its powers of intelligence must plainly cease to be what God has made them if it were possible to prevent a liberal education in Roman history and literature from solidly implanting in the mind a wonderful feeling of the greatness and the majesty of the city of Rome. If Horace could say with truth, nineteen centuries ago—

> Alme sol curru nitido diem qui
> Promis et celas aliusque et idem
> Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Romam
> Visere majus—

the heart of every student at the present day re-echoes the sentiment with an increased force. The distance of time lends a certain enchantment to the view, and the mind unconsciously reflects how great must have been the glories, over the memory of which time has no power, which lapse of ages cannot obscure, and which generations, as they come and go, all honor with the same undying loyalty and veneration.

So far a liberal education produces in all alike its uniform fruits. But contrast both the antecedents and the sequel in the respective instances of the intelligent Catholic student, whose studies have been directed in the manner which it is our purpose here to advocate as forming the rule and the norm of a true Catholic treatment of Roman history, and the manner in which the same study is directed in all schools and universities, whether Protestant or simply secular.

To the ordinary Protestant student the rise of the city of Rome from the Roma Quadrata of Romulus and Remus on the Palatine Hill to the city's universal empire over the nations, is a mere fact of history, a bare phenomenon, a sort of comet or meteor in the great atmosphere of the world. The meteor first made its appearance in the persons of Romulus and Remus, ran its career through the air, and finally disappeared in the person of its last emperor, Romulus Augustulus; and all that can be said of it is, that its career through the air was marked with many extraordinary marvels, but whence it came and where it is gone, or whether it is not simply dissolved into space, no Protestant student so much as learns to inquire; and should any student by chance conceive the desire to inquire, he would certainly have to go to some other quarter for an answer to his inquiry than to his teachers. For these would not only be unable to give him one, but would in all

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probability express their extreme surprise at his wanting to know. And then as regards the Wonderful City which was the seat of this marvellous meteor power, has this turned out to be a meteor also, which has been absorbed into space, and which has passed out of the world of the living? Or has it come to be a mysterious Palmyra buried in the sands of the desert, from time to time visited by some enterprising traveller at the risk of his life? What has become of it? Before it ceased to be an object of his studies he had learned that it claimed to be eternal, and had even stamped its money with the words "Romæ æternitati" to the "eternity of Rome." What has become of its eternity? Poor student of a Protestant or secular school of learning, where will you find one who will take compassion upon you and try to answer your question?

However, our Protestant student finds when he comes to know a little more of the actual world in which he lives, that the great conquering meteor, whose brilliant career has been the object of his study, has left its city behind; that the city still bears the same name of the "*Eternal City;*" and that, if it was then the central seat of a power that gave laws to the bulk of the then known world, it is now become the centre of a power which makes its voice heard over the entire globe, which sends its missionaries into every clime and every latitude, which treats on equal terms with all the kings of the earth, and whose decrees are in force among every people of the earth. He must go out of the earth, says St. Bernard, who would find anything not subject to the Pontiff of Rome. Every eye still continues turned to this city from every part of the earth; and sooner shall the end of all things come, than Rome shall cease to be the heart of the civilized world. Poor Protestant student, do not ask your teachers to account to you for this continuation, in a far more wonderful manner still, of the power and jurisdiction of the ancient Rome. All that they can do for you is to tell you that the subsequent career of this wonderful city has ceased to engage the attention or to occupy the minds of the learned world, that it has fallen into the hands of a mixed system of spiritual despotism and idolatry founded on ignorance and terrorism, and that the superior enlightenment of more recent times is unanimous in passing it over as quite unfit for the study of those who are preparing to take their place in the modern world.

The best account then that the Protestant, and, if you will, the secular system (they are cousin-germans) of conducting a liberal education, can give of the great Roman Empire, which in its literature, Latin and Greek, and in its history forms the spine and marrow of a liberal education, is that in its beginning it was without a purpose, that its career was one continuous blind thirst for con-

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quest and dominion equally without a purpose, that as it grew to its vast extent and power by slow advances, so it in the same way shrank and dwindled away by slow degrees, through dismemberment and inertness, and finally its end was without honor, as its beginning had been unknown to fame. It came upon the scene for no known end, and disappeared from the scene without any sequel, leaving the world very much as it had found it, to take care of itself, and to continue its wars of people with people and of nation with nation.

Contrast the above picture of chaos and confusion with the lucid statement of a perfect design on the part of Divine Providence for the government of the world, which the light of faith enables the Catholic school of liberal education to place before its pupils for the direction of their studies.

The Sacred Scriptures inform us that when the world began to be peopled once more from the family of Noe, a band of associates formed the plan of building a city and a fortress, to make their name famous before the growing population required to spread and divide itself over the earth. A city and a fortress have never had any other meaning than to secure political power and sovereignty, and the most usual way in which associates aim to make their name famous, is by acquiring political power into their hands. Moreover, their city and fort had a design against religion; its power was intended to reach to heaven. A city and fortress of this kind would have become a seat of central government over all the people of the earth; and that in their plan was contained a design against the religion of the earth, and that the associates intended to rule over both body and soul, follows from the act of God interposing to baffle and overthrow their scheme, for God does not interpose in the world except for sufficient reason. The building of a city and a fortress does not by any means of itself imply any crime against the majesty and sovereignty of God; but a city intended to be the seat of a power for ruling over the consciences and souls of men, and for acquiring such dominion as this into the hands of a set of associates, becomes a real crime against the majesty of God, calling for an act of His power to baffle and suppress it.

The particular act of God by which this design was suppressed, viz., by the confusion of speech, has left on the family of Adam far more visible marks of its effect than the Deluge has left on the material world. Peoples, divided by differences of language, scattered over the earth into all lands, have become separated from the centres and schools of learning, and estranged and alienated from each other. They have lost and corrupted their knowledge of God in their isolated condition, and, finally, they have fallen into all the

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various forms of barbarism, more or less abject, in which huge numbers of tribes and peoples are still to be found even at the present hour. We ask, what in the Divine plan was to be taken and used as the remedy of the terrible wound inflicted upon the human family by the confusion of languages? For God ever remembers mercy in his judgments. The evil consisted in the alienation and estrangement of the various members of the human family from each other. A city with its pride of unjust, impious dominion, had been the occasion of the wound being inflicted, and a city was to be taken for the remedy of the wound. From a city the evil had taken its beginning, and through a city it was to find its cure.

> Ars ut artem falleret
> Et medelam ferret inde
> Hostis unde læserat.

Babel and its fortress was the cause, the ruin. Rome, with its conquest and pacification of the world, was to bring the remedy; Rome was to give to the alienated and mutually estranged tribes and peoples of the earth their common citizenship and their centre of unity.

At first the citizens of the rising city which was to conquer the world were to use the world's weapons, and to prevail by armed legions, and to create a military empire, in the wake of whose conquests peace and good order, civilization, and the arts of life were to follow; but as time advanced there was to come One into the world who was to be stronger than the strong man armed of the old empire, whose goods were to be in peace as long as he guarded them. This stronger man was to send His chosen Apostle Peter to fix his chair in the city and to gather his new order of followers about him. The ancient city seeing a religion growing up in its walls, which to its amazement it found to be coextensive with the world, and which declared the gods worshipped by the empire to be mere foul demons, was to be maddened with rage and jealousy, to the extent of ten several times in the course of three hundred years, and to seek to exterminate the followers of the new religion by the united action of its law courts, and their death penalties. A countless number were found to stand up and brave all the tortures and forms of death which disappointed rage and jealousy could invent, and in the end the old empire surrendered, overcome by the manifestation of such superhuman power of endurance.

Then the emperors of Rome became Christian; and, overcome by the majesty of the greater Christian unity of the nations which was rapidly supplanting, in the person of the Roman Pontiff, the former military and administrative unity of which they were themselves the centre, they removed their seat of government from Rome to

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Constantinople. The old empire had now done its work, and from this time it begins to decay, and finally perishes. But the city of Rome becomes more than ever glorious among the nations as their Christian centre of unity, and, in the year A.D. 800, the reigning Pope restores the Christian or Holy Roman Empire, and bestows the crown of it upon Charlemagne, whose coronation oath obliges him to defend the city and its Pontiff.

The city continues for a thousand years, from Charlemagne up to the last of the line of emperors, whom Napoleon I. compelled to abdicate, the abode of the Popes under the protection of their sworn crowned defenders. And the present century sets in, leaving the city and its Pontiff in the midst of the nations to take its fate amongst them.

Contrast for a moment the pitiful confusion of great events without end or aim, which Roman history studied in a Protestant or secular school presents to the mind of its pupils, with the beautiful and satisfactory light which Faith throws upon the whole of the history to the mind of the Catholic student. Compare, on the one side, the mangled and truncated catalogue of disjointed facts, with one portion of the history as extravagantly lauded and extolled as the other is sedulously covered up and hidden from sight, with the constant, onward march of the history, on the other, in which the Eternal City, the divinely-adopted centre of unity for the nations of the world, chosen in mercy for the mitigation of the Divine judgment and penalty, always forms the centre of the picture on which the mind rests, and we may easily perceive what a charm and a power for good there is in the truth.

Where is the right-minded student of history who, with the choice fairly laid before him, would not say, Give me the beautiful order, the light, and the lucid intelligence which the Catholic plan of the history opens before me. Knowledge, says the old adage, is power; and when St. Peter says to us, "Do you, using all diligence, minister in your faith virtue, and in your virtue knowledge" (1. Peter, ii.), what have we else to do but to comply with his words?

The peculiar circumstances of the time, then, we must contend, constitute the call to us to be diligent in cultivating this knowledge. For the city of Rome and the Father of Christendom are now thrown by the disposition of Divine Providence upon the good-will and attachment of all the nations. Let the nations be everywhere full of faith and veneration, and the Pope may live among them as a father lives among His children. The services of the armed policeman are not supposed to be needed to enable the beloved and respected father to live in peace in the bosom of his family, who love and revere him, and esteem his least wish to be law. But alas,

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who among us can cherish such a desperate illusion as to try to persuade ourselves that the nations of the world, and particularly the people of Europe, who are nearest to him, constitute the loving and reverential household gathered about the sacred person of the Father of Christendom. Who can look forward to the unknown future without a certain dismay, and a heartfelt prayer that it may please God to avert the evil day. We are not masters of the future, and it is not in our hands; but it is in our power to make use for the present moment of that which God places in our reach. Hence we may, in conclusion, revert to the example of Nehemias. The more he perceived himself to be an object of contempt and ill-will to his adversaries the more resolutely he set himself to the work of rebuilding and strengthening the defences of His city. *Let us follow his example;* and then, should it be the pleasure of the Providence of God to bring days of darkness and suffering on the Father of Christendom, and on the city which is the Christian centre of unity for all the nations of the earth, we may, through our diligence and perseverance, have the comfort of knowing that the words of the prophet, "Conticuit populus meus eo quod non habuerit scientiam," do not apply to our particular people, but that they will be ready to join with us, heart and soul, in raising our cry against the crime and wrong that will then have been committed.

CATHOLIC INDIANS IN MICHIGAN AND WISCONSIN.

"At the present day, with the exception of a few insignificant bands of converted Indians in Lower Canada, not a vestige of early Jesuit influence can be found among the tribes. The seed was sown upon a rock." Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. i., p. 55.

"The missions had failed because the Indians had ceased to exist." *Idem: The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century.* Page 320.

TO do justice to a writer, himself by no means scrupulous when quoting from Catholic sources, we must admit that the author of *The Jesuits in North America*, apparently forgetful of the existence, and but superficially acquainted with the present condition of our own northwestern Indians, may, in penning the above lines, have had in view the fate of the Huron and Algonquin tribes in Canada alone. But as it stands, and as it will be understood by the reader, that sweeping judgment on the result of the early Jesuits' labors holds about the same relation to truth as the novelist's plot

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to the sober historical facts on which he strings the threads of his fanciful texture.

Those Jesuit Fathers would not, it is true, be a whit less worthy of every American's grateful admiration, if time and events beyond their control had really destroyed the last vestige of their missions; and hence, were it only a question of their claims to the admiration of posterity, the aberrations of this imaginative historian would call for no correction at our hands. But erroneous impressions, prevailing to some extent even in Catholic circles on this subject, have already been attended with some very lamentable consequences. One of them, we think, we can recognize in the humiliating fact that for a considerable number of Indians already converted, and for others still buried in heathen darkness though not generally averse to Christianity, the large and yearly increasing body of the Catholic priesthood in the United States has not a member to spare. To help to remove those impressions is one of the chief objects of the present paper on the *history, conversion, and present religious condition of the Indian tribes in Michigan and Wisconsin*—the theme suggested to the writer as one that would prove interesting to the readers of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY. Let facts speak and history tell her tale!

A glance at any map or statistical table, showing the distribution of Indian tribes over the land, will reveal the fact, perhaps not quite insignificant, that in the whole area of the United States, east of the Mississippi, you will find few traces of their original Indian populations, except where the image of the crucified Redeemer, in the hands of a Jesuit, was once held up to the veneration of the benighted native. A remnant of Abenakis in Maine, and Iroquois in the northern part of New York; larger bodies of Algonquins, chiefly Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Menomones, together with portions of the "Five Nations" in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Northeastern Minnesota, are all that remain within the area specified of the ancient masters of the soil; and these are precisely the tribes among whom the sweat and blood of our early missionaries were most freely spent. Those Indians are not all Catholics, nor even Christians; but the influence of the Church, once strongly felt by their sires, is still in a measure being brought to bear upon the greater part of the present generation, which would hardly be the case had not the ground been broken by those sturdy workmen of the seventeenth century. Besides, entitled partly at least to all the rights of citizenship, allowed the privilege of a home, and devoted mainly to agricultural pursuits, the greater number of these Indians have attained to such a degree of civilization as renders it highly improbable that the question of their removal will ever again be proposed; and this, too, it may safely be said, nay, to some extent,

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their very existence, they owe to the labors of the great missionary Order. As to the insignificancy of these bands or tribes, let it be understood that, small as their absolute numbers may be—less than 1000 to 12,000 severally—the present numerical strength of one of the last-mentioned Algonquin tribes, the Ottawas, is not inferior to that of the two others, Menomones and Ojibwas, and even greatly in excess of what it was at the time of the Jesuits' first arrival among their fathers.[1]

This was when the missionaries Raymbault and Jogues came to visit the assembled Ojibwas and Pottawattamies at the Rapids of St. Mary, in Upper Michigan, only nine years after the second occupation of Canada by the French, and five years, as Bancroft has it, before Eliot addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelled within six miles of Boston harbor. It was, however, merely for the purpose of reconnoitring the field, that those Fathers, in June, 1641, set out from their Huron Mission of St. Mary's, near the southern coast of Georgian Bay; and, of the 2000 Indians they met at the Rapids, less than 200 were residents of the place. The Pottawattamies, then fugitives from the shores of Lake Michigan, dwelt only as transient guests among their Ojibwa cousins, the small band of *Bawitigowininiwag*, or "Men of the Stream lashed into Dust." The chiefs of the latter invited the two missionaries, as envoys of France, to erect some kind of an establishment—a trading post they meant—in their town; and apparently, as an inducement, promised to listen also to their message on the part of that other invisible power which they represented. Owing to the small number of members the Society then counted on this side of the ocean, the missionaries could only hold out a hope of future help to the savages. "We want laborers," remarks the Superior of the Mission in connection with that plan; "we must first endeavor to gain the nations nearer to us, and, in the meantime, beseech God to hasten the moment when those others, too, shall be converted."

Whence that scarcity of laborers? Were vocations for the Indian mission so rare among the more than thousand members the Order then counted in France? One of the Superiors in Quebec informs us that "for one Father asked for, ten offered themselves." Why, then, not send them? The answer follows immediately. "I learn," he says, "that all we have in France for this mission is but very little. . . . . Alas, must the goods of this world be a

[1] Other tribes, now beyond the Mississippi, among whose ancestors the early Jesuits labored, and who, to these teachers principally, are indebted for whatever they possess of culture and religion, are a remnant of Hurons, the Pottawattamies, Miamis, and other Algonquins; also the Winnebagoes in Minnesota. Many of these tribes have remained stationary, or even increased in numbers, since the middle of the seventeenth century.

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hindrance to those of heaven?" The old story of Dives and Lazarus!

Eighteen years passed before another Jesuit reached Lake Superior, or preached the gospel to any of the Western Algonquins. This fact finds its explanation in the reduction by the Iroquois of the Huron towns, on Georgian Bay, in 1649, the consequent dispersion of all the neighboring Algonquin tribes, and the blockade of the avenue to the West. An attempt to reach Lake Michigan, made despite the danger, in 1656, was frustrated by an Iroquois attack at the Lake of Two Mountains. One of the Fathers, the Huron missionary Garreau, fell pierced by the ball of a Mohawk, or, as the savages asserted, of a French deserter in their ranks; the other, Father Druillettes, was deserted by his frightened Ottawa conductors.

Four years later, the same missionary, having met with an Algonquin chief, who, to avoid the lurking foe, had accomplished the journey from Green Bay to the Saguenay, by way of Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, conceived and proposed the plan of passing over the same circuitous and horrible route in order to reach the West and its thousands of benighted Indians. Such was the spirit of our pioneer missionaries, such their indomitable resolution, when the gain of souls was in question. But the reviving hopes of that youthful sexagenarian were to be fulfilled in another and an unexpected manner.

In the summer of 1660 there was joy in the colony. A large canoe fleet, the first from Lake Superior, had arrived. Two young Frenchmen, after a winter spent in what is now Upper Michigan, Northwestern Wisconsin, and Eastern Minnesota, had run the blockade with three hundred Ottawa and Ojibwa traders, and now came to enrich their employers and to open the way to the long-contemplated Western mission. A few days only were granted for a hasty preparation, and, on August 28th, two Fathers, with a *donné*[1] and six other young laymen, probably traders, embarked with the returning Indians at the infant settlement of Three Rivers.

Before entering on the details of the first apostolic expedition to Lake Superor, a survey of the western field, as then known, must be offered to the reader.

In 1660, there was not an Indian on the shores of Lake Huron, or on any of its islands. The whole peninsula of Upper Canada was a solitude. Lower Michigan too was a desert. A voyageur from the island of Montreal, paddling his canoe up the Ottawa and

[1] *Donné*, or *given-man*, *i. e.*, one who had given himself to the service of the Fathers without asking for wages.

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descending through Lake Nipissing and French River, the accustomed thoroughfare to Lake Huron, would not, on the whole route, have met a single Algonquin hunter; nor was the smoke of a wigwam likely to greet him, until he came into the neighborhood of the broad Menomonee, that now forms the boundary between Upper Michigan and Wisconsin. Or, if the term of his journey lay to the north, and he entered the bay of Keweenaw, ninety leagues beyond the Rapids of St. Mary, even at this great rendezvous of Algonquin fishermen, no less than in the Straits of Mackinac, "the true home of the trout and the white fish," he would only have found the gull and the eagle left to feed on the dainties of the red man. But perchance our traveller, while skimming the waves of Lakes Huron or Michigan, might have fallen in with half a thousand warriors from the neighborhood of the Dutch settlements on the Mohawk, hunting along the shore, on a raid to the coast of Wisconsin; or might have heard the splash of the passing paddle of a timid scout from Green Bay, on his way to the old home of the Hurons, perhaps soon to hasten back and bring timely warning of the Iroquois's ever dreaded approach. To such an extent the daring and resoluteness of a few thousand savages had prevailed over an enemy more than tenfold their own number, and not wanting in warlike qualities, but incapable of combined action and destitute of able leaders, or, if they had them, impatient of restraint and rebellious. As wisps of straw, the sport of fitful blasts of wind, are swept off the barnyard and gathered into the corners, thus the Algonquin tribes, together with a remnant of Hurons, had by the worshippers of Arescoe been driven from one place of refuge to another, until they found themselves huddled together on the distant bays of Lakes Superior and Michigan. Green Bay on the latter, Keweenaw and Chegoimegon on the former, were their three principal rallying-places.

On the shores of Green Bay there had met, at a date now unknown, two offshoots of widely distinct families, the Dacota Winnebagoes from the west, and the Algonquin Menomonees from the distant east, greatly reduced in the course of time by wars, nay, almost exterminated, but still closely allied among themselves. The Menomonees and Winnebagoes were represented by the first French traders (1654–1656) as forming but one of those bands, then dignified with the name of nations. A small clan of the Ojibwa tongue, the Noquais or Nockets, who have left their name to the deep indentations of the Michigan shore, opposite Green Bay, had, previous to the flight of the upper Algonquins, formed the connecting link between the Menomonees and the Ojibwas of Sault St. Marie, or Santeux proper; for, fishing with the latter during the summer, they were, in the autumn, found sharing the wild-rice harvest of the

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former; and hence those early explorers identified them with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes. The aggregate number of these three original Green Bay tribes or bands would seem, at the period in question, to have hardly exceeded one thousand.

But large accessions to the Algonquin population of Northeastern Wisconsin had come, in the course of the last twenty years, from the east and southeast. The first welcome guests were the Pottawattamies, a tribe of somewhat more refined manners than most of their northern neighbors and kindred. Expelled by the Iroquois from their rich hunting grounds in the southern part of Lower Michigan, they had already before 1640 migrated to the neighborhood of Green Bay. Compelled to flee before the Sioux they sought refuge with their Ojibwa cousins at the Rapids, where Raymbault and Jogues met them, in 1641. Retracing their steps, they first halted on the islands that cluster around the point of the Green Bay peninsula, to one of which they have given their name; and finally spread over the southern part of the bay, the principal settlement being located at some distance from its head on the eastern shore. Making proper allowance for the probable exaggeration in their census, according to which, in 1656, they would have counted seven hundred warriors or three thousand souls, this fine tribe must still be looked upon as having stood foremost among the settlers on the shores of Green Bay.

Together with the Pottawattamies, or not much later, the Nassawakwatons, or Nation of the Fork, a clan of the Ottawa tongue, arrived in the bay and settled at their side. They formed a village of about two hundred souls.[1]

Hardly inferior to the Pottawattamies in numbers, but greatly in culture and moral qualities, were their near relatives and former neighbors, the Ousakis or Sacs, who (some time after the defeat of the neutral nation in Upper Canada, in 1651), driven by the universal foe from their magnificent forests on the Saginaw and Tittbawassee, were soon found scattered among the Winnebagoes and their own Algonquin kindred, on the spur of Green Bay, on the opposite shore, and on the Lower Fox River; but, following the bent of their savage nature they delighted in roving through the woods of Northern Wisconsin, ready, it was said of them, to strike down and despoil the first defenceless traveller that fell into their hands.

The Ousakis were followed, apparently by land, around the southern bend of Lake Michigan, by their former allies, the Outagamis, those Ishmaelites among the Algonquins, better known

[1] Another small band of Ottawas, termed *Negawishininiwag*, or "Ceux du Sable," may also have been in the neighborhood in 1660.

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from the name of one of their *totemic* animals, as Renards or Foxes. Enjoying, like their Ousaki brethren, an unenviable reputation even among their own fellow-savages, they acted wisely in securing a more remote station on the fertile borders of the Wolf River, where they formed, it is stated, a town of more than two hundred cabins, each occupied at least by five, in some instances even by ten families; the number of their warriors, according to a probably exaggerated statement, amounting to one thousand. Polygamy, rather the exception among most of the northern tribes, being the rule with that of the Outagamis, the seed of the gospel could not be expected in their case to fall on very fertile soil; nor has the unfavorable description, given of this tribe by the earliest authors, been ever belied by its subsequent history.

On the Neenah or Upper Fox River, southwest of Lake Winnebago, the Mashkotens or Prairie tribe, perhaps two thousand in number, had sought refuge before the all but ubiquitous enemy, to whose inroads they also had been exposed in their former more eastern location. With them we find, already in 1656, a clan of the kindred Miamis called the Atchitchagos, or nation of the Crane. At a considerably later period other Illinese clans, especially the Kikapoos and Kitchigamins, came hither, but rather as transient guests. In fact every adverse shock sustained by the numerous bands of the Illinois nation during the varying fortunes of their war with the Dacotas on the one hand, and the Iroquois on the other, seems to have thrown a new wave of fugitives upon that advantageous spot, the fertile height of land which forms the watershed in Central Wisconsin between the Mississippi and the great lakes.[1]

Thus within three or four days' journey north and south from the head of Green Bay, and easily accessible from one central station, a Pagan population of at least twelve thousand souls awaited the coming of the missionary. Beyond that immediate neighborhood, at distances varying from six to ten days' journey, other and more numerous nations were known to reside; the Illinois proper estimated at one hundred thousand souls, the Miamis reaching one-fourth of that number, the sedentary Dacotas or Sioux inhabiting forty towns, in five of which no less than five thousand

[1] As the nearest neighbors of the Green Bay tribes, in a northwestern direction from the Outagami village on Wolf River, we find mentioned in the earliest accounts, a nation of Mantones. They have, it seems, not been identified with any tribe known by later writers. Apparently they formed an advanced post of the sedentary Dacotas or Sioux (*Nadowessiwag*), and resided on the Manitowish River, which may have received its name from that tribe. The Mantones were, according to tradition, exterminated or expelled by the Ojibwas.

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warriors had been counted; and the Dacotas of the prairies, or Poualac (*Bwanag*), in thirty villages or nomad camps. Greatly exaggerated as some of these accounts certainly must be, the field was large, and well might the heartfelt good wishes of the Jesuits in Canada go with those of their brethren whose steps were now turned in the direction of so glorious a harvest, and by whom it was fondly expected the words were soon to be accomplished, *fructum referent in patientia.* The tawny canoe-men, however, that had agreed to carry those missionaries, were bound for a more northerly rallying-point of Algonquin fugitives.

Detached parties of the Ojibwa tribe, itself a wanderer from the east, were, of all Indians known to history, the first visitors to the shores of Lake Superior; but only uncounted ages after the mysterious "Ancient Miners," the "Mound Builders" of more southern latitudes, had abandoned their work of centuries in the rich copper deposits of Upper Michigan. The number of those Ojibwà hunters and fishers, on both shores and at the western end of the lake, appears to have been inconsiderable, till the Iroquois onslaught on the Huron (1650) made Lake Huron disgorgé, through the straits of St. Mary, the Ojibwa part of its border population. The Nikikonés, or Nation of the Otter, the Amikonés, or Nation of the Beaver, and the Missisagués, all living along the rugged coast of Lake Huron to the north of Manitoulin Island, took refuge on the north shore of Lake Superior. Accompanied, it would appear, by the Kenoshés, they carried with them their brethren of the Rapids, and were followed by a part of the Nipissings, who, after having held their ground for some time, were also compelled to disperse, some taking refuge in the colony, others joining the exiles in the north. But the chase on that most inhospitable shore of Lake Superior proving insufficient for the support of such numbers, a part of the fugitives, principally Amikonés and Nipissings, penetrated into the interior, and settled in the neighborhood of the Kinistinaux, or Crees, on Lake Nepegon (*Animibegong*); while the Missisagués, Kenoshés, and Sautenx returned to the south shore, and took up their headquarters at Keweenaw (*Kakiweonan*), where they found the band of L'Anse (*Wikwedong*). It was from this bay the flotilla of sixty canoes, guided by the two young Frenchmen already mentioned, set out in the summer of 1660. But the number of Ojibwa voyagers was greatly swelled by members of the Ottawa tribe.

Among the several tribes that, gradually receding before the Iroquois, had, after some stay on Mackinas and the Nocket Islands, sought refuge in Green Bay, were the Ottawas of Manitoulin Island and the east shore of Lower Michigan, comprised under the name of Kishkakons and Sinagos. Almost inseparably united with them, through the long course of their wanderings, we find

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a tribe of the Huron tongue, former neighbors and friends of that unfortunate nation, and known as Petuns, or Tobacco Nation, Tiomontates, and Wyandots. These united Kishkakons, Sinagos, and Tiomontates had formed the bulk of the trading party that on their return from Canada, in 1656, lost a missionary and abandoned another; and there are grounds to believe that it was this new proof of Iroquois prowess and the fear of being pursued by an enemy, who already the year before had laid siege to their fort on Green Bay, that determined them to seek a still more distant hiding-place on the very shores of the Mississippi.

For a year or two an island in Lake Pepin became their quiet, but again transitory home. For, untaught by adversity, they repaid the friendly advances of the Dacotas by wanton murders and hostile invasion, meditating nothing less than the conquest of their country; and rapid flight alone saved them from destruction. Having reached the mouth of the Black River, one of the tributaries of the Mississippi, they ascended it to its source. There the Hurons halted and fortified themselves; while the Ottawas, probably by way of Lake Courtes-Oreilles (Ottawa Lake), pushed forward towards Lake Superior. Having struck its shore and found in the bay of Chegoimegon[1] all the advantages they could desire for a permanent home, they lost no time in exploring both the north and the south shore of the great lake, at once entered into commercial relations with the Ojibwa settlers, whom they met at different points, but especially at Keweenaw, and furnished their contingent to the fleet of traders that from this bay, in 1660, descended to the colony.

The number of Ottawas in Chegoimegon may have amounted to fifteen hundred, probably somewhat exceeding that of Ojibwas in Keweenaw, while the Tiomontate Hurons, still loitering on the headwaters of the Black River, counted no more than five hundred souls. But of the latter the greater part, though utterly demoralized by ten years' wandering among and in close alliance with Pagans, belonged at least to the Church, into which they had, after a sufficient trial, and with the hope of continued instruction, been received, while still in their own country. The Ottawas, on the contrary, were, with scarce an exception, still Pagans, and but slightly acquainted with the real character of the Christian faith; although on their visits to the Hurons in Georgian Bay they had sometimes seen and conversed with its messengers. The good-natured, but light-headed Kishkakons were great scoffers; the sterner and ruder Sinagos declared enemies of the faith. As for the Ojibwas in

[1] Properly *Shegawamikong, i. e.*, a long-stretched tongue of land, or shallows, over which the waves break.

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Keweenaw, a few of the floating population were baptized, others had a slight knowledge of the Catholic religion, but were indifferent, or bitterly opposed to it. And so were the fugitives in the north, with the exception of a goodly number of Nipissings that had been baptized in their old home, and who still, though surrounded by Pagans, publicly professed their faith.

Into this seething mass of barbarism Christian missionaries were now about to let fall the leaven of Divine faith. A short account of the moral condition, character, and superstitions of these northwestern tribes will here be in place. But to give even the faintest outline of the degradation into which they had sunk, and of the horrors of Indian Paganism, would require more space than is at our command, and must be deferred to some future occasion.

It was towards the end of August when the Chegoimegon and Keweenaw traders, with whom the two Jesuit Fathers, a *donné* of the mission, and six other Frenchmen had embarked, left Three Rivers, paddling with all their might lest the northern winter, even earlier in those days than now, should overtake them before they reached their intended quarters in Keweenaw. On the Ottawa an attack by a lurking party of a hundred Onondagas was happily repulsed. This peril over, the fleet disbanded, every one seeking such scanty means of living as he could procure on the dreary shores of rivers and lakes. About the second week of October, the fifty canoes, arriving at intervals, glided into the vast bay of Keweenaw. One of the last frail vessels bore a travel-worn, emaciated priest, almost a sexagenarian, a survivor of the noble band of Huron missionaries, who longed for the moment, apparently not far distant, that was to unite him with his martyred brethren in a better land. Deprived of the companionship of his brother missionary, who by some whim of his savage guides had been deserted at Montreal, separated from his French fellow-travellers, forced, though frequently in a state of starvation, to ply the paddle or carry burdens, on a journey, itself well-nigh a living martyrdom, ignominiously treated by his conductors, the brutal Kenoshés, nay, in consequence of the accidental destruction of his canoe, abandoned for six days on the dreary shore of Lake Superior, Father René Menard thought himself abundantly rewarded, when, upon his arrival in Keweenaw, on the 15th of October, he was once more permitted to say Mass, and thus, by the holiest act of religion, inaugurate the Ottawa and Ojibwa mission.

In the late autumn of the following year, 1661, the Fathers in Quebec were rejoiced by the first account of Menard's arrival. The tidings were brought by a son of Le Brochet's, the barbarian Kenoshé chief, who soon after the Father's arrival had ejected him from his lodge. "The Black-gown is well; in the spring he will

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return in good company," said the messenger. He must have been ill-informed, or he purposely told an untruth. For the next entry concerning that missionary in the Jesuits' report of July 26th, 1663, runs thus: "Yesterday the good God sent us thirty-five Ottawa canoes, with whom returned seven Frenchmen out of the nine who had left us; the two others, who are Father Menard and his faithful companion, Jean Guerin, have gone in another direction to enter, sooner than these, the safe port of our common country. Two years ago the Father died; Jean Guerin followed him about ten months ago." Another life thrown away! Or could the results of this Father's short missionary labor in Keweenaw have been commensurate with the price they cost? To him who would weigh matters in the balance of faith, the answer cannot be doubtful.

After a nine months' mission on Lake Superior, made frightful by its sufferings, during a Siberian winter spent in a miserable hovel, the good shepherd had undertaken, partly on foot, partly in a canoe, a long journey through the woods in search of that lost sheep, the half Christian band of Hurons on Black River; but he lost his way near one of the rapids of the Upper Wisconsin, and died of hunger and misery, unless, as there is reason to believe, his death was hastened by the club of a prowling Ousaki.

There is no account of the number of children whose happy souls thronged around the good missionary at his entrance into Heaven, to thank him for the boon of the beatific vision, secured to them by holy baptism received at his hands. But among the Hurons, who, famished and incessantly harassed by their Dacota foes, soon after the father's death, accomplished their march to Keweenaw, and thence to Chegoimegon, amidst toils and sufferings that swept away most of their younger children, Menard's companion, Jean Guerin, the *donné*, baptized not less, it is asserted, than two hundred. Nor was the missionary's labor lost on the adults of the different Algonquin bands that witnessed this beautiful sacrifice of a life spent in the service of the poor and ignorant. After a severe trial, and only when entirely convinced of the sincerity of their faith, Father Menard baptized about a dozen of them. But the discerning eye of the missionary had not been deceived; for, according to the testimony of his successors, his converts continued, after the dispersion of their several bands, in the practice of the highest Christian virtues—especially that of chastity, a new revelation to souls immerged, as they had been, in the slough of moral filth—at Chegoimegon, on Manitoulin, and on the north shore of Lake Huron, thus affording by their example, or, as in the case of the remarkable celibate Louis, even by actual teaching, an invaluable aid to the first messengers of the faith in all those places.

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And should the sacrifice of life, clearly foreseen and gladly offered by that soldier of the cross, be counted for nothing? The secrets of Divine mercy in measuring out graces of conversion are indeed hidden from our eyes. But on all those bands that heard Father Menard in Keweenaw, a blessing, however long deferred in some cases, has come down in the shape of their complete, or well-nigh complete, conversion.

The Ojibwas of Wikwedong, or L'Anse, at the head of Keweenaw Bay, were soon left alone in the possession of their fishing and hunting grounds; for before the arrival of the next missionary to Lake Superior (1665), who, on his way to Chegoimegon, met at Keweenaw two of Father Menard's converts, "shining like stars through that darkness of infidelity," the greater part of the floating population, composed of Hurons, Kishkekons, and Kenoshés, had struck out for the West, and, three years later, the Sautcun and Missisagués were again in their old homes on the Rapids and Straits of St. Mary. No mention is made in the *Relations* of any attempt at converting the remaining Keweenaw bands during the short period of the early Lake Superior mission; and from its close, in 1671, to the fourth decade of the present century, no envoy of the Church is known to have entered the deeper recesses of that bay. But a tradition, in the form of a prophecy and of an injunction, was handed down through five generations: "That, once the French black-gown would appear among the men of Wikwedong, to him alone they should listen." Accordingly, when, some forty years ago, a worthy Wesleyan minister established himself in Keweenaw, the greater part of the Indians, though generally not averse to Christianity, and well aware of the worldly advantages to be gained by joining the *prayer* of the *Big-Knife*, held back in distrust; but as soon as the restorer of the northwestern Algonquin missions, a man bearing in many traits of character a striking resemblance to their first founder, took up his humble abode in their town (1842), they at once recognized the voice of the shepherd, and humbly bowed their heads to the saving waters of baptism. Their village, on the western shore of the bay, now contains, with some neighboring hamlets, over three hundred Catholic Indians, who subsist by farming and fishing, are under the care of a resident pastor, and enjoy the advantages of a school kept by the good Sisters of St. Joseph. The village and the county in which it lies, now bear, by a creditable recognition of Christian merit, on the part of an American legislature, the name of Baraga, the founder of the mission and first successor, in Keweenaw, of Father René Menard.

Ten years before the erection of the present Keweenaw or L'Anse mission, a boat rowed by nine Ottawas of Arbre Croche, in Lower Michigan, and bearing a still youthful missionary, entered the

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mouth of the North Manistee River, on the southern shore of the upper peninsula. Not far from thence, near a beautiful sheet of water, incased among gently rising wooded hills, the men of a small Indian hamlet were busily engaged in roofing a little log chapel and patching it with bark—the style of the golden age of the missions. These Ojibwa hunters had never seen a priest; but the remembrance and the love of the black-gown was an heir-loom in their families. Hence, being assured of his intended visit, they wished to be thoroughly prepared for his ministrations. Having finished their sylvan temple with the assistance of the missionary himself and his companions, they all, on the morrow, reverently knelt at the same sacrifice that Father Menard, little less than two hundred years before, had offered up to God for the conversion of their ancestors in Keweenaw. They were a remnant of Le Brochet's band, the Kenoshés of the *Relations*. Within a fortnight Father Baraga—for no other was the happy apostle—received them into the Church, of which, though seldom visited, they have since remained faithful members, gathering at least on Sundays and holy days, to sing their hymns and to read or recite their prayers, under the roof of their fast-decaying chapel.

The next mission which claims our attention is that of Chegoimegon, or La Pointe du St. Esprit. On the first day of October, 1665, four years after Menard's death, his successor in the Lake Superior mission set foot on the shore of that magnificent bay, where now not only the Kishkakons and Sinagos, but also the Tiomontate Hurons, the Kenoshés, and, for a short time at least, greater or lesser numbers of Pottawattamies, Ousakis, Outagamis, and even Illinois, were assembled. Father Claude Alloez, a missionary destined to labor and travel more among the western Algonquins than any of his brethren, had accomplished in two months, the long journey from Three Rivers, amid trials great enough to appal the stoutest heart. The unfriendly reception he met, at the very outset, from his four hundred Indian travelling companions; their evident unwillingness to give him a place in one of their canoes, while they readily admitted his six lay companions, traders like themselves; and, still more, the merciless treatment he too met at their hands, on the ascent to Lake Superior, augured ill for the immediate success of the mission. Still, in a meeting of eight hundred warriors his Algonquin harangue was well received, chiming in, as it did, with the peaceable views entertained by the council of sachems, in opposition to the young braves' clamoring for a Dacota war. The attention was breathless, when the eloquent missionary announced that the great chief of France, the captain of ten thousand captains, had resolved to clear the river courses and lakes of their Iroquois pirates, and either

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coerce the Five Nations to the maintenance of a universal peace, or utterly destroy them.

While the new officials of the crown in Canada did their best to redeem these promises, Father Alloez labored on Lake Superior with indefatigable zeal, teaching in his hut from morning till night; enduring the importunities of his barbarian visitors, many of whom had never seen a white man; bearing in silence their taunts, or remonstrating with apostolic fearlessness, according as his love for their souls and the zeal for the honor of his Master would bid him; visiting the sick and constantly on the alert to provide dying children with the nuptial garment. On the latter question, the baptism of infants, this active missionary took broader views—in some cases, perhaps, less wisely—than most of his brethren, requiring only a moderate degree of danger in order to confer the sacrament, nay, sometimes baptizing children in health, when spontaneously offered by parents for whose own conversion there was less hope than that Father's sanguine temperament led him to believe.[1] Hence, of two hundred and fifty children, or more, whom he baptized during his first twenty months' stay at Chegoimegon, the greater number may have survived, especially as in many instances the baptismal water proved medicinal for the body as well as for the soul. Fortunately most of them belonged to parents who for many years afterwards were not deprived of Christian teachers.

Among the infants baptized there was a dying Dacota child, the first of that once comparatively noble, and in its present degradation still remarkable, tribe; for even with them Father Alloez made acquaintance at the western end of Lake Superior (Fond du Lac), where he spent a month with an Ojibwa band, the farthest outpost of the tribe, at that period, and still in peace with its western neighbors. Of adults, on the contrary, the missionary baptized only thirteen, most of them apparently in health. Among them were the first fruits of the Pottawattamie tribe, five in number, who, soon returning to Green Bay, carried thither the seed of faith. Eighty Illinois visitors, to whom he preached, pledged themselves to direct their prayers henceforth to the God made man, and to cause His name to be honored all over their southern prairies. A similar promise was made by the Crees, from the neighborhood of Hudson Bay; and whatever we may think of the sincerity of those pledges, the idea of one overruling power, good, wise, omnipotent, which before the arrival of the missionaries had been utterly un-

[1] Upon this practice of Father Alloez the enemies of the Order in Canada and France pounced, as on a long-sought-for *corpus delicti;* and the ridiculous insinuation that the Jesuits preferred swelling their baptismal records to laboring for the moral regeneration of their converts, has been repeated over and over to the present day, even by writers who from their study of the sources must have known it to be a calumny.

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known to the Indian tribes, from that time gradually spread over the greater part of the continent.

In the spring of 1667, Father Alloez resolved to visit Canada for the purpose, principally, of obtaining the much-needed assistance of trustworthy laymen; for upon those who followed the yearly canoe-fleet from mere mercenary motives no reliance could be placed. In order, however, to leave none of the dispersed Algonquin bands without its measure of spiritual assistance, the intrepid traveller, having started on the 16th of June, crossed Lake Superior at a distance of about two days' journey from its western end; then, coasting along the north shore, left its largest island, Minong, or Isle Royal, to the right; and finally ascended through a river, or rather a series of rapids and falls, to Lake Nepegon, the place of refuge, as already mentioned, of the Amikonés and the partly Christian Nipissings. For nearly twenty years the latter had not seen a priest, and however short his stay among them was, the sick and way-worn missionary's arrival, after eighteen days' forced canoe travèl, undertaken for their sakes alone, must have forcibly reminded those poor fugitives how much their souls were worth.

On the 3d of August, Father Alloez was in Quebec, having come directly from Lake Nepegon, and thus travelled around Lake Superior, of which he was also the first to draw a complete map. Two days later, the canoe-fleet, with which he had descended from Sault Ste. Marie, was ready to return. On that occasion the Indians, however tardy on others, would never brook delay. The missionary, if he would not lose a year and expose the seed sown in Chegoimegon to the decomposing influences at work there, must forego the hope of rest, and tear himself from the company of his brethren and from civilization. Father Nicolas and a secular assistant accompanied the founder of the mission. Three others and a lay brother were refused a passage by the surly barbarians.

The progress made in Chegoimegon was slow enough to discourage any less earnest laborer, until, in the autumn of the following year, the large band of Kishkakons, once with Father Menard at Keweenan, unanimously declared themselves for God and the *prayer*. It happened by one of those sudden changes characteristic of the race, that, when the turning-point was once reached, stubborn resistance or seemingly unconquerable indifference gave way to an enthusiasm almost impatient of the missionary's wise delay in granting them the boon of the sacrament. Besides thirty-four Hurons, over a hundred Kishkakons, both children and adults, received baptism before Father Alloez, after nineteen months' stay, set out on his second and last journey from Chegoimegon to Quebec.

Among those who manned the traders' canoes were three Iroquois prisoners, whom Father Alloez had ransomed, and whom

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he was now restoring to their people, at the request of the governor, as an earnest of the peace just concluded between the Ottawas and Iroquois, and for once sincerely meant by the latter, at least for the moment; for they had two troublesome enemies on their hands, the Algonquin Mohicans to the east, and a remnant of Andastes, a tribe of their own race, to the south; while to the north a regiment of soldiers, fresh from the Turkish wars, and since 1665 in the colony, kept them in awe even of their Canadian neighbors.

Never had the prospect in the West seemed brighter. "The Ottawa mission," writes the author of that year's *Relation*, "is now one of the finest in New France. The want of every commodity, the brutal disposition of those Indians, a distance of three or four hundred leagues, the number of tribes, and a whole nation's promise to embrace the Christian faith, made to Father Alloez at the conclusion of a general council; these are the things that cause all our missionaries to burn with a desire to be sent into that mission."

James Marquette, one of the youngest of these missionaries, but one destined to become more famous than any other, had already, in the preceding year (1668), been sent to the West, and was still instructing two thousand more or less willing hearers at the Rapids of St. Mary. For the fugitives from the north and Keweenaw had again gathered at that favorite fishing ground. Thus at the spot where, twenty-seven years before, the Jesuits had first stepped on the soil of our republic, the Cross was planted by the future discoverer of the Mississippi. Humble and conscientious, almost to scrupulousness, he would not himself gather the harvest, though most of the Indians seemed willing to be baptized by a priest whose personal amiability charmed even those rugged sons of the wilderness. But now the veteran missionary, Dablon, well versed in Huron and Algonquin dialects, and who as a most efficient superior could but badly be spared from Canada, went forth to give the benefit of his experience to the promising Ottawa and Ojibwa missions. He halted at the Rapids and sent his young predecessor to fill Alloez's place in Chegoimegon. For the latter, by his ardent zeal, his linguistic talent, and power of readily adapting himself to the ways of the Indians, particularly fitted for the duties of a pioneer, was not to return thither; but early in November—almost too late in the season—set out for Green Bay, and, with two French companions, reached the intended winter quarters near its head on the 2d day of December, after a month's perilous and tiresome travel, over a distance that we now easily traverse in two days.

Of the three missions now begun the oldest enjoyed but a short term of existence. Father Marquette's report, extorted from the modest missionary by reiterated demands on the part of his superiors, evinces his loving and successful exertions for the better in-

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struction of the Kishkakon neophytes and catechumens, but also his reluctance already noticed to baptize adults. Among the Hurons, too, symptoms of reviving earnestness had appeared, and the missionary applied himself to the study of their difficult language. But soon the little establishment was threatened by a war-cloud, all the more ill-omened, inasmuch as the two nations had conjured it up by one of the worst acts of treachery that Indians, according to their own code of morals, can be guilty of.

In the summer of 1670, or thereabout, the leader of the Sinagos, Sinago by name, was visited by a Sioux chieftain; for, during the last few years, peace had been kept with that powerful and valiant nation. Nay, the dance of the calumet, performed in honor of Sinago at a previous meeting in the Dacota country, held the two chiefs and their bands united in the bonds of inviolable friendship. The visitor felt safe in Sinago's cabin. But the Hurons had not yet digested the shame of their repeated defeats at the hands of the countrymen of their too confiding guests. Whether it was done by the Pagan part of the tribe, or whether there were nominal Christians also in the plot we do not know, but the murder of the Dacota was suggested by the Sinagos. Failing to persuade, they overcame the scruples of the less inhuman Ottawas by bribery. The Sioux chief and his companions, among them a woman, were cut down; and in the village where two missionaries had for five years by word and example been preaching the religion of love, a cannibal crowd was seen sitting around kettles filled with the flesh of five human beings.

The outrage committed, the thought of the consequences seems to have burst on the savages' bewildered minds. Apparently even before the declaration of war on the part of the Sioux, a part of the Ottawas hastily embarked and, trusting to the continuation of the lately established peace with their eastern hereditary foes, sought their old and never forgotten homes on the shores and islands of Lake Huron. Early in the spring of the following year the Hurons and the rest of the Ottawas followed them, their faithful missionary, Father Marquette, working his way through the floating ice of Lake Superior.

An entirely new population took possession of the abandoned spot. Its natural advantages soon attracted many of the hunters and fishermen, that, before the arrival of the Ottawas and Hurons, had been scattered along the shores and in the interior; and Chegoimegon became the central seat of Ojibwa power. It was from thence those warriors went forth that subdued the Mantone nation, and drove the Outagamis from their advanced posts in Northern Wisconsin, while further to the west those of the tribe that Alloez had visited in 1666 carried on the struggle against the Sioux.

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They finally succeeded, by superior woodcraft, in wresting from a nation, by far their superior in numbers, the greater part of Northern Minnesota.

On one of the islands in the bay of Chegoimegon, which from the opposite tongue of land received its present name of La Pointe, a French trading post existed during the first half of the last century; and, early in the present, an American fur company chose it for its headquarters on the lake. But it was long before souls were again prized as highly as beaver-skins and moose-hides. For the space of one hundred and sixty-four years Father Marquette found no successor. It was again the modern pioneer Baraga, who, entering the field on July 27th, 1835, cultivated it with his accustomed ardor and success. At the end of two months the names of one hundred and forty-eight adults and children stood in his book of baptisms, and when, after eight years of indefatigable labor, he changed his residenee to Keweenaw, his successor found a flock of scarce less than a thousand well-instructed Catholics on the island itself, in the interior to the south, and at the head of Lake Superior. From the latter point the work was carried to the north shore and especially into Minnesota, where, at this day, two or three missionaries, incumbered besides with the care of white congregations, are, with all their zeal, unable to satisfy the wants of over three thousand Indians already baptized, and perhaps as many more, who only await the coming of the shepherd to be gathered into the fold.

Was any part of this result, which contrasts so strangely with the slow progress of the first missionaries, due to the self-sacrificing zeal of the latter? The thought of a direct connection between the labors of both is precluded by the fact that some only of the ancestors of those western Ojibwas had been under the immediate care of the Jesuits, and that only for a very short time. But, indirectly, it is to the workmen of the seventeenth century that the laborers of the present age must ascribe a great part of their success. For the uninterrupted communication between the western, and the partly christianized members in the east, of a tribe well known for its roving propensities, served to keep up among them a general knowledge of the Catholic faith. Even the presence among them of Canadian traders, to whom the pioneer missionaries had opened the way, and who, during the period of the Jesuit missions, were partly at least under religious control, helped to prepare the way for the gospel. Those fur merchants were not all bad men; even among them God had His servants.

When Bishop, then Father, Baraga, less than two months after his arrival in La Pointe, first entered the Indian village on the St. Louis River, at the western end of Lake Superior, he was not a

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little astonished to find a score of Pagan Indians kneel to beg his blessing, and he was still more surprised when the poor people who had never seen a priest recited the prayers, sang the hymns, and answered the catechetical questions in the Ottawa prayer-book which he himself had adapted from an Algonquin one that, in its essential parts, dated from the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth century. Little additional instruction was needed to prepare the happy catechumens for baptism; and now the settlement of Fond du Lac contains four hundred Catholic Indians. But who was their or their fathers' first instructor? The trader of the band, a Catholic like all his Canadian comrades, but one worthy of the name.

The island of La Pointe is now almost deserted. Many years ago its population emigrated to the charming village of Bayfield on the opposite shore. But the greater part of the Indians belonging to this mission live on the Bad River reservation, the only spot in Michigan where Indian agents, and ministers favored by them, have considered it their duty to interfere with the free action of the Catholic missionary. But, while we wonder at such things being possible in the home of the free, let us bow our heads in humble acknowledgment of our own deficiency. Our Catholic Ojibwas, in spite of bribes held out and stumbling-blocks thrown in their way, have remained faithful, and also among the Pagans in the forests of Northern Wisconsin every missionary visit has been repaid by many conversions. But if we open the *Catholic Directory* for 1876, we will there read, page 290: "La Pointe, St. Josephs (Indian, the oldest church in Wisconsin) attended from Bayfield. Bayfield, Christ's Church, *vacant*. Bad River Indian mission, *vacant*." Why those sad vacancies? Is the soul of the Indian at this day, when he calls to us, and when a few days' ride in cars and on steamers will bring us to the door of his peaceful cabin, worth less than it was two hundred years ago, when two months' labor, starvation, and appalling hardships of every kind, nay, the prospect of being roasted alive amid the taunts of cannibals, lay between the missionary and the object of his zeal? Let us hope that the inspiring example of our early missionaries and a better knowledge of the existing necessity will help to make aspirants for the honor of working in that neglected field more frequent, and will cause the call of the chief pastors in the northwestern dioceses to be responded to by a greater number of priests, or candidates, willing to live and die in the Indian mission!

In taking up the thread of our history, it should first be remarked that the Jesuits themselves forbore to embody the details of the tragedy of Chegoimegon in their yearly report, fearful, no doubt, lest the newly awakened interest in the western mission might

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thereby suffer some check. But had their own zeal and hopefulness abated? They were never more active, and soon a great and promising change rewarded their perseverance.

Druillettes, the venerable founder of the Abenaki mission and once already destined for this western field, had, in the summer of 1670, with the younger Father André, arrived at the Rapids of St. Mary. After a few months' stay he had the joy to see the Bawitigo men and their guests of divers clans declare for the Christian faith. The outbreak of an epidemic at the moment of his arrival threatened to frustrate the effect of his instructions; for, to jump at conclusions based on the fallacy *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, is a peculiarity of the Indian mind, equalled only by the pranks of Caucasian intellects when under the pressure of the strongest of prejudices. This time, however, the error found its speedy corrective. With astonishment the pest-stricken people saw their children restored to life by baptism, the adult in many instances healed by a prayer. A saint was in their midst.

A medicine-man's recital before the assembled village of his own and his family's cure produced a striking effect. Young and old shouted: "The Sault prays; the Sault is Christian." Severed marriage ties were again united. Polygamy was abandoned. On Sundays enraptured crowds filled the newly erected chapel, and sang the hymns composed by those early missionaries, and still so dear to the Indians of our day. All day, and during a part of the night, the work of instruction went on in the Fathers' residence and from cabin to cabin. The baptism of adults was wisely deferred, but within six months one hundred and twenty children received this sacrament at the hands of Father Druillettes. Many of them grown up to manhood may have fallen victims to the debauchery introduced about that time into the Jesuit missions by French garrisons, brandy-traders, and bushmen. But shall the husbandman forbear to cast out the seed through fear of a coming hailstorm?

Father André devoted himself, amid sufferings well-nigh superhuman, to the instruction of the Missisagués, Amikonés, and other bands that had returned to the north shore of Lake Huron and the opposite island of Manitoulin. A walking shadow, after two months' diet on boiled moose skins, worn moccasins, and the leather binding of his books, he still went from cabin to cabin teaching his equally famished, but apparently, for the greater part, well-disposed hearers, and rewarded their attention by performing for them on his flute and repeating newly composed hymns with their children. Absolute want at length driving him from thence, he marched in snow-shoes to Lake Nipissing, where the never-failing supply of *tripes de roches* and an occasional dish of acorns enabled him to continue his labors among a band of Odishkwagamis or Algonquins. In the

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ensuing summer (1671), leaving the Missisagué, Amikoné, and Kenoshé mission, in the hands of the new Superior, Father Nouvel, a more experienced and not less hardy worker, Father André went to assist Alloez in the mission of St. Francis Xavier, on Green Bay.

For eight or nine years at least—further the scanty notices of the mission of St. Mary's at the Rapids, St. Simon on Manitoulin, and that of the Apostles on the opposite shore, do not extend—that long stretch from the outlet of Lake Superior to Lake Nipissing continued to be traversed by the few Fathers of Sault Ste. Marie, hardly ever more than two at a time. The venerable Druillettes, whose earlier labors in the cause of religion had extended from New England to the wilderness on the Upper Saguenay, was now approaching the close of his career. Returning to Quebec in 1679, where he soon died, at the age of ninety years, he was spared the sight of the plague that, in the shape of the brandy trade and all its concomitant horrors, towards the end of the century, laid waste the half-tilled field of the missions, and blighted, for the time being, all the laborers' hopes.

The old trading-post of Sault Ste. Marie was again visited by Canadian priests in the first and second decade of the present century. The first resident missionary, about 1834, was an Austrian Redemptorist, one of the first Fathers of the congregation that two years before had crossed the Atlantic. His church was burned by a band of fanatics, and his stay was but short. Still, the native part of the motley population clung to the religion once preached to their ancestors. A very few Indians of pure blood may still be seen on the American shore; the little band of Santeux proper has been almost completely absorbed into the white population. But a number of the old Bawitigomens' descendants, some hardly showing a trace of their origin, and speaking English and French with equal fluency, still prefer to hear their learned pastor preach in the tongue of their fathers. Here, in 1854, Bishop Baraga composed the last of his Indian works, and, in 1866, reluctantly left the old Indian settlement for the rising city of Marquette.

For the last thirty years, with a short interruption, the Society of Jesus has had charge of the missions at the Rapids and along the Straits of St. Mary, whose shores and islands are still at intervals dotted with the wigwams and log-houses of the red man. Two little churches on the American shore are Bishop Baraga's legacy to his Ojibwa children.[1]

[1] It may be remarked here that the first spot visited by Jesuits in the territory of the United States north of Maryland is at this day the only one in the North American republic, east of the Mississippi, where a priest of the Society addresses a part of his congregation in an Indian language.

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A considerable part of the mixed Ojibwa and Ottawa population of Manitoulin and the opposite shore had, before the middle of the eighteenth century, taken up their residence on the Canadian side of Lake and River St. Clair, and played, under the name of the Missisagués, a conspicuous part in the political commotions following the period of their transmigration. Their descendants are still there and on the neighboring islands. The fifteen hundred Indians, shown by the census of 1870 to inhabit the different districts of Ontario, are all Christians. If they are at this day provided with pastors, they owe it to the charity of our separated brethren. Once they were Catholics, at least for the greater part, and many may still be so in heart. Had not the shepherd failed them they would still be ours.

Happier, in this respect, were those of their clansmen that never left, or again returned to their old homes. Among the three thousand five hundred, mostly Catholic Ojibwa and Ottawa Indians, living in the eastern border districts of Georgian Bay, on Manitoulin, and to the west and north of the Straits of St. Mary and of Lake Superior, the sons of St. Ignatius, for over thirty years, have been and still are at work, with the energy and perseverance of their brethren of the seventeenth century; and the chief pastor and the little staff of secular priests in the newly erected Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Canada are vying in zeal and charity for their Indian flock, with the Jesuit Fathers of Wikwemikong, Garden River, and Fort William.

The third great mission, that of St. Francis Xavier, begun in Green Bay, December 3d, 1669, by Father Alloez, would, on account of its longer duration and the greater number of tribes belonging to it, require an even more extensive survey than that of Sault Ste. Marie. But its checkered history and the multiplicity of details, devoid, as they have come down to us, of connection, render the task impossible within the limited space at our command. Two missionaries at first, and then one, battling with superstition and vice amidst a motley population unsettled and divided among themselves, often exasperated against their French would-be rulers, and, with the exception of the more peace-loving Menomones, almost continually engaged in bloody feuds, succeeded in wresting thousands of souls from Paganism, and, by the strong impressions produced on some of the tribes, prepared the field for the reception of the seed at a future and more peaceful period.

For the century ending in 1831 no resident priest had been in Green Bay. In the meantime the Pottawattamies and Miamis had returned to their old homes in Lower Michigan and Indiana, where the Jesuits, up to the end of French rule, continued to have charge of them. The mission among the former was renewed in 1830,

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and, after their forcible removal to Kansas and Indian Territory in 1836, they were happy enough to become again the object of their earliest teachers' loving zeal. Of the three thousand souls which this tribe still counts—probably more than they had been at the beginning of their wanderings in the seventeenth century—the greater part are Catholics and citizens, bidding fair to rank among the most advanced of the race, unless the meddling of the government, which has already forced a Quaker agent on one of their bands, succeeds in undoing what the Church has accomplished.

The indomitable Ousakis and Outagamis, now under the name of Sacs and Foxes, located in the Indian Territory, continue for the most part Pagans, and are farther removed from civilization than any of the transported tribes. A remarkable decrease in their numbers is the consequence.

The Winnebagoes, too, were moved, and, after various attempts to settle them, they found a permanent home in Minnesota. A mission, happily begun among them in 1844, interrupted by governmental interference, and resumed in 1850, has not been heard of for many years. The secular priests, who visited the tribe from the neighboring town of Mankato, did not generally remain long enough to learn the language; but now the glad tidings come, that the Jesuit refugees from Germany, lately established in that place, devote their care to the long-abandoned flock. May this boon, procured to an Indian tribe by the rule of blood and iron, prove the harbinger of its complete and lasting happiness!

Most consoling was the welcome given to the missionaries of the present century by the peaceable Menomones. Though, since the renewal of that mission, in 1831, hardly one priest remained long enough among them to learn their difficult dialect; and, although for years left without a resident missionary, sixteen hundred Menomones—probably four times more than the whole tribe counted when Alloez first addressed them—are children of the Church. There may be some eight hundred Pagans left in the tribe. At the present time the greater part of it is on a reservation at the Wolf River, and is attended by the pastor of the nearest congregation of whites. A smaller number, living as citizens in their old home on the Menomonee, have the happiness to reside in the neighborhood of an old Algonquin missionary, who, in an incredibly short time, has mastered their language as no one had done before.

The Ottawa clan of the Nassawakwatons, once residing in Green Bay, but long absorbed by the bulk of the tribe in Lower Michigan, is also within the pale of the Church.

Was the labor of those early Jesuits lost? Have the tribes they sought to convert ceased to exist?

A fourth mission, the last in the order of time, but the most

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important and the only one kept up to the end of the French dominion, nay, several years after it had ceased, remains to be mentioned.[1]

The Island of Mackinac and the opposite shores of both Upper and Lower Michigan had before the dispersion of the western Algonquins been a favorite resort of Indian fishermen. Hence, when the danger of the establishment at Chegoimegon became known to the superior of the missions, Father Dablon, he selected, with prudent attention to the wants of the Indians as well as to the convenience of the missionaries, the southeastern extremity of the upper peninsula of Michigan as a rallying-point for those who were either already baptized, or willing to place themselves under religious guidance and instruction. Apparently, it was himself, who, in the winter of 1670–71, built the first temporary chapel on the shore of Lake Huron, opposite the celebrated island, and thus became the founder of what was henceforth called the Mission of St. Ignace of Michillimackinac.

Of the tribes expected to pitch their wigwams around the humble sanctuary, the Hurons were the first to arrive. Father Marquette, as first pastor of St. Ignatius's, devoted himself to their second conversion with the irresistible persuasiveness of a holy life, and the charm of a most gentle and affectionate disposition. A severe humiliation of his pupils' pride helped to prepare them to profit by his ministrations.

While the industrious Tionontate women, in the summer of 1671, were watching their first crop of maize, their liege lords descended to Montreal with the harvest of the Lake Superior forests, the produce of at least two winters' chase and trade. Is it for instruments of husbandry and the comforts of domestic life they mean to barter their peltry? By no means. Arms and ammunition are what they most desire now; for they meditate a new expedition against the Sioux; not a desultory scalping excursion, but a war to the knife, to be carried on throughout the winter from a fort they were to construct upon the confines of the Dacota country. Having returned from the colony, they hastily gathered their harvest, and, launching their canoes, a body of young braves, accompanied by Kishkakon and Sinago volunteers, proceeded to Green Bay. There, Pottawattamies, Ousakis, and Outagamis, were induced by the munificent gifts of the Ottawas to join the expedition. A long file

[1] Detroit was not established by the missionaries. In fact, the erection of that post, though necessary from a political point of view, did the cause of religion, among the Indians, more harm than good. Eventually, no doubt, the incipient City of the Straits became one of the centres of civilization, and the labor of its Recollet pastors, and of the Jesuit missionaries among the surrounding bands of Indians, had its share in the preparatory work for the later conquests of the Church in the Northwest.

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of over a thousand armed warriors marched through the woods of Wisconsin, till they reached the first Sioux villages in the neighborhood of the St. Croix, and, disdaining all the usual measures of prudence, pounced upon the unsuspecting enemy, put the men to flight, and carried off women and children. But soon the alarm spread through the neighboring villages; the naked warriors swarmed forth, and Dacota bows, war clubs and stone knives did their work. Many of the invaders fell or were captured. A panic ensued. Having, in their mad eagerness, neglected to build the intended fort, the aggressors sought the woods, leaving their track strewn with arms and pieces of clothing. Thus, half-naked and without the means of procuring food—a retreat from Moscow in miniature—the crestfallen braves wearily toiled through the snow-carpeted forest, many perishing from exhaustion, hunger, and cold. A miserable remnant that reached the shores of Green Bay had been compelled to feed on the mangled bodies of comrades, who had died or been struck down on the way.

The Chief, Sinago, murderer of a confiding guest, remained a captive in the hands of the Sioux. These people, less devilish than either Iroquois, Hurons or Ottawas, had not yet learned to burn or devour their prisoners of war. As a rule, they were content with tying them to a stake, and making their children pierce them with arrows. Frequently they sent them home unhurt. But Sinago's exceptional offence called for a very different kind of punishment. "Having so great an appetite for human flesh," they said to him, "thou shalt have thy fill;" and, introducing the prisoner to their feasts, they regaled him with slices of flesh slashed from the muscular parts of his own body, and roasted before his eyes. Not a morsel of other food was given to the miserable man, until death put an end to his tortures.

The mention here, and in the course of the foregoing narrative, of details disgusting to the sensitive reader, calls for a word of explanation. To appreciate the work done by the Jesuits, it is necessary to know what the Indians had been before, and for many years after the Fathers had appeared amongst them. There are other horrors that must remain untold, or which can be but barely hinted at, lest Christian parents should be obliged to hide these pages from the eyes of their children.

In the meantime the pastor of St. Ignace suffered, prayed, and labored for his little flock. In Chegoimegon, Father Marquette had been taxed to his utmost by the care of the Kishkakon neophytes and catechumens. Now, with sufficient knowledge of the Huron tongue, he was able to devote himself almost exclusively to the reclaiming of the demoralized Tionontates; for only a small number of Ottawas gathered at this spot during the two years of

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his residence. Probably the most cautious among the apostles of the Northwest, he baptized within about eighteen months no more than two adults.[1] But he had not labored in vain. His successors found a changed and obedient people; and under their fostering care the Hurons continued, during the eighth decade of the century, a most edifying congregation of virtuous and even pious Christians.

Thirteen hundred Kiskakons and Sinagos, who during that period gathered at or near St. Ignace, soon caught the inspiration from their Huron friends, whose remarkable influence, in peace and war, on the counsels of the less-gifted Algonquins, down to their final separation in the present century, has been sufficiently commented on by historians. How many of the Ottawas were deemed worthy of the sacrament of regeneration during that first decade—the most edifying period of the mission—it is now impossible to say, but the claims of Christianity appear to have been recognized, or at least understood and respected by the greater number; and love of the black-gown was implanted in their hearts deeply enough to endure through all the vicissitudes of their checkered career, and to be transmitted to their children and children's children.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when La Motte Cadillac settled "Pontchartrain du Detroit"—the Moses, as he was pleased to style himself, whom God had destined to lead the Indians from clerical bondage into the freedom of military rule and into the land of promise flowing with rum and brandy—the Huron wanderers were prevailed upon to emigrate to the future City of the Straits. Four or five generations of them remained faithful to the religion once brought, at the cost of the bearers' lives, to their sires in Upper Canada. The Tionontates of the present day, about equal in number to what their ancestors in Chegoimegon were, and, under the name of Wyandots, forming part of the motley population of Indian Territory, are still for the greater part Christians. If you wish to hear of their religious and moral condition, consult the mission reports of our Protestant brethren. Shall we find fault with the latter if they devoted themselves to the guidance of a shepherdless flock? Or, is it to be wondered at, if deprived of religious teachers, as those Hurons were since the latter part of the eighteenth century, a generation grown up in ignorance of Catholic doctrine, should have been persuaded to adopt a form of religion which, by its very birthright, takes kindly to Catholic bodies from which the spirit has fled? Only *let the consuls beware*, lest a simi-

[1] It should, however, be kept in mind that Father Marquette's mission, at that time, consisted only of three hundred and eighty Hurons and of about sixty Sinagos, and that many, if not most of the former, were already baptized.

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lar fate befall still other descendants of Marquette's and Alloez's pupils.

We allude to the Ottawas. They, too, went, in 1701, to strengthen the post of Detroit. What remained of Indians in St. Ignace—not a Christian among them, if we may believe the historian of New France—were past correction and guidance. The hallowed ground, where Marquette's bones lay, had become the paradise of Canadian bush-lopers and brandy dealers; in other words, a pandemonium of unbridled licentiousness. To prevent desecration, the missionaries, in 1706, set fire to their chapel and returned to Quebec. Alarmed at the consequences, the colonial government took means to suppress the evil, and having erected a new post at the northern extremity of Lower Michigan, opposite the former mission, prevailed upon the Jesuits there—for they could not be dispensed with—to take charge of such Ottawas as had already spread over the northwestern coast of the peninsula, and of others who returned in squads from the post of Detroit. Thus the second mission of St. Ignace was formed. Its church records, for the greater part preserved, exhibit an interesting picture of the multifarious labors of the last Fathers who visited the Ottawas in the neighborhood, and the Miamis and Pottawattamies around St. Joseph's, in the southwestern corner of the peninsula; but who were, it would seem, prevented by their duties, as military chaplains and officiating *curés* of a little French congregation, from extending their apostolic excursions beyond the Rapids of St. Mary, or to the western shore of Lake Michigan. But commandants, soldiers, traders, and settlers from Sault Ste. Marie, from Kamanistiqueia (now Fort William), on the north shore of Lake Superior, from Nepegon, beyond it, from Green Bay and Chicago, and transient visitors from still more remote parts of New France, availed themselves, during shorter or longer visits at Michillimackinac, of the services of these Fathers as pastors, counsellors, and teachers. Some would bring their children, generally of mixed blood, to be baptized; others stood sponsors to their own *Panis*,[1] or negroes, "well instructed and desirous of being received into the Church." Others again were to be married to an Ottawa, Ojibwa, or Pottawattamie neophyte, or, to have their previous union, perhaps of long standing, legitimated. Now, an Indian waif was placed in the hands of the missionary; again, some aged *voyageur*, after a life spent on lakes and rivers, in forests and on prairies, would haul up his canoe on the beach, to die under the shadow of the Church. It was in the school of Fathers Du Jaunay

[1] *Panis* were Indian slaves, not only of the Pawnee tribe, but also of others. All prisoners of war, or children of such, employed as servants, bore the name. Sioux, Mandan, Blackfoot *Panis*, and others of perhaps still more distant tribes, were found in the French settlements. Their treatment was of the kindest.

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and Le Franc the rudiments of knowledge were imparted to youths in whose veins the blood of French gentility and Ottawa royalty mingled, and who, after leading their braves to victory on the banks of the Monongahela, or on the shore of Lake George, were to settle down among their dusky relatives and keep alive the knowledge of *the prayer*, long after their kind instructors had disappeared from the scene. Here the children of worthy families, that afterwards were among the first in the French settlements between Green Bay and St. Louis, received their religious training. At times the routine of duty in the little frame church and presbytery would be interrupted, when the scourge of small-pox fell on the idlers around the post. Then, amidst the wailing of the bereft and the moans of the dying, you might see the minister of mercy, the representative of Him who forgave the dying thief, wind his way from wigwam to wigwam, to move to repentance, to console, to instruct, or baptize the victims of the loathsome disease. For the truth and mysterious power of the *French Prayer* were recognized by numbers among the lake tribes, as is the efficacy of the sacraments by your wayward or negligent Catholic who, always believing and ever postponing, at the hour of death, at last, calls the priest to his bedside. And, long after the missionaries had left the field, there were not wanting, at least among the Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and the Menomones, those who knew how to confer private baptism; and not only children received it, but also dying adults. The deep impression produced by the last Jesuits' teaching and example on the Michigan and also on some of the Wisconsin tribes, is best seen in the welcome held out to their successors, though three score years passed by before the struggling Church in America could listen to the reiterated and pressing entreaties of the Ottawas and afford to give them a missionary.[1]

Let us pass over this melancholy period, the long winter of the Upper Algonquin mission, during which only at intervals of three, seven, and even eleven and more years, some Canadian priest, or a refugee of the French Revolution, on their way to Illinois, a vicar-general of the Bishops of Baltimore or Cincinnati, residing at Detroit, or more frequently the Pottawattamie missionary of St. Joseph's, during a few days' or weeks' stay, would administer the sacraments at old Fort Michillimackinac, on the lower peninsula, or on Mackinac Island, whither, upon the removal of the British post, in the height of our revolutionary war, the few remaining French Catholics had bodily transported their little church of St.

[1] The last entry from Father Du Jaunay's hand, in the Jesuits' register of baptisms, is of July 30th, 1765. The great influence this missionary exercised on the Ottawas of Lake Michigan is recognized by the English authorities on Pontiac's Conspiracy.

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Ignatius.[1] Let us pass, we say, over that dreary period to consider a scene of the reviving spring, in the shape of an episcopal visit to Arbre Croche, the central post of the tribe, during the first decade of the modern Ottawa mission.

It was in the May of 1831, a sail hove in sight from behind the long, sandy point which, sheltering the head of Little Traverse Bay, lends to that part of it the charm of a placid inland lake. Our red brethren's discernment in selecting fine village sites is well known, and the Ottawas' choice of this spot for one of their final homes does not belie their reputation in this respect. A more idyllic lake and woodland scene is hardly to be met on the shores of the "pleasant peninsula."

The sounds of a bell have just died over the bosom of the bay, which itself seems only to awake from its night's rest at the salute of the first slanting sunbeam. Hark! once more, briskly and merrily, peal after peal falls from the little belfry. Swinging to and fro goes the bell, till the last Indian has crept from under his wigwam or stepped forth from his newly built log house. Men, women, and children, as many as were not already kneeling in the church—for mass had begun—came down to the brink of the lake. The *Great Black-Gown* has stepped on shore. It is Fenwick, of Cincinnati, a Father whom they have once before seen and learned to love. Having received the episcopal benediction, the crowd accompanies the delighted prelate to the *house of prayer*, built by their own hands. The priest before the altar is Frederic Baraga, not yet two weeks among them, but already greatly beloved by them.

Father Dejean, the first modern Ottawa missionary, had within the two preceding years baptized four or five hundred Indians, helped to build a church for those of Arbre Croche, and a school for their children, engaged teachers, printed a prayer-book, and was urgently calling for an assistant in that wide field, on the mainland, and on the islands, the Indians everywhere asking to be instructed, when business of a private nature called him back to France. But the Ottawa mission was firmly established, and, even then, in a more prosperous state than it had been under the Jesuits.

[1] The church built by the Jesuits at "Old Mackinac," in 1742, and transported to the Island of Mackinac about 1781, was, fifty years later, replaced by a new one and the title changed to that of St. Anne. The present Church of St. Ignatius, in Pointe St. Ignace—the site of Father Marquette's mission—dates from 1837, when it was built by a mixed French and Indian population that had, during the preceding twenty or thirty years, gathered on the almost abandoned spot. This mission embraces almost the whole southern coast of Upper Michigan, and contains, besides its half-breed population of about eight hundred souls, some two hundred full-blood Indians, a few of them still Pagans. The family traditions of these people, sustained by the old church records, make it evident that from the days of the first missionaries Christians have never been wanting among the Ottawas and Ojibwas of the neighborhood.

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The merit, however, is theirs. The seed sown by them had not died; the storms of four wars—the old French, Pontiac's, the War of Independence, and the last English—had swept over it, but it had not lost its vitality. With the springtide of peace it burst, sprang up, and grew up with a rapidity like to that of the vegetation in this northern latitude.

Bishop Fenwick, during a few days' stay, baptized, confirmed, and, on Corpus Christi, gave the Blessed Eucharist to considerable numbers. "On that festival," so he wrote himself, a few days later, to his Vicar-General, "we held the procession with the Holy Sacrament, with such order, decorum, and devotion, as are seldom witnessed in civilized countries. I really believe to have found in that place more piety, faith, and reverence than on similar occasions among our American Catholics. Yes, my friend, I may truly say that this was a bright day for me; never before had I felt so wholly contented and consoled. The Indians had, with their mats and blankets, carpeted the way I was to take in the procession, and strewn it with grass and wild flowers, etc. In truth I would fain exchange my residence in the populous Cincinnati, my dignity and all, for a little hut and the happy lot of a missionary among these good Indians."[1]

Yes, happy missionaries! who within less than twenty years received twenty-five hundred Ottawas into the Church, and with them formed those model missions—once the admiration of the Jew and Gentile—in Little Traverse, Crossvillage, and Grand Traverse Bay, besides many smaller settlements, all regularly and frequently visited and provided with chapels, at least of logs and bark. The man-eaters of Chegoimegon, the wanderers of Green Bay, Lake Pepin, Keweenaw, St. Ignace, and Detroit, had become a peaceable and thrifty agricultural people. The greater number read their Algonquin prayer-books; some made considerable progress in English, and two young men of the tribe went to study the sciences in the City of the Popes. Modest, docile, sober, industrious, honest to the wonder of the traders, these Indians showed what the race is capable of under proper guidance and removed from corrupting influences.[2]

Shall we again visit the cradle of the modern Ottawa mission?

[1] The above is a translation of the German translation of Bishop Fenwick's letter in vol. iii. of Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung in Oesterreich.

[2] According to Charlevoix the Ottawas were once among the rudest of Indians. "There are," he says of them, "few nations on the whole continent where more effort has been made to produce Christians, and more unsuccessfully." (Shea's Charlevoix, ii., p. 272.) It is encouraging to compare the final result with this unfavorable judgment of a writer who was by no means inclined to do injustice to the labors of his brethren. Charlevoix visited the Ottawa missions in 1721.

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The iron horse now brings us to the southern shore of Little Traverse Bay. We step into the steam yacht that in summer carries many a curious visitor over to the Indian hamlet. Who is that gentleman of clerical appearance, with hymn-book in hand? Ah! he invites one of our tawny, raven-haired fellow-passengers to an English evening sermon; not in the silent chapel, though—its key is still in faithful hands,—but in the residence of an American settler, the temporary Evangelical meeting-house.

We step ashore. There it is still, in its pristine simplicity, the humble Presbytery of Dejean and Baraga, the home of a Pierz, Van Paemel, Lautishar—noble souls, long gone to their reward, or called away from their beloved Indians by sickness or old age. There is the tidy little church—the second built by these Ottawas—and the commodious edifice, once intended for a school and a dwelling-house for Sisters. But where is the priest, and where are the teachers?

For the last four years those dearly purchased children of the Church have been orphans, or something akin to it. Confidingly they had at last thrown themselves into the arms of the long-scorned Mother; and now they are abandoned. The only travelling Ottawa missionary in Lower Michigan, residing among whites at fifty miles' distance from the central settlement of the tribe, hardly ever a week under the same roof, and, besides his four Indian churches and numerous stations, incumbered with the care of widely scattered and equally numerous European settlers, is, with all his devotedness, not able to spare for his Little Traverse flock more than a few days in the year.

But will those Catholic Ottawas attend their American neighbors' meeting? Human nature would be at fault if none of them did; and should the number of those, who do, increase, we shall have to blame but our own supineness. Far from condemning or ridiculing a zeal employed—we cannot say otherwise, though we say it with sorrow—in the cause of error, the sight of what others are doing, should bring the blush of shame to our cheeks.

Our hand grows weary; and not only the want of space, but charity itself forbids us to further indulge these reflections.

But we must hope on. A new and lively interest in the Indian cause seems awakened throughout the country by the very attempts being made to destroy our modern Indian missions, especially those beyond the Mississippi. While battling for right and justice, so outrageously violated on the only field where the executive power has thus far been able to tamper with the freedom of conscience, it is to be hoped that the Catholic body in the United States, led by its hierarchy, will make strenuous efforts to secure pastors and teachers for those Algonquin missions in the Northwest, where,

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with but one or two exceptions, the free action of the Church has not been, and cannot be, interfered with.

Let the religious orders, both male and female, march to the front! And, should the select troops of the Church be too much taken up with the more exciting battle and the more abundant harvest among a live population, and have no physicians of the soul to spare for a dying though a very slowly dying race, let a central point, a school, a home, or whatever name you may give it, for secular missionaries, be established in one of the northwestern dioceses, and, if possible, amid an Indian population, but under the protection of all those bishops who number among their flocks a remnant of the ancient lords of the country, and who receive, for some such object as this, pecuniary aid from European societies for the propagation of faith.

There young priests, or aspirants to the priesthood, whose hearts God will fill with a love for the despised Indian, may learn the language, that wonderful Algonquin language, spoken from the coast of Labrador to the headwaters of the Missouri, and understood by twelve thousand Christian and eight thousand Pagan Indians, in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota alone. In that home, under the guidance of some older missionary, the young champion of the faith may, as the Jesuits of old were wont to do in Montreal and Three Rivers, pass through a short preparatory school before setting out for his allotted or self-chosen post; and thither, if needs be, return to rest from his labors when broken down with hardships and old age. From thence some could make excursions to many, now hardly ever visited, smaller Indian settlements or families, scattered near and far; and, while recruiting their strength at home, those fit for the task might employ themselves in composing books, or at least remodelling and reprinting those already published for our Catholic Indians, but now becoming more and more scarce among them.

Let the boldness of the suggestion find its excuse in the writer's motive and the very urgency of the cause itself. For surely, unless some religious order takes up the work, or a combined action, of some kind or other, is resolved upon by those whom the Great Pastor of Souls has honored with the guardianship of the poorest of his poor, it is to be feared that the modern Algonquin mission, so auspiciously begun fifty years ago on the foundation of the Jesuits' work of a century, will end in failure.

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ORIGIN OF IDEAS;

OR, CONCERNING THE MANNER AND THE ORDER IN WHICH THE HUMAN MIND NATURALLY ACQUIRES KNOWLEDGE. WHAT PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM MOST FAITHFULLY DESCRIBES THE OPERATION OF THE MIND IN THINKING?

1. *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici Opera omnia.* 22 vols. fol. Parmae. Typis Petri Fiaccodori, 1866.
2. *Prima Principia Scientiarum, seu Philosophia Catholica juxta Divum Thomam ejusque Interpretatores.* Auctore Michaele Rosset. Parisiis, apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1873.

PRECISE notions concerning the manner in which the human mind acts, in forming its ideas, and in understanding an object, is a subject which is the more important because, as a fact, all, or nearly all, the systems of philosophy turn on this question; and the systems differ among themselves, according as the theories adopted by their authors for explaining the origin of ideas differ from each other. It is thus we have the system of innate ideas, the theory of sensism, ontologism, the various theories of idealism or subjectivism, etc. It is not necessary, in the nature of things, that a system of philosophy should assume for its principal basis a special hypothesis by which to explain the first origin of knowledge. This will become evident by reflecting that philosophy is a rational science, and that the first principle of reasoning is something quite distinct from the first idea. Reasoning begins with self-evident and admitted first truths; the question, is there some one first principle to which all others may be reduced, or by which they may be finally shown to be necessary and undeniable? is an inquiry which most immediately and directly concerns philosophy, when considered as a rational science. Whether you answer with Leibnitz that such principle is twofold, that of contradiction, for the final proof of absolute truth, and that of the sufficient reason, for the criterion of empirical matter; or, you adopt with Descartes, *Cogito; ergo sum*, as the first principle of certain reasoning, or say with authors more generally, that the principle of reason which is simply first, is that of contradiction; in all these suppositions, a basis is laid down for philosophical reasoning, and by consequence for logically founding philosophical knowledge, and it is not directly and primarily concerned about the first origin of man's ideas.

Yet, the object of philosophy includes that question, as to the manner in which man's ideas naturally originate, within the scope of the subject-matter which it is its office to investigate and ex-

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plain. The custom of naming the system of philosophy according to the mode of treating this point is not without reason then; for, it is not in the first principles or self-evident axioms of necessary truth, that difference of opinion among thinking men usually begins; but in the conclusions deduced from them; and, indeed, a system of psychology supposes much reasoning. It follows, then, that as a work on philosophy would not be complete if it failed to treat of the soul and its operations; and since, owing to the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, philosophers reach very different conclusions on this important matter, it is not to be wondered at that systems of philosophy are mainly distinguished from each other by their special theories for explaining the facts of psychology.

It would seem to be an essential postulate for right reasoning on this topic, as on all matter which we know empirically, and to be at the same time a criterion by which to judge of any system proposed to explain human thought, that the theory should deny no self-evident principle of truth; and that it should reject no well-attested and generally admitted fact of experience. Hence, it affords just ground of prejudice against a mental or psychological system, if it be an hypothesis laid down arbitrarily and *a priori*, instead of being an induction from facts, at the same time that it is contradictory of no evident necessary truth. The various theories of subjectivism to which Kant's doctrine has given rise, more or less directly deny the objective reality of our ideas; or, that the objects outside of the mind are, in themselves, such as the ideas in the mind represent them to be. This is to lay down a theory arbitrarily which impugns and destroys nearly all empirical knowledge in the minds of men, exacting of them the denial of the plainest facts, which they know directly and by the self-evidence of their objects. This theory, then, is not an induction from plain facts and evident principles of reason; it is assumed *a priori*, and it is opposed to the facts of experience. Besides, it is one thing to explain a method according to which man's cognitions could originate, absolutely speaking; and it is another and a very different thing to explain the manner, and the order according to which man actually acquires his ideas, or knowledge of things; truly to do this, the explanation must begin with, and proceed from, the facts concerning the nature of man's powers, their action, and the objects of that action. Does man know that he exists as a primitive fact, *v. g.*, through the direct testimony of consciousness, or does he know it only as an abstraction; *i. e.*, by way of a logical conclusion from premises? If he does know his existence as a primitive fact through the direct testimony of consciousness, then it is useless to start from the dictum, *Cogito; ergo existo;* and thus present

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that as an abstraction, which is seen in itself immediately and directly as a concrete fact. Besides, this dictum does not enunciate what is first and fundamental, whether we consider it as expressing a first principle of reasoning, or we regard it as expressing the first direct act of knowledge; for the first action of the intellect is direct, not reflex. In Locke's theory of sensism, the idea in the intellect is nothing else than the sensible impression itself, more distinctly seen, by being reflected on. In vision, *v. g.*, the image of the object goes, by way of the eye, directly to the intellect, and is immediately apprehended by it. Hence, the intellect itself actually receives the sensation; or, it is numerically the same sensation received by the organ, that is also received by the intellect. It is manifest that this hypothesis reduces the intellect to the rank of an organic power, whose only object is some sensible property, quality, or the accident of corporeal substance. One of the first conclusions reached in the philosophy of mind, is that an organic faculty, and the intellectual faculty, differ from each other in all their specific notes; and not to reach this conclusion is not to go beyond the beginning of mental philosophy. To say with the ontologist that God is the *primum scibile*, and that He is the object which is first and intuitively apprehended by the human intellect, whether He be thus perceived in His own essence as absolute being, or as *ens creans existentias*, is to assume, *a priori*, that the mind must, by its nature, first know that which is in itself first; that since God is the first being from whom all other beings dérive their existence, therefore He must be the first object known to man's intellect. It is not true to affirm, however, with some reasoners who object to it, that this theory of intuitive vision is in itself pantheistic; for this objection to it proves too much. But what is the fact of common experience? Does general experience teach us that our first notion was of God seen intuitively or immediately? Do we thus see Him, even after all our study; or do we see Him only in abstract, as first cause reasoned out *a posteriori?*

It may be granted, so far as the present inquiry is concerned with the matter, that it is intrinsically possible for God to create intellects, to which the intuitive vision of His Divine essence would be connatural; for although the question of this possibility is disputed in the schools, it seems more probable in itself that such a thing is not repugnant to reason. But, conceding the physical possibility that intellects could be created thus capable of intuitively seeing absolute being, is God, or *Deus creans existentias*, as a fact, the object of such intuition in our minds? The whole question turns on the fact as to what the operation of the human mind in knowing actually is; and not what it could be by the power of God differently ordaining and constituting man's faculties, or some

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other creature's rational nature. Do our intellects, on the testimony of internal consciousness, see God as absolute being, or as actually creating dependent existences; or do we know Him as their cause or creator by concluding *a posteriori* from these creatures, seen as effects, to Him as their cause, and thus knowing Him by way of a logical deduction from facts? No mere hypothesis and no form of arguments can do away with the plain fact of things, as they are in themselves naturally and actually, that man in this life knows God only in an abstract manner, or as inferred from the knowledge of other things, and not by an immediate intuition of His being or essence. Whatever is known to us by way of a logical deduction is *ipso facto* known only by way of abstraction, and by consequence is not seen immediately.

It is beside the aim of this article to discuss all the theories which have been proposed for explaining the origin of our ideas. After all that has been written on this subject by men of the greatest minds, and notwithstanding many plausible arguments in favor of other theories that have been devised, it seems to me that, after all, the system which best explains the operations of the human mind in knowing, and which most satisfactorily accounts for the origin of our intellectual ideas, in accordance with evident facts and their principles, is the peripatetic theory as understood and taught by the scholastics. This opinion is here advanced with all due deference to the judgment of others who may think differently. But, not to assert more than can be rightfully claimed as proved by them, it must be confessed at the outset that their theory, too, has its unsolved difficulties; for it, too, fails to dispel all obscurity, and render the whole subject of mental action perfectly clear.

Some reasons will now be given, which are believed to justify the conclusion that the scholastic method and theory for explaining the action of the human mind in thinking, is the most consistent and reasonable of all the theories of mental philosophy. But, since the present issue is not with materialists, it is here assumed, 1st, that the human soul is a spiritual substance, which is the living principle in the body; 2d, that man's sensible or organic powers have only material objects of action; in other words, that they can be directly acted on only by material things, and that they can perceive or apprehend only material objects.[1]

[1] There are certain popular forms of expression, as "the body is the *tenement* of the soul, the soul *inhabits* the body, the body is the *prison* of the soul," etc., which are susceptible of a correct meaning; but they are not taken in a sense that is true, if they be understood in the sense attributed to them by the theory of "pre-established harmony," or of "occasional causes," or even the theory of "physical influence." For in all these hypotheses soul and body in the living man are really two distinct, separate existences; or they are actually two complete substances, not constituting by union in composition only one complete substance, one existing being; a supposition that

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To begin with a striking proof that the peripatetics reasoned correctly concerning the manner in which man knows external objects, that they argued from true principles, and that they neither denied nor ignored plain facts of experience:

They proposed the question, does the eye see by emission, *i. e.*, only by action and influence that go from the eye to the external object, or does the eye see by means of action coming to it from the object? The principle was justly assumed as evident that, in order for the act of vision to take place, the object and the organ must be conjoined in some manner. They concluded that as the eye does not go out to the object, nor does the object itself enter into the eye, their union must take place by a representative medium which goes from the object to the eye. In order for the eye to see the object truly this representative medium, as reaching the eye, must be a likeness of the object, a formal or real likeness of the object, *i. e.*, one that really resembles the object, and by consequence is truly representative of the object. From this reasoning they inferred that every visible object emits in all directions through the circumambient light likenesses of itself, which at every point, within a certain distance from it, are capable of reaching the eye, and being received by it.

These diminutive images or likenesses, as thus emitted by the object, were styled by the schoolmen, "intentional[1] sensible species," the word "species" being understood in the sense of likeness. These vicarious species, or images, when considered as acting on the eye, were termed impressed species; and when they were considered as actually received by the eye, and as informing it, they were called *expressed* sensible species, their intention being

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directly contradicts the unity of man's nature. Within the same limits, and in the very same manner, the kindred sayings often used, namely, that "the senses are the organs of the soul," "the mind uses the brain as its organ of thought," etc., may be explained in a true or a false sense, according as "organs" or organic powers are conceived by us. If they be regarded only as instruments separated from the soul, and not as living with its life and substance animating them, and as principally constituent of them, in that supposition they would be only mechanical instruments, as the pen, the mirror, the staff in your hand are mechanical instruments, that are complete substances entirely distinct from you. A sensible organ, or an organic power, is a member of the living animal compound, *i. e.*, compound of a substantial vital principle and matter; it is capable of vital action in respect to its proper objects, and is ordained by its nature to sustain and perfect the living organism to which it pertains. These powers in man are constituent parts of his complete human nature; in other words, they are really a portion of himself, since the body is not something extrinsic to man, but is an essential component of his physical, personal being.

[1] Later authors do not agree in assigning a reason for the use of the word "intentional." The species is called "intentional" by some, because it is *intended* to represent the object, and not itself; by others because it *tends* from the object to the power, and represents the object, or because it is representative, vicarious, and is the medium through which the object and the power *tend* to each other, etc.

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thus far realized. The species as thus expressed and informing the eye, becomes thereby an inherent quality in the eye itself; is vitalized, or by becoming a living quality in the eye, is made a living part of the eye itself. By this species thus informing the eye, it is enabled to perform the act of seeing the object from which the species is received. In the act of seeing, the expressed species is a part of the principle that sees; for, it is a living virtue in the eye, and it and the eye together constitute the one power that sees, or the one principle that elicits the act of seeing is composed of the organ and the species. The eye does not see this image that is thus received into itself and identified with itself; but, informed and helped by this species, it sees the object of which the species is a likeness. Hence the species is the means by which the eye is enabled to see the object, but the species itself as an object is not seen at all by the eye.

In order that the foregoing statement of the theory of vision proposed by the scholastics may be made more clear and that the validity of their reasoning may be rendered more intelligible to the general reader, let us apply it to the facts as made known by modern physical science. Besides, if the scholastic doctrine of ocular vision be well understood, it will at the same time serve as a key to their whole theory of intellectual cognition; for the action of the intellect in apprehending its object is, under several respects, analogous to that of the eye in seeing.

Kepler was the first person, as is well known, who actually showed that distinct images of external objects are formed on the retina of the eye, whenever those objects are seen. His discovery was first published in 1604, or at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This fact, now so well known in optics, that the visible object makes on the retina of the eye a real picture of itself, truly and exactly representing the original both as to color and figure, is an undeniable and a striking proof that the reasoning of the scholastics was correct, both as to the principle and the substantial fact. Their argument as to the fact was that, since the object itself could not come to the power or organ, it emitted or sent forth a representative, vicarious image of itself, which made the object present to the eye by means of its formal or real likeness. In this they were philosophically correct; their error was in regard to the physical law by which the result demonstrated by them to be necessary, was brought about; and hence, their mistake concerned what is merely accidental to the main point in question. They proved that a true likeness of the visible object must reach the eye in order for the act of vision to take place, though they did not know how the object, the light, and the lens of the eye actually and physically produce that image. They argued that the created power is indifferent

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to this or that act in particular; it must be determined by the object, as nothing acts at a distance, *nihil agit in distans*, the object must be present to the power, either virtually or in itself. The object itself does not accede to the power; its virtue does reach the power. Now, since, as a fact, the eye sees the object itself as it is, where it is, and not as something in the eye itself, nothing will suffice for enabling the eye thus to see the object but a real likeness of that object, which likeness itself becomes a principle in the act of seeing. The image, which is now known to be pictured on the retina of the eye, fully satisfies all those requirements of their faultless logic, as another coincidence of facts will render still more evident.

When you look at the house, the river, or the tree, which is in a distant plain, the eye sees that object where it is; it does not see in itself and on the retina a picture of the object, but it sees the object itself; and consciousness testifies to us that it is thus we see the object. Hence we really see the object itself, not the likeness of it in the eye, as would be the case if we saw it in a mirror in which it was imaged before us; and it is manifest that when we contemplate an object in a mirror it is not the object itself that we directly see; what we directly behold is only an image of the object. If we saw the object as pictured on the retina of the eye, then the object itself would not be seen where it is, and at a distance, but it would be seen only as represented in its image. It is a fact, however, that we do not see that image on the retina at all, in the act of vision, as our consciousness testifies; besides, this truth is proved indisputably by the fact that no one knew the existence of any such image pictured on the retina of the eye, till Kepler discovered and made known this truth.

In this, also, the incontestable fact of modern physical science is substantially identical with what the peripatetic philosophy, arguing from known principles and plain facts of experience defended as a demonstrated conclusion, for they proved that for vision to be physically and naturally possible, a real likeness from the object must inform the eye.

In order to take one more step in the examination of their theory, we must here rightly apprehend the precise import of their axiom, *species est medium quo, incognitum ut quod, i. e.*, the species or likeness of the object which is received into the eye or power that sees, is the means or the medium by which the eye sees, but the medium itself is not seen at all as an object or as anything connected with the object. This saying applies also, in their theory, to intellectual apprehension, as will be noticed again further on in this article. But in what sense do they term the image in the eye a medium of vision? Is it a medium in the sense

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that it co-operates in the act as an instrumental cause, or does it help in performing the act by way of principal cause? In answer it must be said that, since it informs the eye, it really acts or helps the eye to act, by way of principal cause; it is not an instrument with which the eye sees, but it and the eye constitute the one principle that performs the act of seeing. An example will help to make the distinction clear: A man that is exhausted and weak from hunger is unable to lift a heavy burden, but when food and drink shall have been received into the stomach and have nourished the body, the man is thereby made able to lift the burden that previously exceeded his strength. It is clear that the nourishment which has entered into and informed the tissues of the body has its efficient share in the force or strength with which the man lifts the burden; it does not help by way of an instrumental cause, as a lever or handspike, but as an assimilated constitutive of the one principal cause that now exerts the strength. Similarly, the species or received image of the object is constitutive of the principle or power as capable of seeing the object. This matter being understood, it becomes more easy to comprehend both the fact that the eye does not see the image of the object which is projected on the retina, and also how it is that the act of seeing terminates upon the exterior object, where the object is represented to be.

The modern science of optics leaves no doubt or obscurity in our minds as to the manner in which the exterior object is made present to the visual organ: the light from the object is reflected upon the lens of the eye, which forms an image of the object and casts it upon the retina, as the lens of the camera is made to form true images of exterior objects and throw them upon a screen as background. These facts, and the physical laws that explain them, are familiarly known and are sufficiently understood. But a question that regards less obvious matter is, how is it that the act of seeing performed by the eye, even as informed with the real likeness of the exterior and distant object, truly terminates in that object, though it is remote? It may be answered that, since the medium from the retina of the eye to the object seen is both real and continuous, and if intercepted by an impediment vision ceases, the difficulty raised by this question is not a metaphysical one, but it is entirely of physical law. There is known to be a complete physical medium of action from the eye to the exterior object seen by it; that medium is a beam of colored light, with one base on the object, the other on the retina of the eye. The explanation of its physical nature is properly a task that pertains to positive or experimental science, and most especially to optics. As will be seen, when the action of the fancy as influencing the intellect is described, such question does become a metaphysical or philo-

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sophical one, should it happen that there is no known or assignable medium which really unites the agent and the object of its action; for, then the evident fact would seem to be incompatible with absolute and necessary truth; and such principle is the proper object of philosophy.

We may conclude, then, from what has thus far been said, that an act of sensible cognition is efficiently and immediately produced by the power and the impression from the object, as by one complete principle. Neither one of these two principles is separately the adequate cause of the cognitive act or the vision; the act is from the union of the two. To each of the two corresponds its own proper perfection in the act produced, namely, to the power we must attribute the vitality of the act; to the *species impressa* we must ascribe the likeness of the object as concurring in the act of knowing that object, by determining the power to act. The species is a part, then, of the formal principle that performs the act of cognition; hence it is identified with the power in which it becomes a vitalized quality. It mediates between the object and the power, but it exists in the power according to the nature of the power, *omne receptum per modum recipientis recipitur.* It is in this meaning that the power is also said to be identified with the object, *potentia fit ipsum objectum*, since the two unite into one acting principle. We may conclude, then, that, as said in the beginning of this article, the explanation of ocular vision as an act of sensible cognition, which was given by the old scholastic philosophers, neither contradicts nor ignores any plain fact of experience or any physical law of nature; an inconsistency that cannot be avoided by an hypothesis which is assumed arbitrarily and *a priori*, and which, therefore, like the pure subjectivism of Kant, is not logically concluded from those facts and principles.

We know also, as a fact of experience, whether or not we know its explanation, that the image on the retina of the eye produces in the fancy another image of a higher and more refined nature, which is also representative of the object seen by the eye. The fancy, then, being impressed with an image or sensible species derived from the image in the eye, forms for itself its own likeness of the object or its phantasma, which is another order of sensible species still nearer to the intellect, and which, as we shall see, can really influence the intellect, actually determining it to elicit its intellection or put its act of understanding.

It is not for us in this place to examine or explain the physiology of that action by which nerves leading from the eye to the brain physically produce this image in the fancy, nor to assign the place of this organ in the brain, nor describe its physiological structure; all that directly pertains to the pyschological question, how

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the intellect comes to know sensible things, is the fact that such image is produced in the fancy, and that both this image and the fancy are material, or that the fancy is an organic faculty, a power limited to a member of the body, not a power which is wholly spiritual, having the soul alone as its subject. That the image formed by the fancy is material in its nature, was always regarded in philosophy as conclusively proved by the fact, which universal experience attests, that it can represent only material things, or at least what it can clothe in material qualities; *v. g.*, it can represent no object except as having some dimensions of real quantity, with a location, and shape, or figure of some kind or other. Indeed, even when we think of things that are wholly immaterial the fancy must always present those objects as in some manner embodied, or as having some property of matter that is located and extended; or else it must have the quality of material things as perceived by some other sense, *v. g.*, sound, as an oral term, etc. Reflect on what takes place when you think even of a mathematical point, which has no dimension nor any sensible property; the fancy pictures it by means of the space that immediately surrounds it. Besides, the facts connected with dreaming, with insane mental operation, furnish conclusive physiological proof that these images are produced by a power of the brain itself. Disordered mental action is from false or abnormal presentation of objects to the intellect; that which is diseased is organic; the intellect cannot be in itself diseased. It is a well-attested fact that, assuming the reality of the objects as fancied before the insane mind, the intellect's judgments and reasoning are correct; the falsity and absurdity that are in disordered mental action are from the objects as presented by the fancy. If the brain be diseased, or the action of the external senses be wholly or partially suspended, the fancy is either totally or partially cut off from the order of real things. In this state, the action of the fancy is morbid or abnormal; its images are false, the intellect having no communication with the real things extrinsic to itself, except through the ministration of this organ, is unable to know their falsity or unreality.

Reflection on what takes place when the mind thinks will render manifest the facts: 1st, that fancy invariably pictures its object under a material form; 2d, that the fancy co-operates in all thought, in every act of apprehension, and every judgment; or, as the schoolmen expressed it, the intellect never apprehends or sees without converting itself to the phantasma. Be the theory for explaining it what it may, it is a fact that the intellect never understands without using the fancy to present before it an object. Hence it is that when the action of the fancy is totally suspended, as happens in deep sleep, the intellect has no thought at all; for, naturally at

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least, the intellect is so entirely dependent on the fancy for its object that, without that mirror before it, no idea can either be originated, be recalled, or be otherwise known by it. Any one that carefully observes the action of his own mind will readily verify for himself the correctness of this statement. It was said that the intellect is "naturally" in this complete dependence on the fancy for its objects; because, by a special exercise of divine power, the intellect, even while the soul remains united with the mortal body, can be made to understand by another law of thought. Things may, by exception to the natural law of its action, be objected before the intellect without any ministry of the fancy, or when the action of the fancy is wholly suspended. It is thus St. Paul is believed to have seen intellectually and understood, when he was rapt to the third heaven, and saw such things as it is not given man to utter. As the things which he saw had not come to him by any assistant action of the fancy, the only natural means of reaching the knowledge of objects, on returning to the natural manner of thinking, he possessed no terms, could form no images by which to express or reproduce the things seen by his intellect when it was thus operating apart from the bodily organs, and not according to its natural mode of knowing. Yet his intellect preserved the impression of what he saw, as the intellect preserves what is naturally produced in it, even through the aid of the fancy. The intellect naturally possesses no knowledge except what it derives from sensible things, either as they are first presented to it, or as reasoned upon: the axiom, *nihil in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu*, is employed to express briefly this same doctrine. Hence all our intellectual ideas, and all our terms or signs for such ideas, include some relation, either immediate or remote, to the sensible things from which those ideas must be primitively derived.

The foregoing remarks and explanations will render intelligible the meaning and scope of the proposition defended by the scholastics, that the intellect never understands or apprehends anything without directing its act to the fancy, and, by consequence, that it naturally knows nothing without some positive co-operation of the fancy in its action, the ministry of the fancy being necessary, however, only for the presentation of the object. This being the fact, the idea in the intellect is produced by two causes: the object and the intellect. The objects first known are sensible things, manifested through the senses or organic powers, and every idea subsequently formed, by reasoning upon them and their relations and analogies, must be symbolized by images in the fancy. An idea, even of a thing the most abstract, is never formed by the intellect unless its symbol in the fancy somehow co-operates in the act by which it is produced. In order to reason rightly, then, concerning

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the ideas in the intellect we must give to it two factors, or two elements; one coming from the object as presented by the fancy, which is an organic brain power, the other proceeding from the intellect, itself, which is not an organic faculty, but is a spiritual power which, so to say it, stands out of, or it is not immersed in, the human compound or the living body; it must derive its own virtue to act from the soul alone, and not from the body, or it must be merely spiritual, because the formal object of its own intrinsic act or idea is the true as true, the universal, the supersensible, and therefore the immaterial. Its action possesses in itself no material predicate, and it must be inferred, therefore, that the agent or the intellect itself is not a power that is material. Though the idea in the intellect originates from two faculties, one of which is organic and therefore a power in matter, yet, as will further appear by the sequel, the idea, as in the intellect, is wholly immaterial.

It was already observed that the phantasma or image in the fancy approaches nearer to the intellectual idea or the intelligible species, than any other form or likeness does, that can be produced by an organic power in man. But though this phantasma possesses such resemblance to the intelligible species or intellectual idea, yet it is not in itself immediately intelligible; for it is material, and the intellect being spiritual, cannot receive immediately into itself, and be informed, with what is singular, material, and is nowise universal and spiritualized. An objection to what has been said, that will readily occur to the discursive mind, may be here appropriately stated and answered: "Since the object is not really present to the power knowing it, but its image only, is in the power, it follows then that the power does not know the object as it is, but it knows only a likeness of that object; and, by consequence, the power knows falsely."

In reply it must be granted that the object is in the power only according to the mode of the power's existence, not as the object actually is in itself; for, it is not the distant house, for example, that comes into the eye, but a likeness of that house. Yet, as a fact, it is not this likeness of the house that the eye sees; but it sees the house itself, as already explained; *i. e.*, through the co-operation of this unseen image or medium as a formal principle in its act of vision, the eye sees the house as it is in its real color and figure, not as if pictured to it; and therefore it sees truly and really. Besides, we know as a fact of experience that it is only the object that is seen by us, and not its image; and that we cannot see its image in the eye at all. If we allow due proportion for difference of proper objects, the same objection and answer may be applied to the act of the intellect, by which it perceives material things in an immaterial manner; the intellect does not, therefore,

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understand falsely, because it acts in perceiving according to its own nature, and not according to the nature of the object apprehended by it.

Up to this point in explaining the nature of human thought, the scholastic theory is, it seems to me, undeniable; it fully recognizes all the plain, well-known facts of experience, and all evident and generally admitted principles, which hold true in the nature of things. For example, it maintains as true, 1st. That for any real action, the object and the power must be truly conjoined; 2d. That in ocular vision a real likeness of the object seen, must inform the eye or be received by it; 3d. The intellect knows through the ministry of a phantasma or image in the fancy; 4th. That this phantasma is a material representation of its object; 5th. The intelligible idea which is in the understanding itself, and is, therefore, immaterial, is produced by combined action or influence of the object perceived and the intellectual power. Thus far the theory faithfully admits, and fully agrees with the facts, just as they are generally observed and known to be, by reflecting minds; and it recognizes the necessary principle that for knowledge to be objectively real and true, it must naturally be caused by both the object and the power. The intellect is the principal cause in the production of the intelligible idea that it acquires in itself, for it is the living principle of thought; but yet, since the object of its idea must concur as one of its real causes, it is the intellect as somehow or other informed with real influence from what is imaged in the fancy, that is the total principle which efficiently elicits the intelligible idea or species by means of which the intellect knows the object.

At this stage of the question we reach the real difficulty, hard to be surmounted by any philosophical theory for explaining human thought, and which is acknowledged to be the *pons* that has yet to be completed to the entire satisfaction of all philosophical inquirers. The difficulty referred to is, to explain the intercommunication of action between the image in the fancy, which is material, and the intellect which is a spiritual power. That there is action mutually received and given, by the phantasma in the imagination and the intellect, seems undeniable; and that a spiritual power cannot immediately suffer material action, seems to be physically certain. Plato saw this, and therefore proposed his hypothesis of subsistent and eternal ideas or essences that are in themselves directly and immediately intelligible to the understanding, and which at the same time mediate between the extrinsic object and the intellect; but this hypothesis is a mere assumption, as regards those subsistent and eternal ideas, which does not satisfactorily explain the truth of our knowledge, either as referred to the object

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known, or the intellect knowing; since it takes away all causative share both from the object and the power in the production of the real cognition. A like objection holds against another theory resorted to, that of the innate ideas; neither are they produced by concurrent action of the object and the power: the intellect would, by them, know only an image of the object, not the object itself; besides, in this theory, the body does not perfect man, as an essential part of his nature; but it impedes his natural action.

The limits to which this article must be confined will not permit any more extended analysis of these theories, nor that others be introduced and described. The purpose which is herein aimed at is to state in the simplest terms which I can select, and in the directest style I can use, some salient points of the scholastic theory, with a view of showing that it does not hide the inherent difficulties of the subject under arbitrary hypotheses or vague generalities, and that, as asserted above, it is faithful both to fact and to principle.

In this theory the intellect by directing its attention to the phantasma or image in the fancy, or, as it is expressed, by converting itself to the phantasma, can by its own spiritual virtue so elevate that phantasma as to render it capable of impressing the intellect with an intelligible nature or form that is truly and really representative of that phantasma, and, through it, of the object imaged by the phantasma. The intellect, of course, gives its own influence to the impression or action of the phantasma; and, in the language of the theory, the intellect is said to "abstract" from the phantasma what is intelligible and can be received by it. Since the word "abstraction" may be taken in an equivocal sense, the precise meaning of the term as here used must be clearly understood in order rightly to apprehend the theory. The word "to abstract," in its general sense, signifies "to draw from or out of; to separate from." This act may be done in two distinct manners: first, by positively and actually separating one thing from others connected with it, and directly rejecting them, or putting them aside; we do this mentally, when, *v.g.*, we consider the will of man thrusting away all thought concerning his other faculties; and this act of abstraction is by good writers sometimes expressed with the word, "prescind, precision." Secondly, a faculty is also said "to abstract" when it apprehends one respect or property of an object, without considering, or even perceiving at all, the other qualities of that object, *v.g.*, the eye perceivs the color and figure of the visible object without seeing its hardness, taste, smell, etc.; and the eye may be said, according to this meaning of the term, to *abstract* an image that is representative of the visible object. It is in this second sense of the term also that the intellect is said to

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"abstract its intelligible species or idea" from the phantasma. The virtue in the intellect by which it is enabled to elevate the phantasma, and thus fit it to give its influence to the spiritual power that is in man, or determine the act of the intellect by which it perceives, is technically called the "active intellect," and also "the natural light of reason," this latter name being preferred by the later authors. Just as in ocular vision the eye does not see the image on the retina, but sees only the object represented by it; so the intellect when perceiving does not see its idea, but it sees only the object of which that idea is representative; or, as it is expressed, the idea or intelligible species is the *medium quo incognitum ut quod;* the idea is the medium of knowing, but in the act of knowing the idea itself is not what is perceived by the intellect, but the object expressed by that idea is that which is perceived. When the intellect sees its own idea reflexly, it does so by using the fancy for that purpose; and by the help of an image in the fancy it either forms an idea *of an idea*, or it sees the same idea first had, again abstracted from the fancy, and with this new relation and meaning. It is thus the intellect sees reflexly its own ideas; if it saw the ideas immediately, as in itself, its act in that case would not be reflex; it would be *direct*, as is manifest. If we notice what takes place in the mind when we think of our thought, or make an idea itself the object of our thought, it will become evident to us that, as a fact, the fancy presents an image which serves the intellect when it puts that reflex act. The faculty of consciousness is, so to say it, beneath this operation, and directs it; and hence this faculty is styled by some, but perhaps not fortunately, *sensus intimus*, the inmost sense. As the intellect cannot see itself immediately, so neither can it thus see any positive quality or habit that inheres in it; for, such quality or habit in the intellect has only immaterial or spiritual entity, and the intellect cannot apprehend what is spiritual, except as abstracted from the phantasma. Even the most non-material object conceivable by the intellect, must be embodied by the fancy before it is possible for the intellect to apprehend it and know it. What the intellect first perceives or apprehends, by means of the image in the fancy, is indistinct and general; when by further reflexion the intellect makes out of its first impression the idea, or *verbum mentis*, this mental word expresses the nature of the object by a reflex universal. But this universal idea, it is clear, has for its objective basis the particular, concrete thing presented before the intellect by the image in the fancy.

We have now stated, omitting, however, what is most abstruse and metaphysical, as not needed for the present question, some salient principles of the scholastic theory for explaining the action of the

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intellect in merely perceiving or apprehending an object. To describe judgments of composition and division, and the act of reasoning, though required for a complete account of the system, is not necessary for the aim of this essay, which is to give some conclusive reasons in proof that the theory of the scholastics is true to fact and principle, so far as it pretends to explain with certainty the first origin and nature of human knowledge. If we reflect on the operation of the senses and the intellect in knowing external objects, in forming intellectual ideas, we find that the scholastic philosophers accurately describe just what actually takes place in our faculties. Their system includes a simple, consistent statement of all the facts, precisely as they are observable in apprehending, judging, and reasoning; and it describes them with a fidelity to truth, which is its peculiar, distinctive merit. The one point, as already mentioned, which it, in common with all systems of mental philosophy thus far proposed, leaves in more or less darkness, is the manner in which there can be actual and physical nexus between the intellect and the material phantasma or image in the fancy; the fact being granted, as it must be, that the phantasma really and truly influences the intellect. While many theories begin with an arbitrary hypothesis and end in some plain falsity or contradiction of fact, this one begins with obvious undeniable facts and principles that are true in the nature of things, and it follows faithfully the acts of mentally knowing, till checked by one obscure and ultimate fact, which other systems do not even reach, *et sentire et intelligere est quoddam pati, i.e.*, there is no sensation and no intellection by man without action received, and consequently the object acts on the power that knows that object. Also the fancy, which is material, because an organic power in the brain, acts, through its phantasma, on the intellect, which is an immaterial or spiritual faculty, in the production of intelligible ideas. St. Thomas, the ablest exponent of the scholastic system (in i. p., qu., 85, a. i. of his *Summa*, his chief work, and the recognized masterpiece of theological and philosophical reasoning), simply teaches the fact that the phantasma receives virtue from the "active intellect," or that it is elevated "by the natural light of reason" in such manner that it is made capable of informing "the passive intellect," or impressing it with an image that is representative of the object's specific nature, but without its putting into the intellect anything material and singular. He says also that the intelligible species which is received into the passive intellect *results* from the phantasma, as elevated by the active intellect or natural light of reason; but he affirms that no form, *i.e.*, no real physical entity passes from the phantasma into the passive intellect like a body that is taken from one place and put into another place.

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Later authors contended that there still remained unanswered questions, clear replies to which are necessary, however, for the satisfactory explanation of this difficulty, or for bridging over this yet uncrossed chasm between the phantasma and the intellectual conception or *verbum mentis.* Does the phantasma really, and by any virtue of its own, act on the intellect; and, if not, what determines the intellect to know one object rather than another? And, if it does, how can the intellect be subject to material action? Is that light from the intellect to the phantasma a superfused spiritual quality; and if so, how does the corporeal receive the spiritual? Is the species that is received into the passive intellect formed by the active intellect alone; and if so, what is the office of the phantasma? If the phantasma efficiently co-operates, and really determines the intellect's action, then the question recurs how can the corporeal thing act on the spiritual power, and that too even naturally?

The foregoing questions will enable the general reader to see distinctly in what the point of this difficulty for all theories of mental philosophy consists. Several hypotheses have been proposed for so supplementing the scholastic system as to render it capable of going further, and assigning clearly the share which the fancy and the intellect have respectively, in the production of the idea in the intellect. Up to this point of the inquiry we are convinced that no error or flaw, whether of fact or argument, can be detected and proved against this system. We may infer, perhaps with certainty, that there must be some virtue or faculty, either of material natures or else in the powers of spiritual substance as informing matter, or in both of them, which philosophy has not yet ascertained and defined, and which is fully to account for the indisputable fact that the image in the fancy, and the intellect, give and receive action. But is it preferable to suppose this undiscovered virtue, property, faculty, or whatever it is, should be found in the soul alone, rather than in the body and soul as constituting one substance? Cajetan, in his comments on the doctrine of St. Thomas as expressed in the work above cited (i. p., qu., 85, a. i.), denies the opinion advanced by some authors, that the phantasma receives positive influence from the intellect; but he seems to be of the opinion that the phantasma is naturally capable of being *objected* directly and immediately before the intellect, on account of that intimate union between the fancy and intellect which arises from their belonging to the same substantial being; in other words, in virtue of this union in the same complete substance or suppositum, the phantasma is capable of becoming proximately and directly present as an object to the intellect. That the human fancy possesses peculiar virtue, proceeding from the fact that its formal principle is the rational soul,

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and that from the same fact the intellect can exert special influence over the fancy, seems undeniable. Who can doubt that the human fancy has more perfect action than that of the brute, arising from the fact that the *anima belluina* is not rational and the human soul is rational?

But, on the other hand, although it is the same soul that is both sentient and intelligent, it is such under very different respects, and through powers that are specifically distinct. Moreover, it is generally taught that a created substance can never act immediately; it can act only through the medium of its powers; the human soul knows its sensations only through the intellect as somehow informed by the likenesses of sensible things in the fancy. It follows, then, that to show the unity of the human suppositum does not suffice to explain the matter in question; for, since the soul cannot know except through its powers, it may be asked by what single faculty, power, or virtue in the soul is it made capable of the sensation and intellectual cognition caused by physical action of the same material object? As a fact, the soul comes to the knowledge of sensible things; but by what faculty or operation, distinct from the intellect forming its ideas of those things through help of the fancy, does it come to know them? It is not meeting the real difficulty to reply merely, "It is the same soul that informs the living body and its organs, and that possesses the faculty of understanding." This unity of the soul's substance is the reason why all its faculties have unity of origin, and have one principle of existence; but this is not an explanation of the manner in which those faculties are acted on by their proper objects, nor is it saying how the intellect is able to abstract its intelligible species from the phantasma, nor how the phantasma determines the action of the intellect. It is true that man has one substantial nature, in which there are many and diverse powers; but he does not know by an immediate act of his substance, he knows only by means of his faculties.

There are others who say that the phantasma receives a positive influence from the active intellect, in virtue of which it is made capable of giving to the intellect the required species that is representative of the object pictured by the fancy. But, as already observed, this hypothesis still leaves us in obscurity as to how the object, through its material representative in the fancy, really and actually concurs in the production of the intellectual idea or conception. Some have held that the fancy and the active intellect, or else the phantasma and the "light of reason," are the continuation of each other; so that where the active intellect ceases there the fancy begins, and thus there being no intervening medium between them they are really adjacent to each other, and consequently

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the phantasma is truly present to the intellect as an object. But this supposition does not solve, nor even meet the difficulty. Finally, not to multiply instances of speculative guesswork, there are they who suppose that an immaterial entity really and physically migrates from the image of the fancy into the intellect, and thus informs the intellect with the species that is representative of the object.

Some more modern philosophers have chosen to begin wholly anew, and start *a priori* to explain the matter by denying the facts as enumerated and described in the scholastic system, laying down an hypothesis and interpreting all phenomena in accordance with the principle which they thus assume arbitrarily; thus did the authors of pure subjectivism, of ontologism, of sensism, and others. But the mind that is to solve the great problem, and discover the *pons* that joins the intellect and the material object as really and formally imaged by the fancy, must, if the assertions and the reasonings herein advanced be correct, begin where the scholastic philosophy was stopped by an impediment which it did not completely surmount, but which notwithstanding is the farthest term yet reached by genuine mental science. As to the gross conclusions of positivism and materialism they are as unsatisfactory to the intellect as they are abhorrent to man's superior rational instincts; but yet, while the defenders of these doctrines, under the style of "scientists," are striving to effect one object they may, as has happened before, actually accomplish another and totally opposite one. Kepler, by discovering the fact that the visible object imprints its real likeness on the retina of the eye, proved, without intending it or even thinking of the subject, that the reasoning of scholastic philosophy concerning ocular vision was substantially correct; so any student of physical nature that discovers and proves facts advances the knowledge of truth, whatever may be his own aims in pursuing his investigations. Who can say that no other discovery will ever be made, still further explaining the nature of organic action and power, and thus throwing additional light on mental science?

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RAMBLES IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

II.

WE supposed ourselves camped on what was called Cascade Creek, and that the Falls were only a mile or two off. The next morning, therefore, we were in our saddles by six o'clock, and our first care was to find and secure the rest of our deer. We started for the place with many misgivings, for wild beasts, such as bears and wolves, are almost certain to find game a few hours after it is slaughtered. As we approached the spot, after taking a second view of the mud geyser, I caught sight of a large wolf which rapidly disappeared in the woods, and I failed to get a shot at him. We found the deer, which we had drawn up on a fallen tree, safe and unmolested, but the entrails were carefully covered up with leaves and grass scraped together for the purpose, and doubtless by the wolf found lurking near the spot. The deer was quickly cut up and distributed amongst the party; and now to find the Falls was the question.

For six mortal hours did we wander through the dense forest, stumbling and pushing through masses of fallen timber, twisting and turning to get out of its way. Several times we reached the edge of the Grand Cañon, and looked down its almost perpendicular sides to the river rushing along hundreds of feet below us. The scene was grand beyond description, but the Falls were nowhere to be seen. Sometimes we would fancy we could hear their roar beyond a projecting point ahead of us, and in trying to make our way to that, we would encounter lateral cañons so steep and rugged as to render necessary long detours before we could reach the other side, and when we did reach there, it was only again to be disappointed. At length we gave up the fruitless search, returned to camp about twelve, packed up and resumed our journey with a sad feeling of disappointment that one of the principal objects of our trip, a sight of the Great Falls, had been defeated by imperfect maps and incorrect information. In places, the trail being very indistinct, we lost our way, but at length an opening appeared in the dense forest, and we could see a short distance before us. For some time we had noticed a peculiar noise which, when in the dense timber, sounded like the wind sighing through the trees. It appeared, however, to grow louder as we advanced, and when we entered the open space it increased in volume, and appeared to come from the left. Joy lighted up all faces as the fact suddenly broke in upon us, and with a cry of "The Falls! the Falls!" we spurred forward in the direction of the sound, now heard in thun-

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dering tones, proceeding from the other side of a strip of timber in our front. A couple of horses saddled and tied to trees in the edge of the timber told us we were in the vicinity of one of Professor Hayden's surveying parties. Hastily dismounting and tying our horses we pushed forward on foot through the timber. For a moment we stood looking in silent admiration and awe, and then, as the thunder of the cataract struck upon our ears in contrast with the previous silence reigning around us, and our previous disappointment recurred to us, each one uttered a yell of triumph and delight, and rushed ahead to obtain a better view of the scene.

Now it so happened that just at this time a young assistant of the surveying party was engaged in taking the height of the Falls, and had his instrument set up upon a projecting point of rock, towards which this yelling, rough-looking party was rushing. Travellers in the western country do not generally dress in the height of fashion. Dressed buckskin and ragged fustian take the place of broad cloth and "good clothes;" and straggling beards, matted hair, and bronzed faces are apt to be the result of rough western life. The young assistant was a new importation, as yet unused to western life, and his feelings on having his quiet labors suddenly interrupted by an Indian-like yell and the apparition of half a dozen wild-looking creatures, with rifles in hand, rushing towards him, when his only retreat was by a spring five or six hundred feet down a perpendicular precipice, can be more easily imagined than described, and were pretty plainly depicted in his face as we neared him. His relief must have been correspondingly great when he discovered by our language that we were not the ferocious redmen or "road agents" we looked.

The position chosen for a view of the Falls was the finest possible one. Looking up the river a deep, narrow rocky gorge was seen, its sides composed of black volcanic rock, towering hundreds of feet above the water and into the dense timber above. At the bottom of this gorge is the river, moving along in its majesty faster and faster as it rushes towards its leap, its bright sea-green surface flecked here and there with white. Reaching the mouth of the cañon, in a smooth, unbroken green sheet from shore to shore, it plunges over, and is at once converted into a mass of creamy white. Down, down, down it goes, the spray becoming finer and finer, until when it strikes the bottom, three hundred and fifty feet below, with a roar and a shock which makes both air and earth tremble, the whole space is veiled in a thick mist, on which the rays of the sun strike, spanning the gulf with a bright rainbow. Below the Falls the river, a narrow green ribbon, rushes along between shores, whose steep slopes, of a Milwaukee brick-yellow, contrast strongly with the black volcanic rocks above. To add to the novelty and

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beauty of the scene these slopes are colored with the most brilliant hues, not one particle exaggerated by the brush of Moran in his view of the Falls already referred to. In fact the artist on viewing the scene with an artist's enthusiasm is said to have remarked, with a tinge of sadness in his tone, "No brush can do justice to it."

Looking down at the river almost under our feet it is seen that we stand upon the edge of a perpendicular cliff of rock which descends for hundreds of feet to join the steep yellow slopes of the river shore. We amuse ourselves by hurling over immense pieces of rock. The ear catches no sound from below, but looking over, after waiting some seconds, the eye detects far down in the lower depths a fragment, apparently the size of a fist, bounding from side to side in water-worn gulches, and finally splashing into the river at the bottom. Short of the river there is no possible stopping-point.

Half a mile above the Great Falls, in a bend of the river, is the Upper Falls, where the water makes another perpendicular plunge of one hundred and twenty-five feet, and, between the two falls, Cascade Creek, a considerable stream flowing through a deep gorge and filled with beautiful cascades, joins the Yellowstone. We cross this, ascend the steep hill beyond, enter a bright, grass-covered valley, and strike the river again at the rapids above the Falls, where it rushes over a steep incline, at one point of which stands a huge mass of rock, which divides the rushing waters like an island. Further above, the river flows through grassy meadows, with a gentle though rapid current which a steamboat could with little difficulty stem, and from this point to the lake, a distance of eighteen or twenty miles, the river is said to be navigable. Perhaps at some future day a landing will be established here for steamers conveying passengers from the Great Falls to a tour of the lake.

From a high point on the trail we had a fine view of the river as it flows through a picturesque landscape, and then crossing another steep, wooded hill entered upon a broad, flat, uninteresting, greasewood-covered plain, from the far side of which columns of steam can be seen rising.

Crossing a bright, clear stream, a foot and a half wide, and an inch or two deep, which my map informs me is Alum Creek, I requested a little negro boy belonging to the party to dismount and hand me a drink, tasting it *first* to see if it was cool. He raised the cup to his lips, took one mouthful, and with a cry of disgust ejected it from his mouth, with an expression strongly reminding us of our younger days and experience with green persimmons.

"What is the matter?"

"Why dat's de queerest water I ever tasted."

"Is it cool?"

"No, sir; it's bitter."

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I put the cup to my lips, and found it filled with a bitter, saturated solution of alum.

We were now approaching the "Seven Hills," an interesting group of hot springs, the steam from which we had noticed from a distance. We dismounted to examine them, and found two large boiling springs, with all the beautiful formations and colors of the Gardiner's River group, and a number of other lesser ones and mud-tanks. The surplus water from the springs flows over a long slope, which it has itself built up, and, as the hot steam escapes at several points along this slope, we step rather carefully, not yet being fully used to our ground, and not knowing at what moment we might plunge into a boiling bath. The feeling is not a pleasant one, but we get more accustomed to the ground after awhile, and learned to pass anywhere, even on horseback, with perfect confidence.

The mud-tanks are curious affairs, and seem to be boiling springs simmered down and nearly extinct. The muddy water loses in time the fluid part, the mud becomes thicker and thicker, and finally reaches the consistency of mush, and through that the escaping steam slowly makes its way.

We spent an hour looking over this interesting spot, then the party getting separated lost each other and the trail, and it was sundown before all but one member got together again and established camp on the bank of the Yellowstone, where plenty of grass and a supply of driftwood invited us to stop. The absentee wandered about till after dark, contemplated a supperless bivouac by himself, and was rejoiced when our pistol-shots called him to camp.

In the meantime I had put my rod together, to try, with little hope of succeeding, a cast for a trout. One, two, three throws, without result; but at the fourth the water broke, a fine fellow took the fly, and in a few minutes three or four golden-yellow trout, enough for the whole party, were safely landed in the grass. Other rods were produced, and for half an hour trout were landed almost as fast as we could make the casts, and until we became actually ashamed of the cruel waste of catching more. These trout were all of a nearly uniform size, about three pounds in weight, and at the time we entirely forgot all about the stories we had heard of the worms which afflict those inhabiting the lake. I fear, however, it would have made no difference, for we were tired and hungry, and when after appeasing our hunger we recalled the worm-stories, we consoled ourselves as did the Western toper in regard to whisky, and complacently reflected that "all trout is good, some is better than other trout, but none is *bad*."

Just as the night was closing in and we had ceased fishing, the whole air was suddenly filled with an immense number of large

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flies, called by one of the party "trout flies." These were swept across the river by a gentle breeze, and immediately the whole river seemed alive with trout, eagerly springing for those nearest the water. The turmoil, kept up long after dark, gave us a better idea than we had yet had of the immense number of trout in the river.

During the night a heavy rain fell, and, as the sun began to redden the east the next morning, I crawled from between my blankets, and, before the rest of the party were awake, had several more fine trout landed for our breakfast. The time of day does not seem to make much difference with these fish. They are always hungry, and always ready to appease their hunger and your own.

Leaving the main body to dry the things in the sun, myself and two or three others started ahead to examine a mud geyser, some miles up the river. After crossing several broad, open meadows, in the valley of the river, we approached a wooded point, where the columns of steam rising above the trees pointed out the object of our search. We wandered about in quest of the curiosities belonging to this interesting group, and, whilst doing so, started a drove of black grouse, the finest game-bird in the Western country, and dismounted at once to shoot off their heads with our rifles. At the third or fourth shot a shout was heard from the hill above us, and two men, as rough-looking and ragged as ourselves (which is saying a good deal), came towards us, to ascertain who the strange party were. They proved to be a portion of one of Prof. Hayden's parties, left here to observe the operations of the principal mud geyser of the group. Under their guidance we made a very satisfactory examination of the different localities. The first consisted of a group of large tanks, half filled with mud, in a most perfect state of mixture, some of about the consistence of brick material, some as thick as fresh mush, others thinner, and others again like thick, muddy water. Up through all of them the hot steam was pushing its way in bubbles, continuing the admixture of the materials, and working them up as it had been probably working them for long ages before. In some of these tanks the appearance was exactly that of boiling mush, where the bubbles came thick and fast after each other. In others the gas worked more slowly, and seemed to have just power sufficient to push its way through the thick, stiff mass. In some of these last a curious and novel feature was observed. As the bubbles slowly and laboriously worked their way up, the surface of the mud rises in a blister, which, growing thinner and thinner as it rises, finally bursts. As the broken blister sinks slowly down towards the general surface of the mud, the most beautifully accurate rings are formed around the opening, and these finally disappear, to be followed by other bubbles, blisters, and rings, and so on indefinitely. We lingered a long time about

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these mud-tanks, where thousands of tons of mud appear as if yearning for brick-moulds to press themselves into. The tanks are of all sizes, from twenty or thirty feet across down to a few inches; the larger ones boiling up all over the surface; the smaller ones sometimes with but a single bubble forming blisters and rings on its own account.

These tanks are all situated at the foot of a hill on a plateau, which bears the appearance of being itself formed of the same material, hardened, as the mud in the present tanks. Nearly all the tanks have a depressed passage-way leading from them to lower ground, which formed in former times, when there was an overflow of fluid, a waste weir to carry off the surplus, resulting from eruptions. In the boiling springs of muddy water a little still makes its way out through these channels.

Under the direction of our guides we passed from this group of immense "brickyards" to another of a different kind, higher up on the side hill. Here we were shown the site of the great mud geyser, an immense tank with a boiling pool of muddy water in the centre, and gorges, six or eight feet deep, leading from it through the plateau in which it stands down to the river, which runs close by. The dirty mixture is quietly simmering, now and then spurting up into boiling, preparatory to an eruption, which, we are told, takes place with great regularity about once in every six hours.

Close by the geyser, in the side of a rocky hill, are two large openings, called the "Devil's Grotto" and the "Devil's Caldron," from both of which the mud and water come gurgling forth with a sound like the wheels of a great sea-steamer, as they turn in the water alongside of her dock preparatory to a start. These have both, within a very recent period, been more violently active than they are now, and alongside of one of them, the "Caldron," the deadened trees for fifty feet above the ground are thickly covered with mud from former eruptions.

On visiting the camp of the surveying party we were assured that the geyser would certainly "go off" in a few hours, and that it was a sight well worth seeing. We therefore decided to await here the arrival of our packs and witness the eruption. We were shown a number of specimens of natural history collected on the trip, and amongst the rest a bottle filled with long, white, tape-like worms, taken from the river trout, the sight of which made us shudder at the recollection of our last night's feast. In vain we protested there were none of these in the ones we had eaten. We were met by the startling assertion, "There are very few without them!" To prove the fact we were invited to catch some of the fish from the river close by, which we at once proceeded to do. The first one landed was taken possession of by one of our informants, who, scraping

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his knife down along the bright golden side of the fish, called our attention to a puffy spot, a little lighter in color than the rest of the surface, and looking like an incipient boil about the size of a dime. Into this I was invited to insert the blade of a penknife, upon doing which out came a long, whitish-looking worm, and we were all convinced against our will. We caught a number of fish, but few of which were without the outward manifestation of these parasites. They all have them to a greater or less degree, but it is only when they exist superabundantly that they make their way from the entrails of the animal into the surrounding flesh, on entering which they produce a kind of mortification, which would probably prevent any but a starving man from eating it. The fish suitable for food can be readily selected by the absence of the light protuberances on the side. I afterwards found in a trout caught in Sun River, in the northern part of Montana Territory, a similar worm, but of darker color. To indemnify ourselves for any mistakes we may have committed at our supper of the night before, we cut great slices from a fine fat quarter of elk hanging in the camp, and, roasting them at the fire, made a hearty lunch, whilst waiting the pleasure of the geyser.

At length, after waiting through a pelting storm of rain and hail, our watches told us the hour for eruption was approaching, and we assembled around the geyser crater, the party being increased in the meantime by the arrival of the rest with the packs. Seated on the rim of the basin, at a safe distance, we awaited the advent of the phenomenon. The water was still slowly bubbling about a foot below the edge of a rocky ledge which appeared to form the edge of the crater proper. All at once a great commotion suddenly takes place in the basin, the water boils rapidly up, rises above the rim of the crater, and then with a loud report the whole volume is thrown six or eight feet into the air. Before it has time to descend another explosion takes place, and then another and another in rapid succession, until there is a constant flow of a fountain-like mass of dirty water and white steam projected into the air. Now and then an explosion of more than usual force takes place, throwing the water a foot or two higher, and each additional effort is hailed by the audience with a shout of applause, as if a living animal were exerting its powers before us. This scene continues for twelve or fifteen minutes, when, as suddenly as they commenced, the explosions cease, the water is no longer thrown into the air, it boils violently for awhile, then slowly recedes until it reaches its former level, when it quietly settles down into its old simmer, and bubbles away for six hours again, until the next explosion.

We resumed our trip well satisfied with the gratification afforded

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us by the few hours' delay, and, continuing up the river through pleasant meadows diversified with groves of pine, we in a few miles reached the far-famed lake. It does not break upon us suddenly, but the river, as we approach the lake, grows wider and wider, with broad flat shores, and here and there a flat island, near which flocks of wild ducks, plover, and the staid white pelican are feeding. Occasionally we ran into a flock of wild geese feeding on the grassy meadows, but they rise wildly as though fully aware of their danger in the vicinity of man. We soon come in full view of the lake, which opens out to the southward as far as the eye can reach, its banks heavily wooded on all sides to the very edge of the water.

We halt to rest, get a view of the lake, and take a shot at a flock of ducks near the shore. Looking to the south the waters stretch far off in the dim distance, broken in one place by an island wooded like the projecting points of the mainland to the very shore, whilst beyond, in the distance, mountain peaks covered with snow bound the horizon. To the eastward Steamboat Point juts boldly out into the lake and, with columns of steam rising up from it, looks what its name implies, a busy landing-place for steamers. We continue up the shore of the lake, and camp directly on its shore in a pleasant grove, where the abundant grass furnishes full forage for our hungry animals.

Here on a small scale is seen forming the secondary shores described by Elisée Reclus, in *The Ocean*, as constructed on the line of equilibrium between the marine and fluvial waters. From a point near our camp, and stretching across an inlet of the lake, a broad causeway of sand extends, thrown up on the one side by the gentle waves of the lake, arrested on the other by the accumulation of waters from a tributary of the lake. This causeway extends nearly across to the opposite point, where a deep channel is left for the escape of the waters of the tributary. This we ford with difficulty, for the waters come up to our horse's shoulders, and beyond is another causeway across another inlet, with a deeper channel, which we do not care to try, although the tracks in the sand show that a party ahead of us has gone that way. We observed a number of these singular sand-spits, or secondary shores, as we passed along the shore of the lake, and also evidence of their existence at a higher level. For, as we proceeded, we now and then entered upon marshy ground which we found best avoided by keeping close down to the lake shore, where the footing was dry and sandy. In times past, when the lake was at a higher level, similar sand-spits were formed, and in time the space behind them was filled up by the sediment brought down by the tributaries, but the water which continued to run down was prevented from escaping by the solid bars of sand, and bogs were formed into which our horses

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sank as we tried to push through them. The only solid ground we could find was along the solid sand barriers of former days, but the trouble was that the whole space had been overgrown with timber, which had been blown down or fallen from old age, until it lay in an intricate mass where the trees were piled on top of each other in every conceivable direction, sometimes so thick and matted together that after wandering for a long time trying to get through it, we would be compelled to turn back and seek another outlet. When we left the solid basis of the old sand barriers we were compelled to encounter both the fallen timber and the boggy ground too, and had a difficult and tedious time of it. Time and time again were we compelled to turn back from some interminable maze of fallen timber and boggy ground to seek an outlet, our poor horses worn out with the constant labor of twisting and turning, and scrambling over fallen timber.

To avoid this fallen timber and boggy ground we attempted the next morning to keep away from the lake shore and travel by the compass through the woods, and to a certain extent we improved the route, but we were glad to catch sight of the lake shore once more, and to follow along it until we reached our camp late in the afternoon, near another group of hot springs on the western shore of the lake.

This group is one of the most interesting we have yet seen, and in it all the magnificent colors of the "Frozen Cascade" are reproduced. Within sight of our pretty bivouac is a formation which attracts attention at once. In a space of not over fifteen or twenty feet in diameter is a group of twelve or fifteen vents, each of which shoots out its pellet of mud, exactly like a Roman candle ejects its star. The vents are close together, and each one has built up around it a sort of cone two or three feet high. Each one throws out every few seconds, with a sound exactly like that of a Roman candle, a pellet of mud, which falls in some cases on its own cone, in others into the face of its neighbor. In this latter case it is again ejected only to fall into the mouth of some other vent, and this goes on indefinitely. We dubbed it our great *political machine*, on account of its facility for throwing mud. But this mud is clean and of a beautiful variety in color. The aim too is a good deal like that used in politics, where the mud is directed against purity of character; for, instead of striking always in the face of a neighbor, it will fall upon the cone and build that higher, as the character of a pure man is built higher, and appears brighter to the rest of mankind by the filth that is thrown at him by political opponents.

The mud thrown up by these puny volcanoes is of endless variety in color, and at a little distance the collection of cones looks like a great mass of parti-colored cream candy. Pink, olive, cherry,

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blue, or creamy yellow, shading off almost to pure white, all appear, and intermingling, form an effect delightful to the eye and impossible to describe adequately in words. The activity of the different vents is as varied as the colors of the mud. In some the pellet flies up two or three feet with a report like a pop-gun. In others the explosive force is less and the mud appears to have just force enough to reach the top of the cone, and sometimes falls back again and is ejected over and over again. On the outer edge of the group new phenomena occur, if possible, more interesting than the little volcanoes themselves. Here small pools of the soft, pliable, and variously colored mud are formed, and having been worked to a degree of fineness suitable for the manufacture of the finest kind of delicate porcelain, the stream, as it comes up through, forms the blisters and rings described as existing in the mud tanks near the mud geyser. But here the varied and delicate color of the material, and the state of fineness into which it is worked render the rings more delicate and the sight more beautiful. Fancy one looking all day long at an infinite variety of beautiful rings done in mud, which resembles liquid porcelain of varied colors.

But a more beautiful sight still, meets the eye of the visitor as he continues to walk around the group; for he now approaches a point where the jets of gas are more active than where the rings are found, but not so active as in the little volcanoes, and here the result is a medium between the two actions. The mud is still of various colors, and still thoroughly intermingled and worked up into a sort of pasty-looking mass; but the gas, instead of rising slowly as when forming the rings, comes up with a sudden spurt. This throws the mud up in a little column three or four inches high; the gas breaks its way out at the top dividing that into numerous parts, each one curving gracefully outwards by the force of the explosion, and as the mud sinks slowly down, a most exquisite representation of a tulip is formed. This has scarcely sunk out of sight before another springs up in its place like a "Jack in the Box." Each time the details of the form are varied, and here you can stand all day long, and look at an infinite variety of tulips of varied colors, done in mud, forming and disappearing at every moment. To have pressed for preservation, some of these beautiful flowers would have been the height of our ambition, but their forms were as fleeting as the tints of the rainbow, and nothing short of a brick would have served the purpose.

We returned again and again to enjoy this novel scene, and could not help reflecting how many thousands, perhaps millions, of these beautiful flowers had been born to "blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air," away up here in the great wilderness at the top of the American continent.

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We tried to put some of the soft pliable mud to practical use, and one of the party gathering a quantity at the imminent risk of scorching his hands, plastered our deer-head thickly over with it, and placed it in our camp-fire, with the idea of roasting the head in the Indian fashion. Very much to our disappointment, the plan did not work, for in the morning it was found that the plaster after baking hard had cracked, and our deer-head burnt to a crisp was lying in the embers surrounded by bits of baked clay, and we had wasted a deer's head which a day or two afterwards would have furnished us with a feast. The afternoon was occupied in wandering about and discovering new curiosities at every step.

The whole shore of the lake in the vicinity is filled with numerous hot springs which by their deposits have built up a long gentle slope, extending from the springs down to the edge of the water. Over this slope the hot water from the springs flows, and, continuing to make its deposit, the slope is gradually encroaching upon the lake. Small hot springs are bubbling up at different points all the way down the slope, below the main springs, to the very edge of the lake, and even under its surface the presence of springs is shown by the gas, here and there, bubbling up through the water, so that the rocky deposit is now being formed at the bottom of the lake at some distance from its edge. Were there any doubt upon this point, it would be solved by the existence of a very curious structure which stands like an island *in* the waters of the lake, and a few feet from the main land. This is a flat, cone-shaped, and truncated deposit of the usual material, about ten or twelve feet in diameter, which stands near the point where the principal part of the water from some of the largest springs enters the lake. Inside of this is an opening or well, two or three feet across, filled with hot water which is slowly simmering. The water seems to have built up its wall to the highest point, for it now does not run over, and the surrounding conical surface is perfectly dry. Surrounding this little island is the cool water of the lake. A log laid across from the main land enabled us to pass dry shod from the shore to the island. Here seating ourselves, we could have placed a foot in the cool water of the lake, and a hand in the hot waters of the well behind us. From the appearance of this structure, there can, I think, be no question as to the manner of its formation. A vent under the surface of the lake formerly existed, and through this the heated water came to deposit its rocky material. This deposit went on until the surface of the lake was reached, and above that until the flat cone-shaped island was finished as it appears to-day.[1] From

[1] We were advised before starting for the Yellowstone region, by one who had been there, not to open our mouths after we got back about the wonders we had seen there, *for*

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the description of this well of boiling water, it will readily be seen that the feasibility of performing the Munchausen-like feat of the early explorers depends simply upon the existence of trout in the lake, and the ability of a hungry man to catch them. I had no desire, however, to leave the question an open one. My rod was soon put together, and one or two casts of the fly ended in the landing of a fine large trout. I was not hungry at the time, nor disposed to reproduce the qualms resulting from the trichina-like investigations of two days before. But a great question was to be solved, and picking up the struggling fish, still upon my hook, I dropped him into a boiling pool a few paces behind me. His death was instantaneous, and with the softening of the muscles he broke loose from the hook, and disappeared from view. I did *not* eat him, but demonstrated the practicability of the feat, for during the half hour that I lingered about the pool, watching for his reappearance, the smell of boiled trout was sufficient to satisfy any skeptic on the question.

We slept soundly to the tune of the constant puff, puff, of the little volcanoes by our side, and woke up to find the sun just rising above the snow-capped peaks to the eastward, and casting his long slanting rays over the broad smooth surface of the lake, where an occasional, great, lazy-looking pelican was gently rocking in the little waves raised by the morning breeze. A horizontal band of white cloud, the product probably of the heat and moisture generated in the vicinity, rested over the lake, but was soon dissipated by the rays of the sun, and the bright morning scene appeared in all its beauty. Near us, the numerous columns of white steam, slowly rising in the cool air, created the impression of the neighborhood of some busy manufacturing mart, whilst in front, the broad beautiful lake stretched out far to the eastward, and away off on the opposite shore "Steamboat Point" loomed up in the distance, and with its puffs of steam reminded us of more civilized regions where half a dozen steamers are blowing off, preparatory to a start. With a very little imagination it was an easy matter to fancy the appearance of a steamer starting out from there to come here and take us off, for a trip around the lake and to the great falls below. Fancy a

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nobody would believe what we said. Mankind is naturally prone to exaggeration, and so wonderful were some of the stories told in regard to the wonderful sights to be seen in the Yellowstone country, that a spirit of incredulity was the result with many whose imagination was not equal to the occasion. Amongst other stories one was told, with various embellishments, to the effect that trout could be caught in one pool, cooked in another without the sportsman moving from the spot, and eaten without being taken from the hook. Of course, such a story of a life-sustaining locality was received with many "grains of salt," winks, and nods of incredulity, which plainly placed it in the same category with the Irishman's account of the blessed country where roasted pigs ran about begging to be eaten.

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busy crowd awaiting her arrival on a dock built out, we will say, upon one of the cone-like structures I have described, each one eager to be the first on board, and you can conjure up a picture for this wild and uninabited region, full of the life and turmoil of more civilized lands.

Visiting the Park in all its virgin wildness we were not afflicted with the tribe of professional guides to mar our pleasures with their senseless jargon, but the absence of all guides rendered our movements uncertain and threw us upon our own resources, and we had now reached a point in our travels where we were obliged to strike out into a wilderness of thick timber with nothing but the compass to guide us. We had been told that a direct western course for twenty-five miles would take us to the Great Geyser Basin, to visit which was the main object of our trip.

On the morning of the 10th of August, therefore, after a delicious bath in the waters of the lake, near the mouth of one of the warm-water streams, where any temperature to suit could be had, we plunged into the dense forest to the west of us, and followed, by the compass, as direct a course as the fallen timber would permit. Travelling along blindly in this way for about twenty miles our eyes were at length greeted by an opening, and we descended into a beautiful little grassy valley with a bright, clear stream running to the southward. Before us rose a high, steep, and rugged range of hills, and, looking down the valley to the left, nestling in the hills there was a bright sheet of water, which we concluded must be Lake Madison, put down on the maps as the head of Madison River.

The hills in front of us looked forbidding and impassable, and the lake, as it glistened in the sunlight within its grassy banks, invited a closer inspection, so we concluded to accept the invitation, and moved down in that direction, with the hope of being able to pass down along the shore and get round the end of the range of hills in our front. But the high grass of the shores was filled with fallen timber lying two or three deep, underneath which the ground was not unfrequently boggy, and after struggling along through this for some distance we found ourselves shut in on the one side by the impassable shore of the lake, and on the other by the rugged range of hills, and of the two evils we were finally compelled to choose the lesser and climb the hills, which we did along a sort of trail where I doubt if anything but a mountain sheep had ever been before. After incredible labor, during which one of our pack animals lost his footing and rolled down a steep incline, we reached the top only to find the opposite slope worse than the one we had mounted. It was so late in the day when we succeeded in getting down this that it was concluded to camp here for the night, and to

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make an early start for the geyser region the next morning. We were fortunate enough to strike, near our camp, the trail of the engineer party of the preceding year, which was recognized by the little wheel-track of an odometer machine they had with them. The next morning we followed this trail, still in the midst of dense timber, and passing many beautiful falls of the Firehole River finally reached the head of an open valley, which from the description we recognized as the Upper Geyser Basin.

The first view of the valley produces a singular impression. In the midst of hills clothed with a dense growth of deep-green pine is a wide, open space of desolate ashy whiteness, with columns of white steam rising in every direction, some large, some small, so that one feels as if standing in the presence of an immense, old steam-boiler, with jets of steam hissing from every pore.

We select a camp in the edge of the timber, and then sally out, map in hand, to locate and examine the different geysers. Away off to the front, its marble whiteness contrasting with the deep-green of the pine forest beyond, rises the "Castle Geyser," fourteen feet high, looking like the ruins of some old castle, jets of steam and showers of water rising almost constantly from its top. Directly below us is the Beehive, three feet high and seven through at the base, which we recognize from its form, and in every direction the surface rises into an innumerable number of truncated, cone-shaped structures, from each one of which rises a cloud of steam, like smoke from a chimney on a frosty morning, and in the midst of it all the bright, blue waters of the Firehole River tumble along on their rapid descent, receiving numerous streams of hot water as it flows.

The "Giantess" is close by our camp; its crater at the top of a wide, gradually sloping cone, up the sides of which we walk with some trepidation, for there is no knowing when she will "go off." We are not yet much accustomed to geysers, and, when she spouts, it is said she throws water two hundred and fifty feet high. She is quiet enough now, however, and, approaching the edge of her crater, we find it a deep, irregular basin, thirty feet across, filled with hot water, of a beautiful green color. This is usually simmering, but now and then it starts to boil up violently, and, until one becomes accustomed to this feature, a very strong disposition to step hastily back is developed in anticipation of an eruption. Standing on the cone of the Giantess and looking around, lesser cones of almost every size are seen, capped in some cases with the most beautiful forms of marble-white structures, some of which resemble those flower-stands formed in tiers, with a central stem, surrounded, lower down, with a circular basin, which has most beautifully scalloped rims, and is filled with warm water and white pebbles almost

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as round as marbles, formed evidently by the conglomeration of the material held in solution by the water, and constantly rolled about by the falling waters during eruptions. These formations are all similar in their nature, but there is such a variety in color, shape, and minor forms, that new beauties arise at every step we take in our explorations. Here a little vent, no bigger than a quill, is sending forth a jet of steam; the edges of the vent being polished as smooth as glass, and colored with the most beautiful tints, sulphur yellow on the inside, growing gradually lighter outward, and merging on the exterior into a delicate straw, now and then tinted red or brown and other shades; there a great basin, with its magnificently scalloped edges of pure flint-like porcelain, more delicate and perfect than any art can imitate. Here a great caldron of boiling hot water, bubbling up every now and then with vigor, as if some power below was heaping on fuel. There an immense basin filled to the brim, on a level with the ground, with water so clear, bright, and still, that it looks almost as pellucid as the air above our heads, and down through which you can look to an unknown depth.

Wandering about amongst these beauties, admiring at every step, I had just waded the stream to explore on the other side, when my attention was attracted by a great shout from the men, who were all running to the high ground on the cone of the Giantess, and looking towards my side of the river. Turning around I caught sight of the cause of all this tumult. "Old Faithful" had "gone off," and was spouting water and steam to a great height in a graceful fountain. Higher and higher rose the column of pure white steam and spray, impelled by successive explosions from below, the steam at times being gently wafted aside by the breeze, and disclosing the column of water gracefully curving outwards at its highest point, and falling in showery spray upon the scalloped basins below. Approaching closer and closer to the beautiful fountain, I stood at length at its very base, just far enough away to avoid the falling waters. Every moment or two explosions far down in the crater, which shook the solid rock around, sent the water fifty or sixty feet into the air, the shock between the ascending and descending waters converting the whole into pure white spray, which, curving gracefully outwards, presented, in falling, a fountain the beauty of which it is impossible to describe in words. After this had continued for five or six minutes the explosions suddenly ceased, the water in the vent receded rapidly, gurgling as it went, and I took a closer view of the crater and its surroundings. The aperture, six feet by two, and irregular in shape, is as smooth as glass and creamy-white in color. This throat of the geyser is surrounded by a formation very irregular in shape, and which rises about two

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feet above the *first platform.* It is formed of the material deposited by the water, and presents an incalculable number of beautiful and singular forms, which, in some cases, resemble the massive coral formations of the sea. The first platform consists of a number of tiny basins with curved and scalloped edges similar to those at the "Frozen Cascade," and these are succeeded by other basins, growing larger and larger, and forming successive steps or platforms as you recede from the crater down the conical slope which surrounds it. Immediately after the eruption the water thrown out by the geyser goes trickling down from basin to basin, just as I have described as taking place at the Frozen Cascade. On looking into these basins I found that the water had deposited coloring matter of the most delicate tints. In the smaller basins next to the crater this was of a deep saffron, and, as you receded, it grew lighter and lighter, through cream-yellow and straw, until in the outer basins the color was a pure milk-white. I lingered a long while about "Old Faithful," admiring all these beautiful forms and colors, and, although we found similar ones about all the other geysers, none appeared so fresh and bright as these. We had numerous opportunities during our stay of witnessing the eruptions of this splendid geyser, for it acts with remarkable regularity once in about every hour, and got its name from the first explorers from this fact. All that was necessary to bring everybody to his feet during the day was for some one to say, "There goes Old Faithful;" and, during the night, any one awake could hear him regularly spouting his glories to the silent stars.

We made visits to all the prominent geysers in that portion of the upper basin, and, whilst a certain similarity seemed to exist amongst them all, there was such a variety in shape, color, ornamentation, and formation as to call forth exclamations of delight and wonder at every step. The great tube of the "Giant" stands up ten feet high and twenty-four in diameter, like the stump of some immense tree, which, however, instead of decaying, is growing larger and higher every year. The "Grotto" is a great mass of deposit with smooth water-worn cavities through which the water and steam rush during the eruptions. Many geysers have received names from the peculiar features which they possess, but hundreds and perhaps thousands still remain without names, and probably will remain so until a more thorough investigation develops their respective peculiarities.

The "Castle" geyser is peculiar, and differs from all the rest in possessing an irregular magnificent cone, one hundred and twenty feet in circumference, which rises twelve feet from the platform on which it stands. This cone is pure white in color and made up of an immense number of masses, globular in form on the exterior,

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beautifully decorated with beads and ornaments, and at a little distance presents the appearance of an immense pile of cauliflower-heads. The geyser, which has an orifice of some three feet in diameter, is in an almost constant state of eruption, and the falling spray, as it dashes against the exterior of the cone, is constantly adding to the cauliflower-heads, and replacing those which may be broken off. Lying near the base of the cone, I observed what was once the stem of a tree of considerable size. It was now crumbling to pieces, and, on breaking off a portion, the woody fibre was found to be completely replaced by the marble-like deposit from the water of the geyser. Close by the "Castle" is an immense circular pool, twenty feet across, of deep blue, placid water, down which you can look to an immense depth. Around this pool, a rim, about a foot in height, has been built up, with the usual variety of bead-like and beautiful forms. To the very top of this the water now rests with a surface as smooth as glass, an outlet through a break on one side giving escape to the surplus water which, as it runs off, deposits a great variety of beautiful coloring matter.

It would take a volume to describe in detail the beauty and variety of the various geysers, hot springs, and pools, which pour their waters into the Firehole River, rolling along through this valley of wonder, a light cloud of steam always rising from its surface. Every step of the explorer brings forth exclamations of wonder and delight, and the sight-seers rush about from point to point, anxious and prepared to find curiosities more wonderful than any yet seen. From "Old Faithful," which stands near the head of the valley, these formations extend for four or five miles to a point where the stream is joined by another coming from the eastward, and flowing through a valley filled with another group of geysers and springs. This latter is called the "Lower Geyser Basin," the other being named the "Upper Basin." More recent explorations, however, have developed the fact that these are not the only geyser basins in this region. Every year adds to the number of the discoveries, and as yet the country has never been thoroughly explored or mapped. When it is, it is safe to predict that the Great National Park of the United States will be found to contain more great wonders than are known to exist on any other portion of the earth's surface of the same extent. The whole region should be thoroughly explored and accurately mapped, and, in the meantime, observation under a well-devised system should be inaugurated to determine the laws which govern the action of the geysers. So far as observed this action appears to be exceedingly irregular, both as regards the length of the eruptions and the intervals between them. To this remark, "Old Faithful" appears to be a marked exception, though the observations made have not as yet been suf-

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ficiently extensive to demonstrate that even he may not have his periods of rest. Observations made during the severe cold of winter would be especially interesting as showing whether or not the action is affected by the season. But little is known of the winter climate of the region, but there is every indication that the fall of snow is very heavy. The immense quantity of hot water and steam thrown out, it is supposed, would materially moderate the temperature of these geyser basins, and would probably prevent the snows from lying very long in these valleys, and there is every indication that they are resorted to by game of all kinds during the winter. The only game seen by the party in the Park was the single deer I killed near Mount Washburne, but in the Firehole Valley we found numerous tracks of deer, elk, and bear made evidently when the ground was soft from snow or rain. In the winter the game would naturally resort to these valleys, in consequence of the modified temperature. In the summer the animals desert them for the highest mountains, to avoid the heat and flies. It was proposed, several years ago, to station a small military party under charge of officers in the Upper Geyser Basin during the winter for purposes of observation, and lovers of the hunt were stimulated with the idea of the probable sport to be had there. Such a party would have to be sent there early in the fall, in order to carry in the necessary stores, and provide the necessary shelter before the approach of winter, and during several months it could have but little intercourse with the outside world, unless in exceptionally mild winters. The results of the observations made by such a party would be exceedingly interesting to science, in investigating the laws governing the eruptions, which are now but little understood. The geysers are supposed to be the expiring action of volcanic forces of a former age, and, as pulsations of the heart of this great world of ours, cannot fail to be regarded with great interest by science.

As we returned from our ramble of sight-seeing my attention was attracted by a novel scene. Near our little camp, pitched in the edge of the timber, were several boiling springs. Around one of these a party of soldiers was gathered, evidently in great good humor, and engaged in thrusting in and pulling out different articles of wearing apparel, attached to sticks, from the waters of the spring, which looked white and frothy. On inquiry I found they had thrown a piece of soap into the spring, and Dame Nature was called upon to act as laundress in cleansing the clothing from the dust and dirt of travel, and she did the work very well.

Our attention was directed every now and then to the eruption of some of the smaller geysers, but, with the exception of the regular action of "Old Faithful," none of the larger ones seemed to be in the humor to act during the afternoon. The "Beehive"

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was said to be very handsome but very irregular, and we did not have the pleasure of seeing it act during our stay. The one, however, which all felt the greatest desire to see was the "Giantess," on account of its volume and reported height, but we were obliged to retire for the night without her showing her beauties, and strict orders were given that if, at any time during the night, she was heard to be astir, the alarm should be given. About midnight I was waked out of a sound sleep by a cry, and jumping up looked out upon the night. Everything was dark and a drizzling rain was falling, and satisfied we could see nothing, although the sound of the eruption was very apparent, we crawled back to our blankets, disappointed that the Giantess should cover her beauties with the veil of night. It was supposed, however, that it was not the Giantess which alarmed us during the night, for the next morning, as we were preparing to depart, we were startled with a loud rumbling report, and the immense body of water in her crater sprang fifty feet into the air, in the midst of a great volume of dense white steam with a mushroom-shaped head, which recalled the explosion of the Petersburg mine. The water at its highest point curved gracefully outward and descended as a beautiful water-spout, but before it had reached the earth another explosion came, and then others in rapid succession, each one with the same mushroom-shaped head forcing its predecessor up higher and higher, until there stood in the clear morning air a great column, the form of which I cannot better describe than by supposing a number of immense umbrellas of dense white steam piled one on top of the other, each one with its handle resting on the roof of the preceding one, with heavy showers of rain falling on all sides, as if dripping from the umbrella roofs. This continued until the whole heavens above were filled with clouds of steam, which, in the still morning, rose perhaps for a thousand feet straight up and then gently floated away. How high the water rose it was impossible to tell, for the dense masses of steam prevented the point where it turned from being seen; but I formed the impression that in this eruption it did not rise over seventy or eighty feet. The effect was magnificent in the extreme, and the impression produced on the mind one of awe, due, I think, in a great measure, to the sudden exhibition of great *power* developed in what was, a few moments before, a placid powerless body of water. I approached the crater closely during the eruption and found the water running off in floods down the slope of the immense cone which surrounded the geyser. Much of it, of course, returned to the crater, only however to be again and again thrown up. As I stood on the solid rock and felt it trembling under my feet at each successive explosion, heard far down in the bowels of the earth, an impression was produced of *unlimited* power, and I have no reason

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to doubt the statement, that the water rises, in some cases, to the height of two hundred and fifty feet.

After this magnificent spectacle had continued for about fifteen minutes, the explosions suddenly ceased, the masses of steam floated away, the water in the crater rapidly sunk about twenty feet, boiling violently, very gradually rose to the top of the basin, and then settled down into comparative quiet again. About an hour afterwards, just as we were mounting our horses to leave, the Giantess went off in another eruption similar to the first, and all eyes were turned back in admiration at what appeared to be a parting salute from the beauty. As though she had given the signal, the different geysers, as we rode down the valley, broke out in succession as if bidding us farewell, and riding away we probably saw the valley under its most magnificent aspect. As we turned northward and got the erupting geysers between us and the sun, then just rising above the tree tops, the falling spray caught the beams of light and spanned each fountain with a rainbow. Again and again did we halt, and turning back our eyes enjoy the magnificent spectacle, with a feeling of regret at having to leave such beauties behind us.

This remarkable region, which has been opened to the knowledge of the civilized world only a few years, has been known for a long time through rumors and the information derived from mountaineers. In 1860 a party under charge of Captain Raynolds, of the Topographical Engineers, approached this country from the south, guided by probably the most noted guide of the Northwest, James Bridger. The party found the passes of the Wind River Range so blocked up with snow in June that it was unable to get through to the Yellowstone Lake region, but succeeded in passing the mountains farther to the west, struck the Madison River below the geyser basins, and proceeded down that stream to the Three Forks of the Missouri.

James Bridger, or as he is universally called, "Jim" Bridger, I believe is still living, and has the reputation of being the best guide in the western country. He is reported, too, to be in the habit of drawing a very "long bow" in regard to the wonders he has seen during his very extensive travels in the western wilds. It is said he especially delights in "stuffing" unsophisticated eastern visitors with stories of diamond mountains so transparent that horsemen can be seen *through* them miles away, and the like, and that when persons express wonder at the height of the slim spire of Chimney Rock (a celebrated landmark on the Platte), he assures them that when *he* first saw it, it was some thousand feet higher, but had afterwards its dimensions much reduced by a streak of lightning, which struck and shattered it.

Since the discovery of the wonders of the Yellowstone, it is said,

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the old man has been heard to say very complacently that people will yet find out he has not been "blowing" quite so much about this country as has been generally supposed, and that now they will probably admit he is not such a "great liar" as they have given him credit for being. Certain it is that even "Jim" Bridger's active imagination is not equal to the task of exaggerating the scenes to be encountered amidst the wonders of the Yellowstone and geyser region.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

II.

1. *Vita Jesu, Dionysii Carthusiani Opus.* Printed at Strasburg in 1473.
2. *Public Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* By H. J. Coleridge, S. J. Vols. I and II. London, 1875.

THERE is one marked characteristic of Christianity which cannot be overlooked. Our holy religion is not merely a system of moral and religious opinions proposed to men for discussion, and to be adopted or rejected, wholly or partially, as to men may seem fit. Still less is it a mere school of intellectual thought, vague and varying, as the world advances or as public opinion veers and changes. It is, in truth and above all, as the great Stolberg designated it, a grand fact in the history of humanity,—the grandest, strongest, and farthest-reaching the world has ever seen.

A new element of powerful activity was introduced into the life of man. From the very beginning it manifested, and for eighteen centuries and a half it has continued to manifest, its strength; and to-day it exercises an influence as weighty and as widespreading as in any past age. Christianity has not lived out its day, and then vanished, as schools of human thought have done, leaving its traces in the annals of the past. No historian has arisen to recount its birth, its growth, its life, its decay, and its death; to sum up its whole existence and career, to scrutinize its works, to estimate its full value, and to write its epitaph. It still lives and acts. Its youth still endures undecayed. It came into the world in a visible form as a living organized society, seen and known by all, within and without, and animated by a spirit and power, which the world recognized, but could neither comprehend nor account for. It still lives on, in that same organized society; and men still recognize and wonder at that mysterious spirit and power, which they may

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dread, or hate, or strive to destroy, but still cannot account for, nor overcome.

The central point of this grand and ever-enduring fact is CHRIST Himself; Christ as presented to the world by His Evangelists and Apostles. In Him Christianity commenced. Founded by Him, and organized by Him, it could not and it cannot continue to exist without Him. But for His presence it would have perished long ago, perhaps would have ceased to exist within one century. For so all human things perish. And Christianity was sorely pressed in every age. Time and again enemies seemed to be, and flattered themselves that they were, on the very verge of success in their effort to stamp it out. But though Christ no longer walks among men visibly, as He did of yore in Judea, He is still present in the world, in the highest and most effective sense of the word. He still works in His Church for the salvation of men, still teaches, still guides, still gives grace, still leads repentant sinners to the Kingdom of Heaven. Millions have believed in Him and have clung to Him in every past age. Millions still believe in Him, knowing that their lives should be controlled and guided by His example, and His teachings, and His grace, and that all their hopes of happiness hereafter depend on His love and His mercy to those that seek Him. Millions have suffered torture and death rather than swerve from their fealty to Him; and to-day millions would go to martyrdom rather than renounce their faith in Him.

Nothing can be falser in history, or more illogical in philosophic examination, or weaker and more absurd in action, than to separate Christ from Christianity. He it is who still teaches by the mouth of those whom He commissioned and sent to baptize and to teach all nations all things whatsoever He commanded them, and with whom, in accomplishing this their work, He promised to be, all days, even to the consummation of the world (Matt. xxviii. 20). He assured them that "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me" (Luke x. 16). By His presence, and in virtue of His power, that Church which He established must ever be the pillar and ground of truth (1. Tim. iii. 15). The gates of hell cannot prevail against her, whether to terminate her existence on earth, or to lead her into error and so mar her appointed work. In every age she must be the same, and her teaching must be the same as from the beginning—the same originally given by Christ to the Apostles. There must be one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

A continuous unity of teaching, such as is thus promised, presents when recognized, irrefragable evidence of the truth and divine authority of the Church which displays it. It is something which God alone can secure to her. Man of himself cannot attain it;

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would not seek it, for he does not prize it. As the world goes and has gone from the beginning, the first act of man, if left in this matter to himself, would unquestionably be to change, under pretext of improving, what those before him had held and taught. He would yield to the pressure and the exigencies of ever varying public opinion, and to the demands that he keep pace with what is called the progress of the age. He would soon soften or change some things, surrender others totally, and be induced to accept still other new things instead. Ere many generations, *yes* and *no* would have changed places. In our own age and country a man does not need gray hairs to have been himself a witness of such changes.

To the philosophic student of history the most wonderful trait of Christianity, as presented in the living Catholic Church, is this continuous unity, this unchangeableness of the doctrine she teaches. Neither menaces of danger, nor prospects of advantage to be attained, however great, have ever bent her faith. She proclaims it to be her fundamental principle and her first duty to guard and keep intact and unchanged the deposit of doctrine originally committed to her charge by her Founder and His Apostles. She knows and avows this to be the vital condition, as it is the divine purpose, of her existence. Her children glorify her for it. Her enemies have, in every age, cast it up as a reproach against her. For it she has been called a laggard and a lover of darkness and of ignorance. She is charged with hating science, with shunning the light of modern civilization and advanced thought, and with being fossil and *obscurantist.* That her doctrines and her teaching now are those of centuries ago is what her enemies charge against her. She admits, she cannot deny, the fact. They condemn her for not hailing the fruits of modern progress, and not incorporating them in her doctrines. She will not yield or change the truth of God to please men. He has established her to teach the truth to all men, not to be taught by the world what to hold or not to hold. She heeds not such words of condemnation. They are not new to her. She has heard them in every age. She heard them from the Eutychians, and Nestorians, and Monothelites, from the Arians and Semi-Arians, and other cognate sectaries. She remembers how, even before these, the Gnostics called on her to yield her teaching to the moulding of their refined and superior philosophic discoveries of truth. To all of them she gave the same answer. The truth had been revealed in the beginning, and could not be changed. For, God cannot lie. His Apostles consigned to her bosom that doctrine of Christ. It is in possession, and may not be ejected. She will test all things, all opinions, all teachings by it. By that test they shall stand or fall. But for none of them will she cast it out.

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As ages roll on, the ever active intellects of men raise novel questions, suggest fresh doubts, or advance new opinions.

She, on the other hand, sets forth her ancient doctrine with such full and explicit statement of it on needful points, that inquiries may be answered, that doubts and uncertainties may vanish, and that she may rebut and condemn the errors that arise. In this she guards, and defends, and teaches the more clearly, the original doctrine in her charge. Men may change their languages; her ministers may have had to speak the Copht, or the Sanscrit, or the Celtic; Greek at Athens, or Latin in classic Rome; or may now speak the modern languages of the world of to-day. The languages of her preachers are more numerous than the tongues heard on the Pentecost at Jerusalem. In all of them the same great and wonderful things of God are announced. Even when the language is not changed, men are led to adopt at different times different forms and modes of expression, influenced in this to no small extent by some system of intellectual training in vogue among them, some prevalent school of philosophy of the age, or some other cause that may specially act in such direction. The Church holds fast to the form of sound words (II. Timothy i. 13) and yet makes herself all things to all men. She will hold her one original doctrine, and explain it in the words which in any given age will be best understood by those to whom she immediately speaks. In all this the language, the accent, or the dialect, the forms of expression may vary according to the needs and usages of men. But the doctrines are ever the same.

Few that have not given special attention to the matter are aware of the great changes that are ever taking place in our modes of speech, even within the limits of a single language. They are so great that what was perfectly intelligible when written or uttered, may require a glossary to be understood a few centuries later. We were amused years ago by the title of an old English sermon, perhaps of the time of Charles I., against the doctrine of Predestination. It ran something like this: "On the justice and mercy of God, who having laid His commandments on man, letteth him not, but graciously preventeth him to fulfil them." Nowadays the wording would have to be changed in order to be intelligible. We would say: "On the justice and mercy of God, who having laid His commandments on man, does not hinder him, but stirs him up by grace and aids him to fulfil them." The words *let* and *prevent*, although then perfectly familiar and at once understood, have since become archaic in the senses they then bore, and would now be misunderstood by a hundred hearers, for one that would catch their right sense.

This instance may be extreme; but it exemplifies a sound prin-

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ciple. Neither in philosophy, nor in science, nor in law, can we hope to understand the authors of former ages, unless we learn to take their terms in the sense they gave them, and are able to enter into their different, and sometimes very delicate, shades of meaning. This is true also in great measure in the study of theological writers. The difficulty of coming to understand them varies of course for different classes. For our Catholic writers, who wrote in Latin, and who habitually follow the form of sound and accepted words, the difficulty, though always existing, is small compared with what is found in the case of writers not so controlled. But especially in the case of many of the books of Scripture the difficulty is great, written as they were in languages so different in idiom from those of to-day, and when both writers and those addressed lived in a world so entirely different from our modern world. It is no easy thing to transport ourselves back to their day, and to realize their conditions, and circumstances, and environments of time, and place, and condition; not only making, as it were, their language our own, but thinking their thoughts, and looking with their eyes. In proportion as we succeed in doing this, shall we seize the exact meaning and full purport of what they have written. It is what very few can achieve in any fair degree. It requires long and serious study, careful training, and a special quality and power of mind.

Were men left to this as the only mode of ascertaining with certainty the doctrines of Christianity, who could learn them? Who can read the original text of Scripture as if it were the vernacular of his daily life? If we take translations, is it not a fact that the most perfect translation men can make is only approximately correct, always leaving out something of the spirit and meaning of the original, and introducing perforce something due to the use of the second language and its idioms? And even in what the most accurate translation preserves of the original, and presents to the reader, must there not be much which only a scholar, familiar with the idioms of the original tongue, and with the habits, and customs, and circumstances, and, it may be, the peculiar characteristics of the writers, and of those addressed, can adequately seize and understand? Yet this must be done, and perfectly done, else error is introduced. No wonder that the efforts to construct a system of doctrine out of the text of the Bible alone has resulted in so many clashing and contradictory systems. No other result was possible.

What a contrast is seen in the wonderful unity in all time, and in the ever consistent oneness, of the teaching of the Catholic Church. She speaks with no uncertain voice; never takes back a doctrine which she has once declared; never seeks to explain away

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or to contradict her own teaching. The historical fact corresponds with and verifies her claim that she has authority to teach, and that her Founder has guaranteed her against error or variation. Hearkening to her voice, her children are not tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine.

This characteristic of the Church cannot fail to be felt by every reasonable and impartial mind that realizes it, as an overwhelming argument in favor of her divine character and authority. It is what we might term an experimental practical proof of it, so forcible, that if it be once admitted, the entire question is closed. Hence all those who claim to call themselves Christians, and yet tax her with erroneous teaching, are forced by their very position to maintain that she has at some time changed her doctrine on the points which they assail, and that, in these instances, for the original true doctrine given her by the Apostles she has substituted new opinions and errors devised by men. This is what they maintain. Those, however, who reject Christianity and revelation *in toto*, have no difficulty in admitting, and in fact many of them after historical investigation feel themselves forced to admit, that on those very points her teachings at the beginning were the same as they are now, and that she cannot be justly charged with having at any time changed her doctrine.

In arguing with the first class, it is the duty of him who would defend the Church, to show that, as a fact, she did hold and teach the doctrine which she holds and teaches now. This is the course we propose to ourselves in this article on the Divinity of Christ. If we show, as a matter of history, that our Catholic doctrine was really held in the very beginning of Christianity, and is not due to a later introduction, we shall have gained our point fully against this class of opponents, and shall have vindicated the authority of the Church against their attacks.

At the same time, this spectacle of the Church grandly marching on through the course of ages, never turning from her path, from the very beginning, and ever unceasingly proclaiming, and by her very course exhibiting and giving practical proof of the divinity of her Founder, is one that even an unbeliever cannot look on without being impressed by its moral grandeur. He must feel that this is something supernatural, and beyond the power of man to produce.

The first matter of fact statement made against the Church on this doctrine, was, that Christ our Lord Himself knew nothing of it, and never taught it. In our first article we showed, by His own words as given in the gospels, that He did teach it, and taught it so clearly and emphatically that His opponents based on it a charge of blasphemy, for which they tried. Him, sentenced Him, and put Him to death.

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It was said, in the second place, that His Apostles and immediate followers were equally ignorant of it, and never taught it. This is the point to which we address ourselves in the present article. It is the assertion of a fact. We must appeal to witnesses who can speak with knowledge.

We begin with the immediate disciples of our Saviour, those who learned His doctrine directly from His own lips, and whose testimony is of the highest rank. They speak in the various books collected together and forming the New Testament. We take first the four Evangelists, from whose pens we have four brief accounts of His life and work among men. What testimony do they give us concerning their belief of the Divinity of our Lord?

In the first place, it should almost be deemed superfluous to ask this question here. It is from the pages of those very accounts that we gathered all those decisive and emphatic declarations of our Saviour Himself on this point, examined in our former article. The Evangelists present themselves to us as His followers, and as sincere, unquestioning believers in His teaching: "To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life" (John vi. 69). In recording His teaching, they consequently profess, in fact, their own belief. When they record those declarations of their Master, and give us an account of the opposition of the Jews and of their stubborn refusal to accept His doctrine, and their rejection of it, on the contrary, as blasphemous, do these Evangelists in any way try to soften His words? Do they intimate that the Jews misunderstood Him, or that they themselves understood Him in some different sense? Quite the reverse. Their whole narrative condemns the Jews as rejecting the truth, and by carrying out their opposition to it to the extreme of crucifying Him for teaching it, as calling down on their race the signal punishments of God. Whatever we saw to be clearly taught by the words of Christ, we must therefore hold to be also held and taught by the Evangelists. The record is not made by an enemy who arraigns our Saviour and His teaching, nor simply by an outsider, an indifferent historian, who impartially narrates events and words, from which, nevertheless, he holds himself aloof. It is made by sincere, earnest followers and disciples, who would hold it a sin before God, and ruin to their own souls, to swerve a tittle or a jot from their Master. We may rely on the sincerity and truthfulness of the record, and on the perfect adhesion of the writers to everything which He taught. If they had done nothing more in relation to this doctrine than give this record of the words of Christ and the opposition of the Jews, this alone would be ample evidence of their own belief in His divinity.

But, in fact, they have done much more. In the four accounts of His life which they give,—accounts unequalled in all the world

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of literature, for the natural, simple, direct, and impartial statement of facts, and these the most wonderful facts that ever were recorded, —facts over which other writers would have allowed themselves to be excited into eloquent bursts of enthusiasm—in each and every one of these accounts of our Saviour's life, we have further and full evidence of the belief of the writers in His divinity.

They present Him as the Messiah, the promised one, the Redeemer, the true and only begotten Son of God—pre-existing from eternity, and coming at the appointed time into the world to fulfil His chosen task. His advent had been foretold from the beginning; God had revealed it to patriarchs in visions and through the ministry of angels. A nation had been specially set apart by the providence of God, and miraculously guided and guarded for fifteen centuries, that the knowledge of those promises might never die out among men. Special prophecies indicated the time and the place of His birth, and of what family He should be. In immediate preparation for His advent, a precursor is sent, whose birth is marked by miraculous manifestations, and whose life of wondrous asceticism in the desert, whose startling preaching, and whose death for justice's sake fail not to arrest the attention of all Israel. He was to go before the face of the Lord, to prepare His ways. (Luke i: 76). The advent of Christ himself is such as this preparation would warrant us to look for. An angel from heaven announces to the pure and immaculate Virgin of Nazareth that by the power of God, she, a virgin, shall conceive and bear a son, and that her son shall be called the Most High, the Son of God, Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us (Luke ii., Matth. i. 23). This Isaiah had foretold centuries before. Before the child is born, his virgin mother is saluted by Elizabeth as "The Mother of my Lord" (Luke i. 43). Angels announce His birth to the shepherds near Bethlehem, and a miraculous star summons wise men from the East to seek Him out and adore Him, and guides them to the "house where they find the child with Mary, his mother" (Matth. ii. 11). The venerable Simeon, in the temple, clasps the child to his bosom, and chants his *Nunc dimittis Domine*, and thanks God that his eyes have looked on the Saviour whom God sends; and the saintly Anna "confessed to the Lord, and spoke of Him to all that looked for the redemption of Israel" (Luke ii. 29, 38).

Even in the account of his birth, Christ is the Holy One, the Son of God, the Orient, the Lord, Emmanuel, God with us.

Of His early life, we have but one glimpse. That too is marked. We see Him at the age of twelve, "in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions; and all that heard Him were astonished at His wisdom and His answers" (Luke ii. 46, 47).

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At the age of thirty He is to commence His public ministry. His character and office are at once announced. John the Baptist, the precursor, declares that he himself is not the Messiah; he is but the messenger sent before, the voice of one crying out in the desert, as the prophet had foretold. After him there was to come One mightier than he,—One already standing in the midst of them, though they knew Him not,—One the latchet of whose shoe, he himself was not worthy to loose—One who had power to baptize with the Holy Ghost, to judge men, and to reward the good and punish the wicked in eternity—"Whose fan is in His hand, and He will purge His floor, and gather the wheat into His barn, but the chaff He will burn with unquenchable fire" (Matth. iii. 11, 12; Luke iii. 16, 17). When "John saw Jesus coming to him, he saith: Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who taketh away the sins of the world" (John i. 29). After the baptism, "The heaven was opened and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape upon Jesus; and a voice came down from heaven, Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased" (Luke iii. 21, 22). Later on, John the Baptist again bore testimony to him: "He that cometh from heaven is above all . . . He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God . . . The Father loveth the Son, and He hath given all things into His hand. He that believeth in the Son hath life everlasting: but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John iii. 31–36).

Thus at the inauguration of His ministry, Christ is declared to be the Son of God, pre-existing in heaven, and coming from heaven into this world, sent by the Father, and into whose hands the Father hath given all things. A voice from heaven declares that He is the beloved Son in whom the Father is well pleased. He it is who takes away the sins of the world, who will judge men, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked forever. These declarations concerning Christ were made to the Jewish people, who held that the forgiveness of sins and the judgment of men after death, belonged to God alone. Do they not indicate and imply His divine power, and that, as the true and beloved Son, He shares the same Divine nature with the Father?

Their accounts of His public ministry, however briefly and summarily written, fully correspond with this inauguration of it. He preaches and teaches of His own authority, not as the scribes and doctors do, who cite and comment on the law of Moses and the traditions of their ancestors. He works miracles by His own power, and He empowers His followers to work miracles in His name. He gives sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb. He banishes diseases, casts out devils, restores the dead to life. The winds and the waves obey His commands. He establishes on

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earth His Church, the kingdom of heaven, which is to spread throughout the whole world, and to be preached to every people. For all flesh shall see the Salvation of God. This Church of His, is to be ever one, and is to last to the end of time. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. This is to be the one fold under one Shepherd. Into it are to come together in perfect unity all the true children of Abraham, all those who believe in Him and follow Him, whether Jew or Gentile, whether called by Himself personally as He then preached, or called by the preaching of those He sent, should afterwards and elsewhere believe in Him. (John xvii. 20.)

The character of Christ, as manifested in all His words and actions recorded in these gospels, is infinitely beyond anything that history elsewhere shows. All others, however great in philosophy, in legislation, or in any other sphere of human action, have their parallels. He alone has none. Not even the veriest unbeliever ventures seriously to present one. His character is complete in itself, and is such that no writer, however gifted, much less these obscure evangelists, could have invented it. They especially could not have risen, even in the boldest flight of imagination, so far above the level of their own race and time. They would have been held within the circle of Jewish prejudices. They would never have burst those bonds, and have gone so directly counter to all the ruling and established ideas, and to the fondest national aspirations, and patriotic wishes of their day. They could not have risen to the conception of such a sublime and perfect character; nor would they have devised and originated His sublime plan of a world-wide and perpetual church embracing all nations, any more than of themselves they had the power to carry it into effect. They have written as they did, because the objective truth stood before them. They wrote sincerely and truly what they saw Him do and heard Him say. Hence, though each wrote apart in time and place from the others, and narrated different details of His words and acts, they are in perfect accordance with each other, and it is the same Christ who stands forth through all their pages, in His sublime, superhuman, divine character of power, wisdom, and mercy.

How they looked on Him is shown by their statements already referred to, of His pre-existence in heaven before coming on earth, and their application to Him of the prophetic name *Emmanuel, God with us.* They show it also by declaring prophecies of the Old Testament referring clearly to God, to be really fulfilled in Him. Thus the prophecy of Isaiah (xi. 3) concerning the Lord, is applied to Christ (Matth. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4); and that of Malachi (iii. 1), still more clearly (Matth. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 17). So too, the miracles to be wrought by God (Is. xxxv. 4, 5) are the miracles wrought by Christ (Matth. xi. 5). The same interchange

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is shown in the history of the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas Iscariot (Matth. xxvii. 9, and Zach. xi. 12), and of the piercing of the side of our Lord as He hung on the cross after death (John xix. 37, and Zach. xii. 10). The words of Isaiah when he saw the glory of God (ch. vi.) are quoted as fulfilled in the unwillingness of the Jews to hearken to the teaching of Christ (John xii. 41).

When the Evangelists come to narrate the sad tragedy of his passion, crucifixion, death, and burial, they are careful to point out how in all this, even in such minute particulars as the division of his raiment among the soldiers, and the casting of lots over one piece, the ancient prophecies were fulfilled; and how clearly He himself had foreseen all these events, and had again and again spoken of them in detail to His disciples. He submits to everything voluntarily. Had He willed it, "more than twelve legions of angels" would have surrounded Him. He gave Himself up, that all might be accomplished. For by this sacrifice of Himself, man, whom He loved so tenderly, would be saved. Again, they tell of His Resurrection from the dead on the third day, as the prophets and He himself repeatedly had foretold; of His appearing to His disciples on many occasions during forty days, speaking of the kingdom of God (Acts i. 3) which they were to spread, and of His leading them to the Mount of Olives, again instructing them, then blessing them, and then ascending in their sight into heaven, returning to the Father. Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost, looking up steadfastly to heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God (Acts viii. 55). They tell of the miraculous coming, ten days later, of the Holy Ghost whom their Lord had promised to send, and of the grand work of establishing His Church, which He had commissioned and enjoined them to inaugurate. That work had commenced, and was being carried on, as they wrote. It was to cooperate in carrying it on that they have written.

Can there be any doubt in view of such a presentation by the Evangelists of the life and ministry of our Lord, as to their belief in His divinity? Is it necessary to cite individual passages where they profess their faith in Him distinctly; as when Martha said, "Yea, Lord, I have believed that Thou art Christ the Son of the living God" (John xi. 27); and when Simon Peter, speaking for all, said, "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God" (Matth. xvi: 16), or on another occasion, "We have believed and have known that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God" (John vi. 70). It is not necessary here to repeat what we said in our former article, on the genuine meaning and force of this title given to our Saviour. To call him the Son of God, was then, in their understanding, equivalent, as the Jews declared, to making Him God. In fact, it was a more definite and exact expression of a doctrinal truth, than to

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say vaguely, *Thou art God. Thou art the Son of God*, is equivalent in meaning to, *Thou art God the Son, the second person of the Trinity.*

Still if the general form of expression is desired, it can be found. Did not St. Thomas address our Saviour, "My Lord and my God" (John xx. 28).

There is, however, one other testimony found in the Gospels, to which we must direct our special attention. It has ever been looked on as the palmary and most decisive passage bearing on the Divinity of Christ. We mean, of course, the opening words of the Gospel of St. John, the beloved disciple and faithful Apostle. From the very commencement of Christianity, as often as texts of Scripture were to be cited in order to establish this doctrine, these words of St. John have been quoted. On the other hand, those who impugned the doctrine and labored to weaken the force of the argument drawn from these words, endeavored to do so, not so much by denying the sense in which they are to be taken—for this is too clear to be distorted—as by denying the authenticity and authority of this Gospel itself.

Into this latter question we do not propose to enter in the present article. The genuineness and authority of the Gospel of St. John can be fully established by those who treat that question *ex professo.* We here accept and presuppose their conclusion, and we present the argument, drawn from the words of the Evangelist, taking them as they are read, in the sublime and magnificent exordium of the fourth Gospel.

"In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with God, and THE WORD was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. . . . And THE WORD was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us, and we saw His glory, the glory, as it were, of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. John beareth witness of Him" (John i. 1–15).

That the evangelist here speaks of Jesus of Nazareth, his Master, who dwelt among men, and whose glory he had seen on Thabor and on Mount Olivet, and of whom John the Baptist gave testimony, no one can doubt. The question is, Why, and in what sense, does the evangelist style Him THE WORD, and what does he teach of Him in this passage?

The phrase, *the Word*, applied to our Saviour, is found only in five instances in the New Testament, and always from the pen of St. John; in the first and in the fourteenth verses of this chapter; twice in the First Epistle of St. John (1. John i. 1; v. 7); and once in the Apocalypse (xix. 13). In no instance does he explain or develop the meaning of the phrase. He uses it, in the passage we

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are considering, as he does in the others, simply and directly, as if it were a phrase already familiar to his readers, the meaning of which they already understood, at least in a general way, and sufficiently to follow him and catch the exact meaning of his statements.

In fact, this phrase was not altogether unfamiliar to Jewish ears. The ancient Hebrew, in which Moses and the prophets had written their inspired books of Scripture, had become a dead language since the Babylonian captivity. For popular and ordinary use there was a free translation or paraphrase called a Targum, in which this phrase, WORD OF GOD, occurs in quite a number of instances. And if we may judge from the sayings of the early rabbis and doctors of those days, and the extracts of their teachings still to be found in the Talmud, the phrase itself was not unfrequently brought into notice by special comments on it.

How it originated we cannot tell. But we see that for the Jews it was a sacred and quasi-scriptural phrase. The sacred text in Genesis and elsewhere, speaking of the creation and of other works of God, is accustomed to express the divine action by the words: *And God said.* David in the Psalms (xxxii. 16) sang: "By the *Word of the Lord* the heavens were established, and all the power of them by the spirit of his mouth." Holding, as the rabbis did, that every word of the sacred text was full of meaning, this special form of expression was to be well weighed. They tell us that, in ascertaining such recondite meanings, they were guided by the special and ancient traditional teaching handed down orally from generation to generation, and specially guarded among their doctors of the law, as a hidden, sacred teaching, which some of them dignify by the title of a second law. They were guided by this in making their vernacular Chaldee paraphrase. And repeatedly, especially when the Hebrew text speaks of God manifesting Himself by His works of power, or wisdom, or providence, they translate the Hebrew word *God* by the Chaldee phrase *Word of God.* This same phrase their rabbis, moreover, apply to the Messiah. This is in accordance with the teaching of at least a number of them who held the Messiah to be the agent of God in the creation, to have appeared to the patriarchs, to have guided the children of Israel in the desert, and generally to be the one who is designated by the text, on the grander occasions at least, when God is said to have appeared to men. Some of their statements are, as we intimated in our former article, very strong, and seem to go the full length of asserting or implying not only the heavenly pre-existence, but the eternity, and consequently the divine character of the Messiah. Other texts, from perhaps rabbis of another school, fall far short of this. It is not necessary for us to combine or to explain these differences. It

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is enough to mark the points, that THE WORD OF GOD was an expression not unfamiliar to the Jews, and that they applied it to the Messiah. The Word of God was not for them a mere figure of speech. It designated an existing being, and particularly the Messiah, whose coming they prayed for and anxiously awaited.

How far back before the coming of Christ this expression or this mode of thought occupied the religious mind of Judea, it is equally needless to inquire here. The personification of Wisdom, in the eighth chapter of the Book of Proverbs, especially that passage (v. 22–31) where the wisdom of God is presented as existing from eternity, and being with God and assisting in the creation of all things, presenting as it does a very similar, if not identically the same train of thought, must carry this form of expression back to the palmy days of the glory of David and Solomon, long before the captivity of Babylon.

To Catholics, who believe and know that God has in the fulness of time revealed to the world through his Son the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of the divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ the God incarnate, it is reasonable to see in all those ancient Jewish thoughts and utterances, even though halting and obscure, some traces of those earlier and partial revelations, which God had, in preceding ages, been pleased to make to man in divers ways. They are, as it were, faint auroral beams preceding the coming of the effulgent orb of day—"God having spoken on divers occasions, and many ways, in times past, to the fathers by the prophets; last of all, in these days hath spoken to us by His Son." (Heb. i. 1–2.)

This early thought of Judea seems to have gone forth into other lands. Plato, who lived four centuries before Christ, and who travelled in various lands in search of wisdom, probably gained from learned Jews those higher and truer notions of God and of Religion which made his philosophic teachings so far superior to those of his brother philosophers of Greece. Curiously enough, he has a *Logos Theou*, a *Word of God*, in his system, whatever he really meant thereby. There has been, in fact, a vast deal of discussion among the learned as to the real sense of this Platonic *Logos*, or WORD. Some hold that Plato meant by it only an attribute of God, His wisdom or intelligence, or power of knowing. Others hold that this *Logos* meant the sum of the knowledge which God possesses, while others again maintain that Logos signifies an existing Person, either of the same nature with God, or inferior to and distinct from Him. The question is an intricate one, and is rendered more so by the fact that the strongest passages in favor of the latter views are from works which many now think written, not by Plato, but by some unknown and probably far later, perhaps post-Christian, writers of his school of philosophy. We will leave

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the discussion of this point to those who delight in such intricate questions. It is enough for our purpose to note the fact, that from the days of Plato down, the phrase, *Word of God*, had its place in the philosophical language of Greece.

In the fever of philosophic and sophistic discussions which marked the Augustan age, we may be sure that the growing popularity of Platonism would not permit this point to sink into oblivion, especially in the East, where men delighted in refined and abstruse mental speculations. The ever-increasing and closer contact of Jewish scholars with those of heathenism in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and elsewhere, as the Hellenistic Jews, in their pursuit of commerce, mingled with the Gentiles, would obviously tend to bring it forward more frequently. The result of that contact may be seen in the instance of Philo, the Jew, whose works treat of the religious belief, the usages, and the history of his nation, of Oriental traditions, and of the Philosophy of Plato, among whose followers he was proud to be ranked. He is, we might say, expansive on the subject of the *Logos Theios*, the *Word of God*. And yet it must be admitted that those who have pondered long over his pages, differ as much as to his precise meaning in this matter as they do about the meaning of Plato. Some quote passages which would seem to imply that for Philo, the *Logos* was only an attribute or perfection of God. Some understand other passages to teach that the *Logos* is a Person consubstantial with and equal to the true and supreme God; thus presenting Philo as teaching on this point the true Catholic doctrine. Others, however, maintain that while Philo certainly and clearly attributed a personality to the *Logos*, it was a personality springing indeed from God, but by creation, and, therefore, inferior to Him, and of a subordinate rank, something like an Eon of the Eastern systems. Modern writers, influenced chiefly by passages from works of Philo, which were long thought to be lost, but which have been discovered in the present century in ancient Armenian translations of them, and have been retranslated into a European language and published by Cardinal Mai and the Armenian monk Aucher, seem generally to incline to the last-mentioned opinion.

Philo, however, drank in his knowledge at several fountains, and is not always consistent with himself. Sometimes he follows the Platonic school, and his ideas and his language are quite Platonic. Elsewhere he has evidently been poring over authors and questions of the Stoics, and his *Logos* puts on rather a pantheistic garb. At another time his mind is occupied by the popular theology of his own people on Angelology. and you would say the *Logos* was a great Archangel; while again, elsewhere, the Rabbinical traditions of the Cabbala, about the *Sephirah* coming out from God, are before

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his mind, and he appears to speak with cautious reserve, using apparently obscure terms and expressions that were possibly perfectly clear to the initiated, but are unintelligible to ordinary readers, (and to us), not privileged to be made partakers in that system of sacred and carefully hidden knowledge.

Philo was contemporary with the Apostles. However vague and uncertain or even shifting his opinions as to the nature of the *Logos* may have been, it cannot be doubted that his works, numerous and popular as they were, and circulating both among the Hellenizing Jews and the Gentiles, contributed their part to direct the attention of men to this point of philosophy. After him the subject of the *Logos*, or WORD, was often treated by subsequent writers. We may have occasion to examine some of them, when we come to treat of the belief of the Christians in the first and second centuries as to the divinity of Christ.

Just now we will only say one word as to the intrinsic meaning of the phrase, *Word of God*, in order to catch the fundamental thought it was intended to convey.

There is a natural and obvious distinction to be made between an intelligent being who thinks and the thought which thus occupies the mind. A man is ever the same; the thought which now occupies his mind is not the same thought which claimed his attention yesterday, or that on which he will think to-morrow. The distinction is obvious, and is necessarily true in the case of every intelligence. The intelligence is ever to be distinguished from the thought. Again, as to the thought itself there is a further distinction. Sometimes the thought rests in the mind that conceives it, and which it occupies, without being uttered or outwardly manifested; or else the thought may go forth outside the mind, whether by expression in the articulate utterance of speech or manifested in some other form of outward action. This thought, as distinguished from the intelligence that thinks, would be technically termed a *Logos*, WORD, in the widest sense of the term.

When we apply these distinctions to God, the infinitely perfect, eternal, and immutable Intelligence, still other truths must be brought in, else we fail to develop the subject fully, or we fall into contradictions.

Before anything created was made, God existed alone in eternity. He thought of Himself, if we may use this human mode of speech, for He must know or be conscious of His own existence. In His divine mind there was a thought, an idea, a representation, or image of Himself, a *Logos*.

This image or representation must of necessity be infinitely perfect. It must not and cannot fail, in any way or in any attribute, to represent the original, that is, God Himself, with perfect exact-

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ness. This His own infinite perfection and infinite Intelligence requires.

What is a perfectly exact image or likeness?

A statue is deemed a perfect likeness when it gives correctly and exactly the whole person, and every minute feature and peculiarity in its proper place and natural proportion. But after all, the marble is cold, dead, immovable. A painting from a master's hand may please and satisfy the eye, because beyond what the marble statue can give, there are here expressions of color, of life, and of feelings. But the painting on a flat canvas has not the form of the statue. It too is unchangeable; it may represent a man at one moment of his existence with marvellous accuracy; beyond that moment it does not go. A representation better than any the sculptor's chisel or the painter's brush can achieve, is that wrought by nature herself, when one looks in a perfect mirror. There all that the painting gave for one single moment, is given with greater truthfulness for each succeeding moment. The likeness follows in its variations every change of color, posture, or expression of the original. And yet even this fails in many ways; it is a mere play of light. It has no substance as we have; it cannot think, or speak, or act as the original does.

A more perfect likeness or image, were such a thing possible, would be a repetition of ourselves,—a body, the exact duplicate of our own in everything, and repeating our actions and feelings, and reproducing every change of whatsoever kind coming to us from without or within. Let such a body be inhabited by a soul that shall similarly follow ours in every act of thought, whether of memory, of knowledge, of love, or of hatred. The man might almost be said to live again, in such a duplicate of himself. Yet even such a living copy, or repetition, would not be a perfect image; it would fail in a most important feature. The original has free will, and independence of action. The image, by its very character as an image, is bound by a law of necessity, and must simply repeat what the original may freely originate.

The image or likeness of God, in the mind of God, cannot fail in these or any other modes. It must be infinitely perfect.

It must have a positive personal existence; else it falls short of presenting that first attribute of the Divine Nature. It must have an existence from eternity, for such is the existence which it perfectly represents. It must have every other Divine attribute; for if any one of them were wanting, the likeness would fail in that particular, and would not be absolutely perfect. It must be a Divine personality, distinct in some true sense from God; and yet, from eternity it must be in the mind of God, to use still that expression, united with Him, inseparable from Him, existing in Him, and not apart from

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Him; else it would cease to be the image of Him proceeding from His Divine intelligence, and would, on the contrary, be a second and independent God.

Our understanding may seize these points positively and definitely, but we are unable fully to comprehend them, to combine them, or by any power of thought to carry them out. The finite cannot measure the infinite. We grope our way like men in the dark even in many earthly sciences; much more necessarily must there always be mystery, when we speak of the Infinite and Eternal.

This Divine personal image or likeness is the λόγος θείος, the WORD OF GOD. So far we have considered God existing of Himself, alone in eternity, holding within Himself, or as St. John expresses it (i. 18), "in His own bosom," this Word or Divine likeness. So far, we have the Word unuttered and still abiding in God. In the creation this *Logos*, or THE WORD OF GOD, is uttered, that is, is made manifest in outward action; for He thus becomes known to the creatures of God. Christian writers have also found a second and fuller manifestation or utterance, in the Incarnation. But this is a question which we are not now required to treat. We may have to do so farther on.

Having thus sketched the history of the phrase "THE WORD OF GOD" in the religious literature of the Jewish people and in the philosophy of the world up to the time of St. John, and having given some notion of its intrinsic meaning, we may now proceed to examine carefully the words of the Evangelist himself, and to ascertain the precise meaning which, at the time he wrote, each sentence conveyed to the minds of his readers. His initial words are evidently intended to recall to their minds the opening of the first book of the Sacred Law. No other opening could be more majestic and impressive in their estimation.

"In the beginning was the Word." His first emphatic statement is that THE WORD, concerning which perchance they have heard so many discussions, has in truth a real and positive existence. This WORD is not a mere attribute or quality having no substantial existence of its own, and inhering in God or in some creature. It is not a mere speculative thought never so wise, but still the mere conception of man's intelligence. The WORD is a real being, personally existent and distinct, a person who can act and can be known, who made all things that were made, in whom is life, who became man and dwelt among men, and was known by them, whose glory they saw, and of whom they gave testimony.

"In the beginning was the Word." We might indeed take the words, *In the beginning*, as some have done, in the sense of a Hebraism, equivalent to *In eternity*, or *From eternity;* for this view can be supported by other seemingly parallel expressions of the

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Hebrew Scriptures. It would declare at once the eternity of the existence of *the Word.* We prefer, however, to take them in the mildest sense which can be really given to them, that is, as meaning here precisely what they mean in the first verse of Genesis,—the time when God first created heaven and earth, the date before which time is not counted, and only eternity was. At that initial date THE WORD WAS, the WORD already existed. The WORD, therefore, was not a created being, which at some time commenced to be. On the contrary, by the Word all created things were made. He Himself was uncreated, existing in the beginning, from eternity.

"And the WORD was with God." Here the WORD, the image and perfect likeness of God, and GOD, are separately named. For, as we saw, the intelligence which thinks is distinct from the thought. God (that is, God the Father in the language of Catholic theology) is distinct, that is, as to personality, from the WORD, God the Son. But although thus distinct, they are not separate; *the* WORD *was with God.* In eternity the *Logos* is not uttered, is not made manifest outwardly, but abides in God. As the Evangelist again expresses it (v. 18), "the only begotten Son is in the bosom of the Father."

"And the WORD was God." No paraphrase or explanation can make the statement clearer, more precise, or more emphatic. The WORD which exists personally, which exists from eternity, which from eternity was with God, "in the bosom of the Father," is not a creature, however exalted, is not an Eon, or a Daemon, or a Demiurgos, or a Sephirah, but is GOD. This is the WORD by whom all things were made that were made, in whom was life, and the life was the light of men, the true light which, by the Gospel delivered to the world by Christ, and preached by the Evangelists and the Apostles, enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world,—the WORD for whose advent John the Baptist had been sent as a witness; the same WORD, which WAS MADE FLESH, and dwelt among men, and was known as Jesus of Nazareth, whose glory the Evangelist himself saw,—the same whom John the Baptist pointed out.

We here are looking at testimony to prove a fact. We are relying not on the authority of a divinely inspired writer to prove a doctrine by the simple declaration. That is a proper matter for another time. We do not dwell on the unequalled sublimity of the entire passage, which even the classic heathens esteemed worthy of being written in letters of gold, and which they copied with admiration into their own works. We take the words simply as we would take the words of any ordinary uninspired writer of that day. We examine them in the light of the usages of speech then prevailing, and of the questions then agitated, and we seek to

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ascertain an historical fact. What did John the Evangelist really hold and teach concerning the Divinity of Christ?

There can be but one answer. He taught that Christ is God. The words of the passage so clearly establish this fact, that those who would deny the doctrine are obliged to fall back and deny, in spite of the most overwhelming testimony, that John the beloved Disciple and Apostle ever wrote this Gospel. To make known this fact he declares to be the very purpose of his writing. "But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name" (John xx. 31).

Besides the Gospel, St. John is the author of the Book of the Apocalypse, or Revelations, and also of three Epistles all contained in the collection of inspired Christian writings known as the New Testament. We might adduce a score of texts from them in evidence of his belief in the Divinity of Christ. But after what we have already said, they would be superfluous. We pass on.

We have already said that St. John is the only writer of the New Testament who gives to our Saviour the title, *Word of God*, and that only in five instances. The others use the title, *Son of God*, which we explained in our first article. St. John also uses it in numberless instances. Each of those phrases implies both a distinction and a union,—a distinction of personality, and a oneness in nature.

The phrase SON OF GOD gives prominence to the distinction of personality. The first thought is that the Son is a distinct person from the Father, having the same Divine nature with the Father. That they are consubstantial, having the same Divine nature in such way as to be one God, is a second thought following the first, and unavoidable, unless we would absurdly admit the coexistence of two separate Gods. There was little danger that any one of Jewish blood and training would fall into this error. The unity of the one true God was the fundamental and impregnable idea around which revolved all their religious thoughts. They could not fall into Polytheism; hence, in presenting the Christian doctrine to them and in argument with them in the early ages concerning the nature of Christ, the Christians found it appropriate to use this phrase and to insist on and to develop the idea of His real and true Sonship.

The phrase WORD OF GOD, on the other hand, presents as the first thought the Divine unity of the Father and the Son; of God, and of the *Logos* or WORD OF GOD. The distinction of personality between them comes in the second place. This distinction was not a matter of any difficulty for Christian converts who had been Polytheists, or for those who still remained heathens, believing in many

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gods. It did not militate in their minds in any way against holding Christ to be God; they would find no difficulty in admitting the Divinity of the God Supreme Lord over all, and at the same time the Divinity of Jesus as a second God distinct and entirely separate from Him. In their case, it was necessary to present prominently and to insist strongly, on the connection between them, and their strict unity of nature, and to exclude the idea of separation or division, which would bring in two Gods. This could appropriately be done by insisting on, and developing in a Christian sense, the doctrine of the *Logos* or WORD OF GOD, especially when considered as unuttered, and abiding or dwelling in the Deity from all eternity. This was the course very generally pursued by the early Christian writers when they defended the Christian doctrine of the Divinity of Christ against the heathens, or against heretics, that were by race or by training or otherwise imbued with the polytheistic ideas and tendencies of the Gentiles around them. The Christian literature of those early centuries is full of the subject, and it subsequently seemed almost to overshadow all other themes, as Arianism, and Semi-Arianism, and the cognate heresies arose to battle against the original doctrine handed down from the Apostles.

We have said enough to establish the truth of the statement which we made as an historical fact, that the Evangelists who have given us accounts of the life of our Lord, all held the doctrine of His Divinity. There are four other writers in the New Testament collection, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, and St. Jude. Of these the writings of St. Paul, far exceed in bulk all that we have in the New Testament from the pens of the other three together. He too is frequently dogmatic, teaching and defending doctrine. Their Epistles are for the most part hortatory in character, and treat on moral and religious duties. Yet, for all this, we find from every one of those writers, statements or allusions bearing on the Divine character and the Divine power of Christ.

We begin with St. Peter. It was he, who, as chief of the apostles, inaugurated on Pentecost day the grand work of preaching the Gospel of Christ, and of bringing converts into the fold of the Church. In that sermon he preaches of Christ (Acts ii.) declaring that He is the Lord whom David foresaw (v. 25), the Holy One (v. 27), exalted by the right hand of God (v. 33), the one of whom David said: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand (v. 34), and who is both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you have crucified (v. 36). In his second sermon (Acts iii.), Christ is the Son of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob (v. 13), the Holy One and the Just (v. 14), the Author of life (v. 15), in the faith of whose name miracles are wrought (v. 16). And on a third occasion: "There is no other name under heaven given

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to men whereby we must be saved" than "the name of our Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth" (vv. 10, 12).

Does not every expression here imply His Divine character? This becomes clearer, if we bear in mind the special circumstances of the time, and how they obviously shaped the course of the Apostle's argumentation. He was not addressing men who admitted that Christ really had some authority from God, but denied His Divinity. We are told that it was to meet opponents of this character that St. John wrote the Gospel we have already dwelt on, and in which he states the Divinity of Christ clearly and plainly, "The Word was God." Had such been the case here, St. Peter might, and we may presume would, have followed the same course. But the case was widely different; those whom he addressed, far from admitting any legitimate authority in Christ, held that He had been justly crucified as a blasphemer, but a few weeks before, in that very city of Jerusalem. On the other hand, they believed in a Messiah, and in their strict obligation to yield to Him the fullest obedience in all things. The obvious purpose of the Apostle was to convince them that Jesus of Nazareth was in truth that Messiah. Convinced of this, as thousands were convinced by his words and by the grace of God, they would yield, and ask to be baptized, and would receive without questioning all further instruction which the Apostles would give in His name. Under such circumstances, the words of the Apostle will naturally bear directly on the question as it was presented to their minds. Expressions bearing on His Divine nature may occur, but it may seem almost incidentally. We should scarcely look for a discourse directed to prove the Divinity of Christ, as the first step towards their conversion. In what we have of the discourses, we find what legitimately implies the Divine nature of Christ, and what is absolutely incompatible with its denial. We find moreover the distinct assertions that He is the Lord, and the Son of God, both forms of expression stating His Divinity; and that He is the Author of life, which God alone gives.

St. Peter has written two Epistles, both brief, the one of five, the other of only three chapters, and both moral and hortatory rather than doctrinal. Yet in them we find assertions of and allusions to the divine nature of Christ, sufficient to remove all obscurity or doubt as to the belief of the great apostle.

Christ is termed throughout, the "Lord," the "Lord and Saviour," the "Son of God," the "beloved Son of God the Father." It is the Spirit of Christ that inspired the prophets of the olden law (1. Pet. i. 11), thus necessarily and obviously affirming the pre-existence of Christ before his incarnation and birth and ministry among men. St. Peter quotes or incorporates into his own Epistles, pas-

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sages of Isaiah the prophet concerning God, applying them to Christ (1. Pet. ii. 3–8; Is. xxviii. 16). Where the Prophet says, "Sanctify the Lord of hosts Himself" (Is. viii. 13), the Apostle says, "Sanctify the Lord Jesus Christ in your hearts" (1. Pet. iii. 15). And he concludes his second Epistle by applying to Christ the doxology which the children of Israel gave to God, "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory both now and unto the day of eternity, Amen" (II. Peter iii. 18). We find in these Epistles the same spirit and the same faith which filled the soul of this same Apostle, when he declared: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matth. xvi. 16).

From St. Jude we have only a brief Epistle, contained in a single chapter. Yet, brief as it is, we glean from it evidences of the apostolic doctrine. In the fourth verse, he condemns the ungodly men, "who turn the grace of our Lord God into riotousness, and deny the only Sovereign Ruler and our Lord Jesus Christ." Is not this the attributing to Christ the supreme authority which belongs to God? He goes on to admonish them that it was Jesus who saved the people out of the land of Egypt, who afterwards destroyed them that believed not, who punished "the angels who kept not their principality," as He afterwards punished Sodom and Gomorrha for their crimes. All this had not only a definite sense in the minds of those he addressed, but the theme was familiar to them. As Jews, they had heard all these statements made by their Rabbis and Doctors about the Messiah. The oral teaching handed down among the Rabbis of the people of God, enumerated these and other such deeds among the special acts of the Messiah, who carefully guards His people. According to their teaching (and, as we see, according to St. Jude), the Messiah existed as the *Word of God*, and was manifested as well in the creation, as also, in many ways, appearing to the Patriarchs, and watching over Israel. And at the appointed time He was to be fully manifested when He would appear in the character of the Messiah. All this they had heard while still Jews. Now they knew and believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah already come. All these things then were true of Him. These were what He had done, as He dwelt with God, before He came into the world to teach and to die for man. It is clear that St. Jude did not mean to teach, and that they did not, could not understand him to teach that Jesus Christ was a mere man, who had commenced to exist only when He was born among men, in Judea, less than a hundred years before.

The words of the venerable Apostle (v. 21) were full of meaning to them, as he thus exhorted them, "Keep yourselves in the love of God, waiting for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto life everlasting." For they held Him to be in truth the Lord, the Sove-

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reign Lord, the fount of grace and mercy, and the giver of everlasting life.

St. James is the author of another Epistle in the New Testament collection. It is brief, and is wholly occupied with the moral duties of a faithful believer. There are one or two passages in it which we might cite as strongly evidencing his belief in the Divinity of Christ, were it not that there are variants of the texts which would have to be examined, before we could use the reading we prefer. Consequently we pass them over. St. James styles the Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and sometimes *The Lord.* And this is the title by which he in other verses designates *God* Himself. Sometimes it is difficult to determine which he means, God the Father, or Our Saviour. Clearly he brings in no antagonism between them. On the contrary, the mode in which he uses the same terms equally for both, is evidence that as to the divinity of our Lord, St. James stands with the other apostles whose epistles we have examined.

St. Paul is the remaining writer whose teaching is to be examined. We have no less than fourteen Epistles by him, some of them quite lengthy. Though we style him the Apostle of the Gentiles, he appears in these epistles to address, for the most part, converts from Judaism, and he often presents arguments and treats questions in what we may call an intensely Jewish style. His teachings concerning our Lord are found in every part of his writings, and are so abundant, that volumes may be devoted to set forth his Christology. We, however, have only one point to examine here. Does St. Paul teach, or does he so speak, as to show that he believes in the Divinity of Christ? Even on this point alone there are so many passages before us, that to take them all would seem like commencing our article afresh. We shall take up only a few of the principal ones, and these we shall arrange in classes.

St. Paul styles our Saviour the Son of God in the full sense which the Jews gave to that phrase, teaching that it involved a participation of the divine nature of God the Father. "But God is faithful, for our preaching which was to you was not IT IS and IT IS NOT. For the Son of God, JESUS CHRIST, who was preached among you by us . . . . was not IT IS and IT IS NOT, but IT IS was in Him. For all the promises of God are in Him, IT IS; therefore also by Him, amen to God, unto our glory" (II. Cor. xviii. 20). Besides calling Him the Son of God, the Apostle gives to Him the appellation IT IS; for the Greeks the name of the Eternal, self-existent One; for the Jews the incommunicable name, Jehovah, "I AM WHO AM." "He (God) spared not even His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. viii. 32). "I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and delivered Himself for me" (Gal. ii. 20).

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Christ is "the beloved Son" (Eph. i. 6; Col. i. 13), and throughout, God is His Father. This is true in the highest sense, in a sense which applies to no creature or saint, not even to Moses, the greatest of all in the Jewish estimation. "Every house is built by some man, but He that created all things is God. And Moses, indeed, was faithful in all his house, as a servant. . . . But Christ, as the Son, in His own house" (Heb. iii. 4–6). How can it be His own house, unless because, as Son, he possesses from His Father the divine nature?

St. Paul, in instances too numerous to be quoted, gives to Him, as we have seen others do, and as it has been the marked rule for Christians to give Him, the title of Lord. "If thou confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. x. 9). But the Apostle calls Him GOD. "Of whom (the Israelites) is Christ, according to the flesh, who is over all things, God blessed forever" (Rom. ix. 5). The full doctrine of the Incarnation is contained in that one short sentence. God, blessed over all, takes human nature to Himself, and is born at Bethlehem, of the race of the Jews. There are other passages in St. Paul's Epistles to match it. Thus, in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews, after speaking of the Son as possessing by inheritance, that is, because He is the Son of the Father, a rank above even the angels, and of the command of the Father to the angels to adore Him, and, while teaching that the angels are ministering spirits, he sets forth, by way of marked contrast and as indicating the rank of the Son, the words of the Father addressed to Him: "Thou art My Son, today (*i. e., from eternity*) I have begotten Thee" (Heb. i. 5). "But to the Son (He saith), Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever" (v. 8). And, "Thou in the beginning, O Lord, didst found the earth, and the works of Thy hands are the heavens" (v. 10). In fact, the whole of this chapter is distinct in its enunciation of the character of our Saviour. It declares His existence from eternity; His true sonship from the Father; His exalted dignity by inheritance, *i. e.*, by right of His nature; it attributes the creation to Him; and calls Him, or, putting the statements in the most solemn form, introduces God the Father, as styling Him *Son, Lord, God.* This whole chapter may be placed alongside the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John for the explicitness and directness of the statements imbedded in it bearing on the Divinity of Christ. Nor should the important fact be overlooked that St. Paul wrote this epistle nearly half a century before St. John wrote his gospel. This simple fact, if borne in mind, overturns some darling castles of modern unbelieving criticism on the sacred writings of the New Testament.

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In the discourse which St. Paul addressed to the clergy of Ephesus, as given in the Acts of the Apostles, there is another passage of remarkable import. He reminds them that the Holy Ghost has placed them "to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood" (Acts xx. 28). Here it is *God* who, in the human nature which He assumed, died on the cross, purchasing with His own blood His Church. It is Christ, shedding His blood on Calvary, whom St. Paul, addressing the clergy of Ephesus, terms *God*. This expression may well be taken as establishing the true meaning of the phrases we so often meet in the New Testament, *Church of God*, *Servants of God*. It is Christ whom the early Christians designated by the use of the word God in expressions of this form. This point shall be made clear when we come to treat, as we intend doing, of the ordinary conversational language of the Christians in the early centuries.

We may now pass on to other expressions of St. Paul in which he speaks of the pre-existence of Christ before He appeared among men. The expressions may fully imply, or it may plainly and explicitly state, his previous existence. Thus: "A faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into this world to save sinners" (I. Tim. i. 15). "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem those under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. iv. 4, 5). And again: "He that descended is the same also that ascended above all the heavens, that He might fill all things (Eph. iv. 10); or this: "The first man was from earth, earthy; the second man from heaven, heavenly" (I. Cor. xv. 47). And he states the doctrine of the Incarnation more explicitly: "When therefore He (Christ) cometh into the world, He saith, Sacrifice and oblation Thou wouldst not, but a body Thou hast fitted to Me" (Heb. x. 5).

We have cited the strong statements found in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is another equally remarkable passage in the second chapter of that to the Philippians. Christ Jesus "being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but debased Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death; even to the death of the cross. For which cause God also hath exalted Him and hath given Him a name which is above all names; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father" (Phil. ii. 6–11).

This passage, like the others which we have quoted, affirms the

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previous existence of Christ when He was "in the form of God," and, without "robbery" or taking what was not His own, was "equal with God," and that, taking the form of a servant, made into the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man, He was crucified. So much is clear to the most cursory reader. But if we take due account of certain forms of philosophic speech current in that age and which are here introduced, the meaning and force of the words of the apostle will come out much more fully and distinctly.

We may be sure that every metaphysical question which has been discussed in later ages, was known and discussed in those earlier times, and, indeed, had been discussed perhaps long before. We moderns have discovered and invented many things. But we can boast of no new questions of abstract mental philosophy. The ancients discussed the question whether we really know that bodies exist, or whether we only think so, having nothing to go on but appearances and impressions within ourselves. In the argument there sprang up distinctive forms of speech. For example, if one would speak of an appearance which was only an appearance, and unaccompanied with a real substance producing it—of a ghost, for instance, appearing as a body while there was no real body, or of an angel appearing in the form of a man—the proper word would be *phantasma*—a word which we still retain not much varied from its original philosophic meaning. Hence came the name of the *Phantasiasts*, an early sect who held that our Lord had only an apparent, not a real true body of flesh and blood.

If, on the contrary, one would speak of an appearance as including and manifesting a real positive existing thing, quite another word must be used. Latin writers used the word *figura;* which, we are of opinion, is not found in any modern language, in a sense similar to, or in any way approaching this old technical sense.

The overlooking or ignoring this technical sense of *figura* and other words, has led to mistakes, serious or comical, as the case might be. Apparently simple Latin words have been as thoroughly misunderstood, as *let* and *prevent* would be now ordinarily in the title of the old English sermon, which we mentioned some pages back. An instance is found in a passage of Tertullian which Protestant controversialists have entirely misunderstood, and never fail to quote against the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. Tertullian (*Advers. Marcion*, iv. 40), writing against Marcion, who held the error of the Phantasiasts, says: "*Christ*, having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body by saying: 'This is my body;' that is, the figure (*figura*) of my body." Now, leaving out the last phrase, the words are a strong statement of the Catholic doctrine. The last phrase means, as we would now express his idea—*that is, my real substantial body; not an unsubstantial*

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and merely apparent body, as Marcion maintains. The controversialists not catching the strict philosophic and technical sense in which Tertullian uses the word *figura*, translate it, "figure," and give it the modern wide English sense of that word, and so they find in those last words something which they love to quote against the Real Presence.

Where Latin writers used *figura*, in this technical sense of implying reality, the Greeks used μορφη. This is precisely the word in our text where St. Paul says that Christ was in the FORM of God. Applying such philosophic, or as we have styled it, such technical meaning to the words of the text, we might express the thought of the passage in a modern paraphrase, running in this form: "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, being truly and substantially God, was of right equal to God the Father, and He humbled Himself by taking the real true nature of man, and by showing Himself subject to all the sufferings of man, and He was obedient, even to the death which He suffered on the Cross." We question if to us, now-a-days, this paraphrase would be a stronger expression of belief in the divinity of our Lord, than were the words of the Apostle to the Philippians, whom he addressed.

We might adduce still other passages from St. Paul, on the same doctrine, as when (Colossians ii. 9) he teaches that in Christ "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead corporeally," or calls Him (i. 15) the image of the invisible God, or when (Heb. i. 3) he declares that Christ, the Son of God, is "the brightness of *God's* glory and the figure of His substance." The last portion of this phrase should perhaps be understood in accordance with the rule we have just laid down in reference to Phil. ii. The first member of it is akin to the title, WORD OF GOD, which St. John gave to the Saviour. Just as the *Logos*, or thought, is distinct from, and yet inseparably united with, the Intellect that thinks; as the light of the sun is (or would be, according to the ancient idea of the nature of light) distinct from the sun, and yet inseparable from him, so the *Logos* or Word of God is distinct from, and yet ever abiding in the Father, and the Son of God, the brightness of this glory of the Father, is distinct from, yet ever united with Him by whom He is begotten.

We have said enough to establish that point of our argument which we had before us specially in commencing this article. If, in our preceding number, we showed from the words of Christ our Lord Himself, that in his teaching He asserted the doctrine of His Divinity so plainly that His Disciples and his enemies both so understood Him, and the latter met that teaching by charges of blasphemy reiterated again and again, and finally condemned Him therefor to a cruel and ignominious death; we have, in this article, fortified our position by showing, in addition, that His Disciples,

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when they became teachers after His death, clearly and positively continued to teach the same doctrine. We have taken them all up without exception, so far as they are accessible by their writings collected in the New Testament. Questioned, one by one, their answers are accordant, each one with the others, and all with their Master.

In face of His own words, then, it cannot be asserted that our Saviour knew nothing of the doctrine of His Divinity. We trust that we have made it equally clear that it cannot be asserted that the Apostles and Evangelists, instructed by Him and His immediate followers, knew nothing of it. We have aimed to show it to be a fact of history that He first, and they afterwards, taught it. Our next step should be to confirm both of these positions by duly establishing, as we propose to do on some future occasion, that the Christians of the first and second centuries, taught by the Apostles and their immediate Disciples, certainly believed and professed it.

The writers we have examined were of the Jewish race, were trained from early life in the world of Jewish religious thought, were familiar with the feelings and ideas then prevailing in the Jewish mind. They addressed their words mostly to an audience Jewish like themselves by race, and equally familiar with all these things. Hence their terminology is of their people and their language. The questions they treat are mostly those which were prominent and important to their fellow-countrymen. In treating them, they urge points on which the Jews required or would accept argument, though we would attach little or no importance to them, and would admit them without demur; and they pass over slightly or in silence points and views on which we now-a-days would call for explanations and proofs. Then such points were understood and admitted by those they addressed almost as matters of course. Hence the mode and style of treating a question, as seen in these Epistles, differs very much from the modes of modern writers with whom we are familiar. It requires study and training to understand their works adequately. But if that be given, it becomes soon clear that for them, and according to their teaching, Jesus of Nazareth was the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the Lord and Saviour, the true Son of God at the right hand of the Father, to whom with the Father was due from all creatures, in heaven and on the earth, and under the earth, benediction, and honor, and glory forever and ever (Apoc. vi. 13).

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THE CHURCH AND THE INTELLECTUAL WORLD.

Modern Intellectualism and the Catholic Church. Dublin Review, April, 1863.

The Light of the Holy Spirit in the World. Five Lectures, by Rev. Canon Hedley, O. S. B.

IT was stated in a previous paper on the "Actual Situation of the Church" that she has lost a considerable portion of her former control over the intellectual part of mankind. To this most remarkable feature of her present position it is our ungrateful task to devote a few pages. In doing so we may have to unravel the intricacies of a dark plot, as daring as was the one by which she was deprived of her temporal power; a plot at this moment most manifest in many deplorable state measures which become every day more widespread, and would surely prove fatal to her existence if her intellect were not truly "the light of the Holy Spirit in the world," as it is eloquently portrayed in the "Lectures" of Rev. Canon, now Bishop, Hedley.

But to understand more thoroughly the *animus* of Modern Intellectualism—as it has been called appropriately by a contributor to the *Dublin Review*—to judge accurately of its fell purpose and of the success it has so far met with, to revive our hopes at the same time by the sight of the sure remedy always ready at hand when the evil is worse, it is proper first to examine the Church as being essentially an intellectual body, as in fact the most powerful one that has ever appeared on earth. And this may in the end convince the reader that since she cannot change in whatever is to her essential, since the living spring of reason and of faith deposited in her bosom for satiating the thirst of humanity can never dry up, all the attempts of the "men of intellect" of our time, although they seem so firmly banded together against her, must ultimately fail. Can they ever quench the mental light which shines so bright, lit up from heaven, in the souls of thousands of men ardent in their belief, devoted to the Church, and able to hold a pen in their hand, or to speak from the rostrum and the pulpit? If in the previous century these were fewer in number owing to many mournful causes, see how they swarm in our age, and how they are at once able and bold! Man cannot be robbed of his intellect as of his land. After you have taken from the priest all he possessed there is yet a fire burning in his soul, and he still has a tongue as well as you. But of this anon.

The ardent promoters of "Modern Intellectualism" may very

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well, therefore, be deceived in their calculations. At this moment, however, they are fully convinced of their power; and their power is certainly as great as was that of "darkness" at the time of our Saviour's passion. They would like evidently to secure themselves in their high situation, and being of a liberal turn of mind they would like, instead of engaging in a perpetual war, to come to a peaceful settlement between themselves and the Church. They have consequently propositions, conditions, terms of agreement to offer, with a view to determining in peace the great question who shall have the intellectual guidance of mankind? For this is the solemn problem now agitated all around us. It has been so to a certain extent in all ages; it is so most pre-eminently at the present moment.

These are the clear terms and conditions of the men of intellect: "Let the priest confine himself to his church, and there explain the dogmas of his catechism and the morality of his gospel. To us belong whatever remains, namely, the forum, the senate chamber, the social atmosphere, and the . . . . . school." They insist that to secure the tranquillity of the world this division of labor is necessary. When it is well understood and accepted on both sides mankind will progress with rapidity in its career of civilization and refinement. The "men of intellect" will be, of course, as it is meet, the chief factors in the mighty problem. And the Church will not be deprived altogether of usefulness, at least with respect to women and children, who form always a numerous class of society. But with this the great object always now kept in view, peace, will be surely obtained, and the millennium so long promised to mankind will finally commence.

Were the Church reduced to accept those terms—she is not quite yet—she might say: "Peace is the result of the perfection of order which I alone can bring; and it will certainly come when I am left perfectly free. War, I see, must continue on earth a little longer. But with what you have the kindness to leave me, gentlemen, I can beat you. The share you pompously assign to me was the only thing I had at first, and with it alone I once conquered your ancestors. Are you so dull of intellect, with all the means you possess of cultivating it, not to perceive that, with the dogmas of the catechism and the morality of the gospel, I am far more able to guide the world than you? What you call the catechism, Proudhon, an intellectualist certainly like you, called *theology;* and he said in substance that 'no social, political, and moral question could be fairly discussed, and ultimately resolved, without the aid of *theology*.' Consequently since you discard from your armory the weapon called catechism, you are perfectly incompetent to discuss, much more to solve, whatever questions belong to the 'social,

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political, and moral order.' Proudhon may have advanced and written in his life many paradoxical and false propositions. But this one is among the most profoundly true that a man could utter. Since, therefore, you leave the catechism to me, I have enough to beat you in all that belongs to those great subjects. Sooner or later the world will have to come to me—owing to the fatal blunderings of you, gentlemen, its self-appointed leaders—or else the world must perish."

These few words, which we make bold enough to place on the lips of the Church, portray vividly the positions of the two contending armies in the field of intellect. The first, all of this earth, has contemptuously rejected all that is in the least supernatural, or even spiritual, and pretends to govern the world—a pure machine —by cranks, levers, or weights and wheels. In that system man is an animal, life a span of a few years, the whole of creation *une mécanique céleste*, as it was ingeniously called by Laplace. Very different is the other system, which starts from the principle that there is a supreme intellectual effusion which is "the light of the Holy Spirit," by which the world must be controlled and directed, because man is akin to God by his origin, and destined ultimately to return to God as his last end. This is merely the text of the catechism; but it is also a sublime theology. The war, therefore, must be perpetual between the two systems until the weaker one, which is certainly the first, shall be totally and finally conquered.

But this is only light skirmishing. We must throw ourselves at once *in medias res.*

Is it true that the Church, as has been said, has always been and is still the most intellectual body that has ever existed on earth? Can this be proved historically? We think it can; and, in undertaking it, no restriction whatever is placed on the meaning of the word *intellect.* This may surprise some persons who think seriously that science has been at last *secularized*, and cannot any more belong to the province of *clericalism.* A very strange notion, to say the least, which cannot endure the least discussion, since intellect belongs to mind, and mind is the same for *clericals* as well as for *seculars;* only, the first apply their minds more to the high questions of the spiritual world than to the details of nomenclature in natural history, for instance; for which, however, they are fully competent, if they choose to lower their circle of study. In the historical discussion on which we enter we give therefore to the word *intellect* the most comprehensive meaning it can receive. It is true that, when our Lord sent His Apostles to teach mankind, He invested them chiefly with the great function of directing intellect infallibly in the path of truth and virtue, and did not require they should be *littérateurs* and *savans.* Yet it is historically remarka-

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ble that this last lower privilege has always seemed to follow naturally the first and higher one. Let us enter into some details and ponder over them.

Generally the real intellectual power of the Church, in the sense indicated, is supposed to have begun when the barbarians, having destroyed the Roman empire, threw themselves in all their fierce nakedness into the midst of corrupt populations, and began to destroy whatever existed before, riveting their rough feudalism as a yoke of iron over the neck of prostrate Europe. The Christian Church, say unanimously both friends and foes, rendered then an inappreciable service to mankind by taking the first elements of culture to those savage children of the northern forests and moors. She presented herself to them with the Gospel in her hand; she became the instructress of rude tribes, who first were struck with awe at her sight, and soon became convinced that her doctrine was heavenly. She thus began to tame them, to subdue their ferocious natures, and to pave the way for a more tranquil state of society.

Many modern "men of intellect" add, with a half-sneer, "A theocratic and autocratic Church was after all the proper truchman to speak in a rough tongue to rough peoples." If these are not exactly their expressions, it is at least their meaning. We shall, before long, give a very different interpretation of the intellectual work of the Church at that time. It will not be difficult to prove that she did a great deal more; that she completely educated, in fact, the northern barbarians, and raised them to that supreme elevation by which Europe has been able ever since to rule the world, and to obtain the hegemony of all the nations of the globe, which she still possesses. But this was not the first time that the Church gave full proof of her intellectual ability. Long before this, when society was most refined, and had reached the highest point of material as well as artistic and literary eminence, the Church had shown the power of her mind in a way which men seem to have forgotten, since they never speak of it. This was the sudden burst of sublime eloquence, literary perfection, and most polished culture, which gave to the fourth and fifth centuries the well-known name of "Age of Doctors." Still, this glorious designation does not give a sufficient idea of this remarkable intellectual phenomenon, which was the most surprising that ever happened on earth, since it was in fact the almost sudden substitution of a complete, new, and altogether unexpected literature, in lieu of the most brilliant one which had shed such an immortal lustre over Greece and Rome, and which, wonderful to relate, was at the time positively expiring. This deserves some special attention.

The ancient literature of Greece and Rome has certainly been

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the most influential that has ever existed on earth. The Sanscrit alone, in old times, might have some claim to a particular consideration; but, although it seems that there are compositions in that language which may be said to surpass in freshness and depth any of the Greek or Latin works we possess, they are so peculiarly Oriental that the more sedate habits of the ruling race on earth, that is, the European, cannot be so powerfully impressed and moulded by them as it has always been by the productions of Hellenic or Roman genius. In these classics, as we call them, besides the mythological element, contemptible for us, yet which may become a promoter of moral corruption for some unformed minds, there is often a depth of wisdom, a clear view of human nature, an appreciation of the beautiful, a precision of thought, and perfection of style, which has secured their immortality, and induced the mediæval monks to spend long hours, days, and years of their lives in transcribing them and handing them over to us. There is no need of expatiating on the subject, and any amount of opposition will not now cause them to disappear.

It just happened that the most brilliant period of the Latin literature was the age of Augustus; the very time when our Divine Saviour was born in Judea. The acme of Greek genius was reached a few centuries earlier, at the time of Pericles; but the decline from that period had scarcely been sensible, except in the perfection of style; and Rome herself, so rich in her own language under the first of her emperors, bowed to Hellenic art, tongue, and wisdom, and invariably imparted to her wealthy classes an artistic, literary, and philosophical education, under *Greek* masters. This was the case when Peter reached Rome, and the religious society which was to be forever glorious under the name of the Roman Church, commenced directly to use both languages, but chiefly the *Greek*. Those of us who have read with delight the productions of the first children of Peter, namely, of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius of Antioch, and of Hermas, the letters of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and of the Church of Vienna and Lyons on that of St. Pothinas, and finally, the few fragments which remain of various authors of the first or second centuries, can never forget the strange but entrancing perfume which exhales here and there from new Greek words and phrases—first lisping sounds of a superhuman language—of a truly heavenly character, never met with in the old Pagan authors.

Soon a new literature begins to appear under the pens of Irenæus, and Justin, and Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch. At the same time the solemn Latin tones of Cyprian and Tertullian are heard. How different from the profane authors of the same age! It is indeed the birth of a new intellectual age. The sensuous

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character of the old literary masters has altogether disappeared, and *mind* alone stalks forth rich in fresh heavenly gifts.

But at the same moment a most unaccountable phenomenon is rapidly developed, which must attract our attention. It is the swift disappearance, without any visible cause, of that brilliant literature of Greece and Rome, to make room for the fresh intellectual wonder which is going to replace it. What majesty of expression could picture to the life this grand scene which took place in the comparatively short time comprised between the Antonines and Theodosius? Pity that there is no better means of placing this before the reader than cold statistical tables.

The idea had presented itself to our mind to go through the various histories of literature of that epoch, and note on paper the descending and ascending scales of the old classics on one side, and of the new Fathers on the other, comparing, if possible, at the same time, the literary value of each. It is not a pleasant task, owing to its aridity; and we were greatly gratified to find that it had been splendidly done, in this very country, at least for the Greek branch of the subject. The tables can be seen and duly appreciated in the introduction to the *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* by Professor E. A. Sophocles, of Harvard University. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1870.) This most erudite Greek gentleman prefaces those of his lists dating from the birth of Christ—the previous ones have no interest for us in the present question—by the following remarkable words: "From the first century of the Christian era downwards, the writers are divided into *secular* and *ecclesiastical*. The former are the legitimate successors of those preceding this century; the latter may be regarded as intruders or disturbing forces." This is, indeed, most pointed, and it will be very curious, by and by, to give a few moments' attention to the comparative value of the legitimate successors of the old classics, on one side, and to the *intruders* or *disturbing forces*, which means here the new Christian writers or Fathers, on the other. Since these long lists cannot be given entire in these pages, we have only to count the number of authors on each side. For the *first century*—many simple inscriptions or short fragments are included in the classical list as distinct authors—we have thirty-four legitimate successors of the old classics; and already fifteen *intruders*, among whom are the four Evangelists and four writers of Apostolic Epistles.

The *second century* gives forty-eight names, including inscriptions, in the first list, and thirty-three in the second, in which, it is true, several Gnostic writers are enumerated. The *third century* has eighteen names only in the first list, and the same number in the second. But from the fourth age down, see how the tables are

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suddenly reversed: *Fourth century*, thirty-one legitimate successors of the Classics, including, however, ten problematical names accompanied with the sign of doubt (?), and forty-seven authentic names on the second list. The *fifth century* enumerates only nineteen authors on the first side—several of them doubtful—and on the other, forty-nine. Finally, in the *sixth century*, against fourteen names on the first list, we have thirty-eight on the second. It is useless to add that from the seventh century down, the first list disappears entirely.

To compare the value of the writers on both sides would require a much longer space than is at our disposal. Suffice it to say that the whole array of the Greek Fathers, whose names will forever be glorious, is placed in juxtaposition with names perfectly unknown, or those of mere sophists and grammarians. Something, however, will presently be said on this subject. A like result would be reached by an inquiry into the secular and ecclesiastical literature of Rome in the same period. We would find, as stated previously, a complete substitution of the second for the first. But, as it is a question here of intellectual merit, as the object is to show how the intellect of the Church at once took possession of the mind of Greece and Rome, it is proper, for a just appreciation of the subject, to weigh, mark down, and estimate as well as can be done in a most condensed form, the new element that then took possession of mankind.

Order in writing being an essential condition of clearness, we will speak of the intellectual hold the Church assumed, first, in the Grecian, and, secondly, in the Roman, world; in the third place, of the same phenomenon outside of the strict limits of the great European empire. A word only on each is allowed us, whilst a large volume would be scarcely sufficient.

It is in Alexandria that the first of these wonders happened. That great city was then the brain of the whole world. At the moment of its near disappearance, of which a word was just said, the old Hellenic literature had concentrated all its brilliancy at the mouth of the Nile. No need of describing its schools, its libraries, its immense collections of scientific objects, and the crowds of its learned professors and world-renowned philosophers. Eclecticism and Neo-Platonism were professedly the concentration of the whole ancient intellectual universe into a gigantic focus. History, philosophy, theurgy, the scientific archæology of the old polytheism, natural sciences, too, in their largest acceptation as understood at the time, were the subjects of most intense interest taught and studied in its halls. And the ultimate object of all these was to prop the intellectual basis of the ancient world, including its idolatry, which awakening reason threatened to batter down.

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But, unfortunately for these mighty hopes, Mark, the disciple of Peter, had, a few years after the ascension of our Lord, rambled, unaccountably in appearance, all the way from Rome, through Cyrenaica, first, to learn Greek, probably, then down into Central Egypt, through Thebais, where he remained twelve years, to learn, no doubt, the Egyptian tongue; and finally he dropped down some fine day in Alexandria, where he took his quarters, we are sure, in the Jewish part of the town, as he was himself a Jew. The city was then divided equally between the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Jews, and thus Mark was prepared to face the three sections at once. He began directly to teach *catechism*, an occupation mean enough in the opinion of the Intellectualists of our age. Yet he made converts, and he soon opened a church, a very insignificant proceeding, certainly, in the estimation of these same gentlemen. His successors after him followed in the same track, until under one of them, by name Alexander, we think, Pantænus was placed at the head of the Alexandrian catechists, what we would call the Sunday-school teachers of that Church. And, strange to say, a turn was given by Pantænus to the institution, which could not but seem a desperate project without any hope of success. This turn consisted in posting notices through the city, or something of the kind, by which the Greek pupils of the Musæum, that is of the great public schools mentioned above, were invited to come and listen to the catechetical instructions given by Pantænus and his assistants.

What seems incredible, and yet is a positive fact, the students who were every day listening to the learned lectures of the Eclectic and Neo-Platonist philosophers, and of the greatest scientists of the time, who had yet, no doubt, in their immense collections of natural objects some of the specimens sent formerly by Alexander to his teacher Aristotle, entered the modest rooms where the new catechism was taught; and in course of time many of them declared themselves Christians.

Thus the school was not a failure. There were other teachers after Pantænus, even when the persecutions against the new religion were most fierce. It is precisely during that fearful epoch that the great figure of Origen finally looms up. In him we see the champion destined to replace the old literature by the new. What could not be said, if time allowed it, of that gigantic enterprise by which Paganism was to be conquered with all the untold beauties of its poetry, its art, its science, everything which belongs to a really intellectual race of people? For, mark it well, it was merely a contest of mind with mind—of the mind of the old Pagan world at the time of its greatest culture, in the city endowed with its highest power, with the mind of the new spiritual society—the Church—just gathering its strength by a sublime effort, and wrestling, with

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no other weapon than that of the intellect. And in this mighty struggle the Church conquered! Alexandria was a Christian city when the Moslem arrived later on. Other champions had followed Origen, the chief one being Clement, the learned author of the *Stromata*, the *Protrepticon*, and the *Pedagogue*. Those immortal works immediately attracted the attention of all; and by placing face to face, as they all do, the new religion and the old, intellectual Pagans were convinced, gave up the old literature and embraced the new.

The contest, meanwhile, had extended all over the Hellenic world. How could we possibly condense in a few paragraphs the recital of that war of giants? The names alone of those who fought for the Church, or rather for mankind, would fill pages, if a word were added to each, to depict briefly his peculiar character. Cyril, of Jerusalem, would appear with the simplicity of his style and the lucidity of his doctrine; Gregory of Neo Cæsarea, might be called the first who carried Christian eloquence to the height of sublimity in his "*Discourse on Thanksgiving to Origen.*" Basil, of Cappadocia, could take his rank among the best Greek writers of antiquity; Gregory, of Nazianzum, his bosom friend, not only might deserve a high position among the best orators of any age and country, but his chief attribute in our eyes would be that of poetry; since he was the first to weave the golden and silken threads of Grecian rhythm around the noble dogmas of the religion of Christ. To him must be assigned the honor of having, in more than one hundred and fifty-eight poems, set in motion the sweet waves of harmony on which the Hellenic world was henceforth to disport itself, and express its enthusiasm and love for the Supreme God, the Eternal Word, the Holy Spirit, and a host of saints, instead of Jove and the other deities and heroes of heathen mythology.

What could not be said of Gregory of Nyssa, the brother of Basil, his equal almost in elevation of thought, purity of style, and strength of reasoning faculties? Of Athanasius, and of Cyril of Alexandria, it might be safely advanced that the Greek mind never went farther in sublimity and depth for the explanation of the mysteries of religion, than in the works of those two great men, in spite of the calumnies that some Protestant and many infidel writers have circulated against the second. With respect to their literary merit, if Cyril does not reach the perfection of many other Fathers, owing probably to his long sojourn among the austere monks of Nitria, the sublime things which he discusses with grandeur and clearness are sufficient to make of him a great writer; and Athanasius is in every respect a master of language, except perhaps in some minor tracts which he wrote in his flight through the wilderness of Upper Egypt.

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Finally, for necessity compels us to omit many names of importance, the greatest of them all in point of eloquence, John of Antioch, called Chrysostom, can receive nothing more than a mere general mention. But all thoroughly educated men must have, at least, read some of his immortal productions, since the man cannot be said to be acquainted with Greek literature who does not know, at least, his *Homilies* to the people of Antioch.

These are a few of those intellectual giants who accomplished this mighty literary revolution, the actual object of our inquiries. A word, however, cannot possibly be omitted on the general character of their mind with regard to its expression in the language they used, and to the whole intellectual substratum of their works, taken mainly from the Bible. Their mind had for its organ of expression only the Attic idiom; and the great subject of its splendid development was the text of Holy Scripture. Nothing could give us a higher idea than these two points, of the really intellectual work which the Church thus accomplished in the fourth and fifth centuries.

It is known that just previous to the first spread of Christianity all the old dialects of Greece had disappeared, and were merged everywhere in the universal Attic idiom. Professor Sophocles, in the *Lexicon* previously quoted, gives curious details on the subject. In our opinion it was a part of a great, providential design, on which it is impossible at this moment to enlarge. All the Greek fathers wrote in that limpid, harmonious, rich, and elaborate idiom, the very one best adapted to the expression of the highest, holiest, and sweetest operations of the mind. If such were the noble organ they used, the main substance of all they said was of a still higher character, as it was all derived from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The Fathers began to spread this heavenly doctrine of Scripture before the world from the very beginning. But it was chiefly after Origen had critically given a safe edition of Holy Writ in his *Hexapla*, and Jerome had published his *Vulgate*, that the Christian writers expatiated at length on so mighty a theme. It is difficult to find even a few Fathers who have not given a literal explanation of the entire Bible, and impossible to meet a single one who has not, at least, done the same for a part of it. It was the first time that humanity heard the real Word of God explained in masterly style by the most intelligent instructors. When this is well considered, is it surprising that the former intellectual food of mankind was despised and finally set aside for a heavenly aliment, alone able to satisfy the cravings of the mind as well as the aspirations of the heart?

But we must hasten on. Nothing has yet been said of the ignominious death of the old Latin literature, and of the sublime effu-

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sions of the Christian Latin intellectual life that replaced it. As soon as Cyprian, Tertullian, and, a little while after, Lactantius were heard, there were no more any successors to the brilliant writers of the Augustan age. Had we time to do for Rome what has been done so briefly for Greece, the epithet, *ignominious*, which we just gave to the sudden demise of Roman art, would be thought scarcely strong enough. Tacitus, Juvenal, and Pliny, are the only men of note directly after Nero, and they appear floating alone in a sea of deplorable scribblers, who are the six or eight *worthies*—writers on Latin literature differ as to the number—who employed their rare talent on what is called *Historia Augusta*, and who are more or less known under the name of *Scriptores Augustorum?* Except a few facts which would be altogether ignored had they not taken the trouble of using a pen, they might as well have never existed, so far as the intellectual good of mankind is concerned. They lived from Hadrian to Diocletian. This astonishing collapse of so great and powerful a thing, as was the poetry of Virgil and Horace, the historical ability of Livy and Tacitus, the forensic eloquence of Hortensius and Cicero, is a stupendous fact, which has not yet been explained, and probably cannot be.

But see the array of great writers who, after the Church had fed them with her milk, step at once on the stage of the world, and give to Latin literature a new lease of existence for several centuries! To the names of Cyprian and Tertullian, already mentioned, we have to add Arnobius, Minutius Felix, in early times; a little later, Lactantius, Hilary of Poitiers, Vincentius of Lerins, Maximus of Turin, Claudianus Mamertus, Paulus Orosius, and Salvianus of Marseilles, a simple priest, author of numerous works, two of which only we possess: *Adversus Avaritiam* and *De Gubernatione Dei.* With what vigor he speaks of the abuses already creeping into the Church in his time! With what gloomy colors he pictures the devastation of the empire by the barbarians, foretelling clearly, however, its salvation through the Church, and like a prophet predicting that the world would not perish, but would be recalled to life and renewed by the very scourge. These few names of Christian authors would suffice to show the intellectual wealth of the Church in that degenerate age. Yet nothing has been said of the greatest men then living, who, by themselves, would give lustre to a literature in any age, at least when power of mind alone is considered. These were Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. How many geniuses has the world ever produced on a par with Augustine? Perhaps two or three. But how few in our days can even understand and fathom his deep philosophy, his incomparable knowledge of the human heart, his sublime conception of the dogmas of religion, and, what seems however much easier, his melting tenderness for every kind

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of misfortune. As to Jerome, he can be better understood by the men of our age; for he joins to an immense erudition, a prodigious activity of mind, a wonderful power of influencing all classes of men; the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the austere anchorite and the soft and tender virgin or matron; all of them great qualities which chiefly attract the attention in this age, and seem to be highly appreciated by all in this century of steam-power, of active and quick life, of free expansion, and social mixing up of all shades of humanity.

But unable, through want of space, to develop the proofs of the intellectual superiority of the Church over the Greek and Roman world in the fourth and fifth centuries, we must be satisfied here with quoting a few words of Cesare Cantù on the same subject: "One is struck when comparing the strong life, the perfect accord, the harmonious motion then visible in religious society, whilst in the civil world everything was inert, and ran rapidly toward decomposition. We see among the Pagan men of letters, only cold grammarians, loquacious rhetoricians, meagre chroniclers, sickly poets singing nuptial verses or shepherd's idyls; things which can all coexist with servitude and moral depression. Among Christians, on the other hand, there were philosophers, statesmen, orators, agitating the highest questions; and most of those who wrote, were likewise actively engaged in public life; they were bishops, thinkers, men engaged in the politics of those days, devoted at the same time to meditation and action, intent on convincing men and governing them. On this account their writings sometimes show a kind of haste, are composed for the actual circumstances of the day, and solve questions just coming for the first time before the public. Still they are aglow with a freedom and ease perfectly unknown to the Pagan literature of the epoch." We have translated freely, but we think accurately, this remarkable passage of Cantù (Hist. Univ. Sept. Ep., ch. xxi.), which certainly settles the question.

Before concluding this subject a promise must be redeemed, to which a few sentences only can be devoted. The Church, it was said, then showed her intellect not only in the superiority she so soon acquired in the field of Greek and Latin literature; but the same fact strikes us also in cultivated countries outside of the strict limits of the Roman empire. Eastern Syria and Armenia were included in our meaning when the promise was made.

Of the first, whose central seat of culture was Edessa, a single paragraph must contain what could bear a long development. It is all comprehended in this simple but pithy remark: Syriac literature must have existed before Christianity was first planted at Edessa. There was certainly something of the kind in that country, even from the time of the old Assyrian empire. A part of the library

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of those kings, it is known, was transported in our days from the ruins of Nineveh to London and Paris. Still more must this have been the case immediately previous to the Christian era. Every parcel of it, however, has perished; but Christian oratory, poetry, history, in the great Aramæan idiom called Syriac, has left some traces of the perfection which it at once attained, as soon as the Abgar dynasty embraced the Christian religion. This very probably took place directly after the death of Christ, and in Apostolic times. We have yet, at least, the text of the Old and New Testaments in excellent Syriac, published in the East as early at least as Origen gave forth his *Hexapla*, and long before Jerome handed over to the West his precious *Vulgate*. The *Peshito*, as it is called, of the Old and New Testaments, that is the Syriac text of the same, excites at this moment the wonder of learned men, who can scarcely understand this strange phenomenon.

The world has lost the works of Bardesanes, a writer of the second century, which would increase this wonder, had we any considerable portion of them. But the productions of the great Ephrem are yet in existence, some of them at least; and they suffice to give to modern readers some idea of the literary eminence the Church immediately acquired wherever she was solidly established. This much only can be said here.

For Armenia the result is nearly as striking as for Eastern Syria. To be convinced of it the reader has only to consult the first column of the article on "Armenian Literature," contained in Appleton's *American Cyclopedia* (first edition). The writer of it certainly is well acquainted with his subject, and he says with justice, that "the literature of Armenia, until the introduction of Christianity, is contained in a few songs or ballads, which have been collected by Moses of Chorene. . . . . The new faith of the Armenians operated favorably and powerfully on their literature," etc. He might have expressed his idea more clearly and forcibly, had he said that the new faith of the Armenians created for them in full vigor what scarcely existed before, a copious, rich, and immortal literary life, copied from the Greeks at first, but soon putting on the Armenian garb after Mesrole had invented the alphabet of thirty-eight letters, which has been the national one ever since. We regret we can say no more on the subject, but it would be only a repetition of the paragraph on Edessa.

This short sketch of the primitive intellectual superiority of the Church would authorize the assertion that, had it not been for the invasion of the barbarians in the West, and of the Saracens in the East, the mental activity of the Christian Church would have immediately given rise in the world to the richest artistic and literary development that has ever since taken place—a development per-

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haps superior to what the modern nations have produced in Italy, Spain, France, England, and Germany, during the three or four last centuries. But it would be of little profit to expatiate on the subject; as it is, at best, a well-founded conjecture only, and because the barbarians really destroyed at first everything in the West. Our next step, therefore, must be to consider how the Church repaired the evil, and showed her great mind still more powerfully than on the first occasion. This promise has been made; it must be redeemed. Unfortunately, condensation necessitates the lopping off of the legitimate developments which such a mighty subject seems to require.

Many "modern men of intellect"—this was said previously—have thought they rendered a full acknowledgment to the Church for her services to society during the German invasions, from the fifth to the tenth centuries, by admitting, "with a half sneer," that it was the proper thing at the time for Christianity to "speak in a rough tongue to rough peoples;" and this is all she did, as they aver. Have they really studied at all that long process of education which all the nations of Europe had to undergo, in order to reach that summit of high intellect, perfect culture, and encyclopedic knowledge, by which they are now able to rule the world? Or do they imagine that the Church, after having hurriedly baptized them, left them to their own guidance? Guizot has said, we think, that "in France the bishops made the nation." This is an idea as true as grand, but it is not comprehensive enough; for France is not Europe, and the bishops are not the whole Church, although they form, when they have the Pope at their head, the chief and only ruling part of it.

Any one who reads with care a few of the excellent books of history which have been recently written on the origin, first ebullitions of temper, gradual cooling down, settling at last in comparative repose and dignity, of the various European peoples, cannot contemplate without wonder the entrancing spectacle offered to his view and meditation. What prolonged efforts to break and shake off the heavy yoke of feudalism! What energy in spreading more and more the reign of right over that of might! What ardor in bringing out from the former barbarous codes the eternal axioms of law and justice contained in them, no doubt, but buried under the thick envelop of old Pagan cruelty! It took centuries to go through these various steps. But who was all the time guiding the various states of Europe in this painful but glorious career of improvement and well-being?—The Popes, the bishops, and the priests. Take any nation you choose—France, Spain, England, Germany, or Italy—Italy chiefly, which was the first to emerge fully from barbarism, only because she was nearer to the centre of intel-

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lectual life. It was so for all of those nations. Thus we enlarge the ideas of Guizot, and we better express the truth. It is strange that all those modern writers who speak of mediæval times, attribute to the Church whatever was dark in them, whilst she was really, all along, diffusing light and doing away with what was barbarous. This truth is coming out now more prominently from all recent researches, and we intend to din it into the ears of unwilling listeners until they finally bow their heads to the great fact.

It is proper on this subject to consider a few of the most important lines of action followed by the Church for educating fully the Western races of the Old World. In some places, as in France, and perhaps England, it was chiefly the work of the bishops; in some others, as in Italy, and possibly in Spain, it was principally that of the Popes and the monks; in other countries, as in Germany and the North, it was the combined action of the three, without scarcely the pre-eminence of any single class of them. Everywhere, in fact, Popes, bishops, monks, and priests, were busy in the great operation which was to issue in the raising of all those races to the pinnacle of culture and a display of wholesome energy.

Let us see, *firstly*, what amount of influence the Popes and bishops had in shaping the elaborate forms of government which their long-prolonged action educed from the primitive rough feudalism. The Popes as the great moral arbitrators and rulers, the bishops in all European countries as the leaders of the nobility, either in the limitation of the royal power, or in parliamentary discussions, or often in the administration of public affairs as ministers of state, took certainly the lead everywhere. In mediæval history they appear always prominently in the various capacities just enumerated. In a previous article a short allusion was made to the noble part the bishops and monks took in bringing forth into existence the Third Estate, and in raising the peasantry out of serfdom. A reference to it is required, but a very brief one must be sufficient. Nothing was then said of the great influence they had in the abolition of slavery; and this simple reminding word about it must suffice here, since, after the demonstration of the fact by so many eminent writers, no one would now dare to express even a doubt on the subject.

And be it remembered that, in speaking of the shape churchmen gave to the various European governments, we do not intend to allude to those political institutions within the last two or three hundred years. It is well known that, with the rising of Protestantism, absolute rule was gradually substituted in all European states, instead of the really free constitutions which the action of the Church had previously established everywhere. The fact is now too well proved to be even a subject of discussion. From the tenth century down to the sixteenth, Europe, with her parliamen-

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tary debates, her Third Estate rising constantly in consideration, the municipal and altogether self-conducted administration of her cities, her trade-guilds and corporations, was far more free than she has ever been since, even including the present time. If the hateful relics of former feudalism gave rise occasionally to arbitrary power and many abuses, these would have gradually disappeared and become extinct with the total disappearance of the barbarous institution. But it is certain that the free governments alluded to were the work of the Church; feudalism was not. This must suffice on this first point.

The *second bearing* of the Church's action over mediæval Europe regards the manners of the people, who from Burgundian savages, Vandal robbers, Gothic brutes, etc., etc., were to be shaped into the comparatively refined entity known under the name of the Christian people—*populus Christianus.* Take an Italian burgher of the fourteenth century; the most humble subject of Louis IX. in the thirteenth; a Castilian of the lower class, or better still a Navarrese peasant at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the fifteenth; finally, choose well—for the good there was not so promiscuous as in the countries just enumerated—choose well the numerous specimens you can find among the British boors or the German roughs of any of the centuries mentioned a moment ago, and say what amount of care, what unremitting attention, what loving zeal, had been required to produce the change. But in truth, and without the least exaggeration, this care, attention, and zeal had been bestowed by the Church *alone* for the good of the people. To the Church alone, we repeat again, was due the remarkable alteration noticeable in Europe in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

She had used for producing that transformation all the means her heavenly ingenuity could suggest: the beauties of her liturgy, the grandeur of her rites, the sweetness of her songs, the vastness of her holy edifices, the innumerable institutions erected for the alleviation of all possible human miseries. She had done more: she had spoken to the heart of those forlorn beings, and deserved to be called by them their mother, the Holy Church! She had instructed their children; opened schools for them—we do not speak yet of her high institutions of learning;—she had formed their minds, and developed their emotional faculties; and under her tuition all knew, at least, that they had been created to the image of God, and were destined to be happy with him forever in heaven. Those Europeans of our days are most ungrateful who revile the Church after all she has done for their ancestors. Let them remember, even for one single moment, what would have become of them had she been, what they odiously attribute to her, a proud, cunning, calculating, insidious foe of the human race.

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Let them reflect also a little on the kind of language they would now speak had not the Church polished their utterance, and given them the flowing tongues they use. This single item is not without its importance, and alone it would deserve the gratitude of mankind. In the *third place*, the formation of all the rich, melodious, highly philosophical, and sweetly persuasive idioms of modern Europe is certainly owing to the Church's action. This may not, at first sight, appear so certain as what was just shown to have taken place in the formation of the European governments, and in the shaping of the manners of the people. Yet it is certainly true, and the reader will soon be convinced of it. A great fact, much to the honor of the Church in another line, seems to militate against this actual assertion. Was she not mainly instrumental, they say, in spreading everywhere her Latin, and thus opposing the energy of those young races in forming each its own idiom? We answer *yes* to the first part of the proposition, but decidedly *no* to the second.

Christendom was to be a true commonwealth; a universal language was therefore necessary for its unity, and the Latin was the best for such a purpose. And in this the intellectual function of the Church in the forming of Europe—to show which is all along the object of these pages—could not find a better means for the diffusion of knowledge through her universities than the old language of Rome. This will be more clearly seen by and by. But that this militated in the least against the birth of new idioms adapted to the idiosyncrasy of each people is most untrue, as a few words only may show.

How could those new idioms be formed but from some former ones? Men had not yet imagined that languages, constitutions, religions, etc., could be built and fashioned philosophically, as that ridiculous Abbé Sièyes thought he had logically elaborated his own constitution for France, which the first consul, Napoleon, dispatched so handsomely in a few words. New languages are formed gradually from old ones; and unless the young European races preferred to continue to use the barbarous idioms they had brought from the North, it was necessary they should follow the natural process. Just opportunely for this mighty operation the Latin tongue was at hand, out of which every beginner in philology knows that all modern European languages were mainly derived. The best, most appropriate, most noble, and energetic expressions used originally in the German, Scandinavian, or Celtic dialects were carefully preserved, and interwoven with a superabundance of Latin terms to add majesty to the whole. These last generally form the bulk of modern languages, whilst the strong, lucid words of the dialects, just referred to, have also been retained.

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These few words exhibit, we think, satisfactorily the genesis of all our idioms; but it took many centuries to elaborate, complete, and perfect them. Who were the men that did it? They must have been masters of Latin, since this language formed so large an element in the result. They must have been used to write, to compose, to speak, for which objects alone a refined language is required. They must have attached a great importance to whatever bore a literary character. They could, therefore, have been no others than churchmen, because churchmen alone then knew Latin; they alone gave their time to writing, composing, and speaking; they finally were the only persons who attached any importance whatever to literary effort. None of these assertions need proof; and therefore the action of the Church in the formation of modern languages may be looked upon as solidly established.

But there are men who do not easily give way to what is so clear and convincing. They will tell you: "Did not Dante and Petrarca, two laymen, form the Italian language? Did not the writers of the *chansons degeste* form that of France? Did not the *cancioneros* give birth to that of Spain? Did not the early chroniclers do the same for the English?" We might answer that these various men or bodies of men had all been made and instructed and fostered by the Church, to which the honor of the result at last is due. Many of the writers of the *chansons degeste* in France, of the *cancioneros* in Spain, of the early chroniclers in England, must have been churchmen or monks. But we prefer to say succinctly, for there is no room for discussing the question at length, that without the previous slow, persistent, nay, secular action of the Church on society, Dante would not have written his great poem, nor Petrarca his often insipid *rime*. Thus also the epic poets of France, the writers of the romances in Spain, and of the chronicles in England, were merely the natural offspring of the protracted action of the Church. They thus prove precisely our thesis, since they are the special developments of a universal cause at the time, which was nothing else than the laborious and constant efforts of the Christian Church prolonged with diligence during so many centuries. We never intended to say that laymen did not join in the cause. On the contrary, as they also partook of the benefit which was intended for all, it was proper they should show that they had profited by it. What good would the Church have done in laboring so assiduously to form the tongue of Europeans, if Europeans had not finally spoken the tongue which was made for them?

Enough of this. We come finally to the grandest feature of the intellectual action of the Church on mediæval Europe, that is her universities; for no one can deny that the universities were hers, were the work of the Christian Church. They were first planned,

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devised afterwards in all their details, carried out elaborately in all their scientific parts, and fostered forever after by Popes, bishops, and monks. Pity that we have not the space to describe them as they loomed up when they came to be in full operation. All the universities now in existence cannot give the least idea of them. Oxford in England, Tübingen, Halle, etc., in Germany, have been emasculated by Protestantism. For nearly a hundred years they have disappeared entirely from the soil of France; Spain possesses only a shadow of them under her actual bastard institutions; Victor Emmanuel is just now engaged in the very praiseworthy business of destroying them in Italy. A long description would be required to bring them forth to life again on the paper on which we write, with their staffs of professors by hundreds; with their armies of students by twenty or thirty thousands; with their learned discussions of the most important social, moral, and religious questions that can engage the attention of mankind; with their grand days of debate under the direction and in the presence of men who had often published stupendous works which printing has not yet entirely reproduced.

Those were the days when mind ruled, and they have been called Dark Ages! In our time it is really a superhuman work to establish one of those universities. The Church, left to-day somewhat more free than yesterday, is now trying to restore them to life in France, in Belgium, in England, in Ireland. She will succeed, if left perfectly free; but she alone can do it; and modern *Intellectualism* must necessarily fail, because its very principles deny *intellect*, and reduce everything to *matter*. Read from a recent cyclopedia the pithy statistics of Catholic universities before the year of grace 1500. "Before the year 1500 there were in Europe 64 universities, viz., 15 in France, of which after that of Paris, those of Montpellier, Toulouse, and Orleans were the most celebrated . . .; 19 in Italy, one of them, at Salerno, was probably the earliest in Europe, dating from the tenth century . . .; 15 in Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, including those of Vienna, Prague, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic, Louvain, Basil, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen; 9 in Spain and Portugal, including Salamanca, Coimbra, Valladolid, Saragossa, and Alcalà; 2 in England, Oxford and Cambridge; 1 in Poland, at Cracow; 1 in Hungary, at Buda; 1 in Denmark, at Copenhagen, and 1 in Sweden, at Upsal."

By this simple list, it is seen at a glance how completely the Church had taken intellectually possession of Europe. In those eloquent figures we read the fruitful source of the modern power Europe enjoys over the whole world. For in those sixty-four centres of thought there were constantly at work two mighty principles, by which the world must necessarily be governed, namely, Faith and

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Reason. Both must be conjoined together; to separate them is fatal to either; and by the very constitution of those universities, Faith and Reason were more solemnly consecrated as the intellectual queens of the universe.

It is a pity that we can say so little upon so vast a theme. Yet enough after all will be said, if we merely point our finger at the splendid results, in Europe itself, of the fruitful scheme. See at a glance those refined nations that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, just after the invention of printing, and the discovery of India and America, were starting on a career of universal dominion, which might have been such a blessing, had it been confined to the spread of religion and of virtue. Look at Italy, then so brilliant with her innumerable works of art, her magnificent temples, her literature already so rich and noble. Look at Spain, so young and fresh after her struggle of seven hundred years with the Moors, ready to circumnavigate the globe, and plant her flag on all continents and the largest lands. Look at France, recovering from the struggle required to expel the English from her soil, fixing her longing eyes on Italy and Spain, bent only on rivalling them in art, poetry, and enterprise, before Huguenotism came to bring on civil strife. Look on Germany, with the secular prestige of the empire, and proud at the thought that three of her sons had invented a new art for spreading thought. Look on England, finally, still free, before the Tudors had completed their plans for enslaving her, full of energy certainly, even after her sons had been compelled to leave their possessions on the continent and return to their native island home. Look wherever you choose, you find genius, activity, freshness, an overflowing life. And the greatest causes of it all were those centres of intellect, that is, of Faith and Reason, which have been called the Universities; all of them the offspring of the Church, and nourished not only with her milk, but with her highest wisdom which is, in substance, "the light of the Holy Spirit in the world."

But a contradicting voice is heard, and its utterances are plain enough: "This may have been so in the past; at present it is so no longer. Intellectualism is ahead of Theology. The Church has lost most of her control over the men of mind, who spurn her thunders and walk steadily to the spiritual conquest of the world."

It would be strange, indeed, if, after having shown such a complete mastery of mind during so many ages, the Church had really reached the period of dotage, and was obliged to resign the rule of mankind into the hands of her enemies. There has been, it is true, a grand conspiracy against her intellectual power; and at this moment the plot is scarcely kept secret. Everybody knows it by this time; and the day has come to speak plainly on the subject. After we are done, the reader may say, whether the Church is really

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doting in a second childhood, whether the light of the Holy Spirit has departed from her, and left her in darkness; and whether she must give up in despair the hope of defeating the plans of her enemies.

Those plans were at first of the most patent and glaring character. Wherever Protestantism was firmly established, existence itself was denied the Church; much more was all intellectual life refused her with the means of reviving it and keeping it up. This branch of our subject need not detain us long, as the most minute details of the open persecution are known to all. In England and Ireland, in all the Scandinavian States, in a great part of Germany, all the Catholic schools were closed; no Catholic voice could be heard any more in any university; the poorest schoolmaster was not allowed to teach the first elements of knowledge even to children; no book could be written and published by a Catholic on any subject connected in any way with religion; the penal laws by which no Catholic could leave England or Ireland to be educated in any school on the continent are well known. There is no doubt that the Church in those countries lost almost totally her intellectual character. If Intellectualists find in this a fit subject for deriding the Church, they are welcome to it, and we shall not envy the feeling by which they are animated.

But those times are gone, thank God, and another system, worse, perhaps, was set on foot, which must now receive our attention. To give, however, a right understanding of it, a brief sketch of the various downward steps from the birth of the Reformation to our days, is absolutely required; it shall be short, and every word of it can be made good by volumes of documents.

Luther had opened the floodgates of unbelief, which he tried vainly to keep closed, except for the insipid waters of his heresy. Before he died he saw innumerable sects tearing Germany to atoms, and all and each of the former dogmas of Christians attacked. The Germany of our days is the result of it; and a single fact must suffice: in a population of five hundred thousand souls Berlin sees only thirty thousand people going to church on Sundays, and the great majority of these are Catholics, or women.

In England the result was almost the same, but much more gradual. Owing to the coercion which the government employed to keep the Anglican Church alive by parliamentary decrees—owing likewise to the fanaticism of the Puritans, who had a code of belief, to be sure—it was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that open infidelity stalked abroad. But it did so mightily in the works of Bolingbroke, Tyndal, Collins, etc. It was much later on that Wesley stopped up the current of the stream for a time.

Voltaire went to London to receive the doctrine at the beginning

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of the eighteenth century, and returning to France published his *Lettres sur les Anglaise*, the first of his openly anti-religious pamphlets. Then he began to surround himself with disciples, and the sect of philosophers, so well known in our days, began its career of religious devastation. As Catholicism, however, was yet strong in France, hypocrisy was required, and thus the mighty effort *to spread light* became a *dark plot.* The patriarch of the sect being a literary man, devoted to the beauties of the classics, being surrounded moreover by refined classicists, all his policy consisted in making the Church appear vulgar, ridiculous, and *infamous. Ecrasez l'infâme* became his war cry. To think that twelve fishermen of Galilee, with their absurd successors, had led the world intellectually during so many ages, made his blood absolutely curdle in his veins. He wanted to show that he and his band of philosophers had more intellect than the Church ever had. That project of his is well known. It was the first time that a word was uttered, outside of the sloughs of Protestantism, against the brilliancy of mind that had always glowed in the Church; and this word was uttered just the day after the burial of Bossuet and Fénélon in France, and when the rather too refined Massillon was yet alive.

The reader knows what floods of obloquy, falsehood, outrageous calumny, began to be poured out, under the name of wit, all over France and Europe. This was the first war of modern Intellectualism against Christianity. The name of Europe has just been added to that of France. Why so? Because it unfortunately happened that the French language was then understood and even spoken all over Europe; in Russia, where it was the only polished tongue; in Germany, where Frederic II. surrounded himself with all the stray French philosophers he could catch—not even spurning the low materialist, Le Mettrie, who died *gloriously* of an indigestion, after having eaten at supper an entire *pâté de faisan aux truffles;* in Italy, where the French language has always been universally known; in Spain, and all the Spanish-American States, where it began then to furnish the fashionable reading-matter for the higher class of society. In nearly all those countries it began to be taken for granted that the Old and New Testaments were absurd tales; the rule of the Church at all times a degrading despotism; Christian literature a low and grovelling attempt at prose and verse; Christian art even not worthy to be looked at in comparison with the beauties of Boucher, the lewd painter, and David, the Pagan artist. In criticism, history, archæology, the philosophers were *grand.* When they spoke on these subjects in their *Encyclopédie* of more than one hundred large quarto volumes, they showed how everything was false in Scripture—Tom Paine has told us something of it—ridiculous in the chronicles of the mediæval monks, and fabulous in the old

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traditions, which they asserted modern archæology had demonstrated to be false. This was the first sublime explosion of the glorious Intellectualism arrayed against the heaven-directed mind of the Church.

Unfortunately for the philosophical system, recent researches are proving every day more and more clearly that Scripture is true in all its details; that the annals chronicled by the mediæval monks are much more safe to follow than the romances of the historians of the eighteenth century; and the most critical archæology of our days revindicates all the ancient traditions of mankind.

As this was beginning to appear, the modern intellectualists changed their tactics. They suddenly discarded philological criticism, the noble recitals of ancient history, and the hoary ruins studied by archæologists, and they turned all their attention to natural science—geology, zoology, embryology, hybridism, etc., etc.—in fact all the great physical branches of knowledge studied in the light of evolutionism; and they boldly declared that these sciences alone could form the real appanage of the human intellect and rule the world. At the same time they proclaimed the most radical antagonism between their high intellectualism and the commonrate mind of the Christian Church. This antiquated, discrowned queen must clearly abdicate her former proud position, and leave her throne to her yet prouder enemy. At the same moment the beautiful conditions for peace, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, are presented to her with solemnity: "Let the Christian priest teach his catechism in his church, and leave the rest, chiefly the schools, to me!"

Our promised sketch is nearly done. But, unaccountably, one of the most important features of it was left out, which must still be briefly portrayed. It happened that, just when Voltaire brought over from England his philosophy, Lord Derwentwater and Ramsay fetched also from the same country the first system of Freemasons' lodges, invented originally in the interest of Jacobitism. The new philosophers saw directly the immense advantages they would derive from such a machinery as this. France was soon covered with associations of this kind, and, although laws were enacted by the State against them, they continued to flourish with the connivance of the magistrates, who soon began to be, in great number, both philosophers and Freemasons. This is well ascertained in our day.

We would not attempt to write a history of this dark conspiracy against religion and the state, which culminated in the first French Revolution, nor give the positive programme of its aspirations. Many things, no doubt, have been ascribed to it which may have been the aim of individual Freemasons, not of the whole sect. But

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one thing is certain, namely, that it would require an overdose of simplicity to refuse to believe that a powerful party was organized more than a hundred years ago, one of whose chief objects was directed against the power of the Church in the intellectual as well as in the social and political line. The intention of the conspirators was certainly to substitute their own powerful organization as a guide of society to that of the Church. They wanted absolutely to be the head, the mind, the directing agent of the intellectual world; so that the new being which they wished to bring forth would henceforth be created after their own image, certainly not after that of God. The man would surely be a simpleton who would deny that most of the results achieved so far against the Church as the ruler of mankind, were due to that party, and that at this moment it is more powerful than ever.

This being well understood, it is proper to dismiss from our view all its other past and recent achievements, and concentrate our attention on the actual phase of modern intellectualism as one of its pet measures and chief concerns. The party having undoubtedly immense ramifications in all modern governments, finds docile under its hand the machinery of law-making, as well as that of the execution of the laws. To this must be added the control of the press, which, in many countries, is almost altogether under the control of Freemasonry. Outside of the government circle there is in our days the great scientific circle, which, as stated above, has replaced the philosophical sectarian system of the last century in point of intellectualism. It is not our intention to do Freemasonry the honor of ascribing to it any of the modern discoveries due to the scientists of our time. But as, unfortunately, there cannot be any doubt that many of these learned men have openly declared themselves against Revelation, and pronounced for a complete antagonism between their doctrines and those of the Church, Freemasons are not slow in making the best of it for their own party, and in clamoring aloud for science against religion.

Look, therefore, calmly at the position of the Church, alone and almost defenceless, with such odds as these against her. Often the ordinary newspapers announce to us that in this country or in that the legislature is elaborating such and such laws directed against "clericalism." This is now the word. Another telegram acquaints us with the fact that the cabinet of ministers in such and such countries is busy taking measures against "Vaticanism"—another word of the same import. We learn, without any surprise, that here or there bishops are imprisoned, or exiled from their sees; or, oftener yet, some quiet house of Brothers, or of nuns, is closed and the inmates sent adrift. All this is evidently done with the intention of spreading light and circumscribing the kingdom of darkness. In

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a very different, but as brilliant a sphere, the same daily news report at full length the Belfast addresses, or scientific congress debates; or, better still, pungent lectures on astronomy, besides new books on the great *Doctrine of the Descent of Man*, etc., etc. (see London *Tablet*, April 8th and 15th, 1876). Indeed, we are swimming in the full tide of Intellectualism!

To render the aspect of things more interesting still, see the mighty means of diffusion, rapid communication, and universal sway, possessed by this new god of the modern world. Count, if you can, the daily papers, the weekly and monthly magazines, the quarterly reviews, the pictorial folios, and the innumerable volumes that issue from the press in every country under the sun, so that you could scarcely read every week the catalogue merely of them all. After having tried such a calculation, enumerate on your fingers the means of enlightenment of the same kind which the Church enjoys, and tremble for the dread result! See, moreover, that if a brave word is uttered for her, if a speech comes out from the mouth of some of her eloquent children, if a book breathing the spirit of faith, and able to convince some vacillating soul, is finally published after a world of difficulties, see, we repeat, what reception this brave word, this eloquent speech, this sprightly book, receives in the *world of letters*, as they used formerly to call it. Who can even know that such word, speech, or book, has received the gift of existence? What publisher will consent to give the book a place on his catalogue? Unless you go yourself to post the notice of it down along the curbstones of the streets and avenues of cities, who will ever become acquainted with such a paltry fact?

But these are merely straws which show how the wind blows. It is time to come to a design more striking yet, and give to the great policy of the age a tittle, at least, of the development it deserves. The plot, of which a word only has been said, concentrates all its strength on *one* measure, which at this moment all the governments of the world, and the great scientific and teaching bodies existing in all nations, try to carry out, fully this time and radically, so as to have finally done with it. It is the wresting from the grasp of the Church the power, and even the possibility, of teaching men, and transferring it in its entirety to the State alone and forever. They want to kill outright the last spark of intellect in the great organization which has in truth created the European mind. Will they ever succeed? Certainly not, as it will soon be easy to show; but it is time to unveil the conspiracy in all its nakedness, that all Catholics, at least, knowing it, may conceive for it the contempt it deserves.

In Catholic countries—the Protestant States are for the moment

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out of the question—the Church enjoyed her inherent right of teaching until the last century. It may be said that one hundred years ago all the schools were directed by her, as she had established them all. But Gallicanism in France, Jansenism in Italy, where it was openly favored by all the secular princes, which never took place in France; above all, Febronianism in Germany, adopted openly by Austria; by giving to civil governments in church affairs an undue preponderance, began to transfer to statesmen a part at least of the influence enjoyed exclusively by the Church in teaching. But the origin of the radical state control which is now aimed at in all countries, dates from the dark days of the Convention in France, which prepared the absolute state monopoly introduced without any opposition by Napoleon I. This requires some details, which cannot but throw a flood of light on what is now called the School question.

The astonishing result of the expansion of light brought out by the French philosophers, when their intellectual efforts culminated in the Revolution, was the sudden and total abolition of all the establishments of education in France. Wonderful indeed! But it is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. From the French Academy, from all the great academies of sciences, of inscriptions and belles-lettres, etc.; from the fifteen universities then in full sway over the whole extent of the country; from the numerous colleges open to all—for they were all free of expense—in the chief cities of the kingdom, down to the innumerable schools supported by municipal corporations, and village or township committees; all went down at a crash. There remained only a few sickly private pay-schools, whose *instituteurs* had to live, and could not find any other means of support. This was the great final result of what was called previously the first war of modern Intellectualism against the supreme mind of the Church; the pure and simple extinction of all light.

The Convention promised, of course, to replace education on a much nobler and more rational basis than formerly; but during all its terrible reign of three years nothing was done except the spasmodic effort of hearing a few reports on the subject by such men as the Abbé Grégoire, calling himself Bishop of Loir-et-cher. The Pentarchy, called the *Directoire*, attempted to do something in that line. We will not take the trouble of going through its scheme, which deserved nothing but contempt. It is certain that if Napoleon had not stepped on the great stage of France, education in that country would have been a nonentity, and the people would have speedily returned to barbarism. But, after ten long years of total darkness succeeding to the bright realm of light, whose rule the Church had established and fostered for so many centuries, the

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First Consul, as he was then called, saw the necessity of *borrowing* something of the former splendor, that France might not remain in the frightful obscurity of a "Dark Age" indeed. Napoleon, therefore, re-established the former great *académies*, mostly under different names—the whole system was called *l'Institut de France.* He created the great Polytechnic school, due entirely to his particular views. It may be said that in doing this he gave birth to *scientism.* (They say "scientists," why not "scientism?") From that great central establishment in Paris radiated certainly the cultivation of sciences, as they are called, all over the world. Instead of the fifteen former universities created by the Church, the new ruler of France launched into existence a huge body called *l'Université de France*, composed of two vast establishments for higher instruction in Paris, and of all the colleges which he opened, or which were to be afterwards opened all over the country. The schools of law and medicine formed a distinct branch, which in course of time became inadequate to the needs of the country.

But all these creations, or *restaurations* under a new name, were altogether creatures of the state, and no individual could open a college, no corporation could set on foot any academic institution of whatsoever character, because the government monopolized in reality all the branches of education, except the primary schools, which Napoleon had not time to bring under the full control of the state. He was so jealous of this state teaching, that, having restored religion, and being obliged consequently to allow the bishops to have theological seminaries of their own, he did not let them have in their establishments teachers of classics, belles-lettres, and rhetoric; but all the pupils of the ecclesiastical seminaries who pursued these preparatory studies, had to go twice a day to the *Lycée* of the place, there to receive from state teachers lessons in Latin, Greek, and oratory. No one dared to utter a word against such a monstrous organization of the most complete intellectual despotism, because he was the master, and every one else had to submit. He had, moreover, rendered such a service by restoring order and bringing back to life the education of youth, completely dead before, that any one raising his voice against his plans would have been thought to be an enemy of France.

But, unfortunately, the system appeared too favorable to government in general to be abandoned by those who succeeded Napoleon after his downfall. The Bourbons kept jealously the same plan, with some very slight modifications; and, when the revolution of 1830 took place, the government of Louis Philippe was very careful to preserve in all its prerogatives the precious body called *l'Université de France.* It is known that, the new charter of rights having promised freedom of education, as soon as Montalembert,

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Lacordaire, Gerbet, and their friends, clubbed together to open, as a test in Paris, a small primary school, the new Chamber of Peers, sitting as a court, because Montalembert belonged to that body, closed the school, and fined the teachers.

This long digression was necessary, because the same system which has begun to break down in France spreads now all over Europe. In the new empire of Germany it exists in all its rigidity; in Austria the case is not very different; in Italy the government of Victor Emanuel is gradually introducing it; Spain, of course, could not fail to follow so many bright examples; and the States of South and Central America, not excluding the delightful republic of Hayti, are the most ardent in the race towards this brilliant goal of enlightenment and culture. In England, where there is yet a vigorous and sturdy feeling of the former liberty, it cannot be denied that lately national schools, and queen's colleges, and many new schemes of the kind, smell strongly of the modern universal plot. In this country alone—God be blessed for it—superior education at least has not been touched by the State, and the former freedom can yet be enjoyed in full. The reader knows that the same cannot be said altogether of the common education of the people in what is called public schools; to which, however, the objection against the modern European system does not apply, as no one is deprived of the faculty of opening rival establishments of any kind. The only question that has ever been raised regards purely and simply their support, which we are not called upon to treat of in these pages.

We can, therefore, openly proclaim that these United States have not joined in the universal conspiracy which it is our purpose to unveil and discuss. Individuals certainly have embraced the cause of *secularism*, as it is called; but not the State thus far. God be praised for it; and with joy we absolve this country of participating in the guilt.

But see "modern intellectualism" everywhere else triumphant; and consider for a moment what the conspirators aim at doing, but how in fact they are limited in their power. A consoling word must follow on the probability of the final success of the Church in grasping again the intellectual reins of the world, to guide it, as formerly, in the road of true progress and culture.

Suppose that education, instruction, culture, enlightenment—whatever name you choose to give to the development of mind in the world—has been entirely secularized. That is, suppose that the State alone, and the scientists as the instruments of the State, monopolize entirely the right of forming the mind of mankind. The clericals, that is, the Church, is entirely in the background. She yet can teach the catechism, but only in her churches, not in a

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school; she can in fact have no schools. The system is generalized which was attempted once in the west of France, to the writer's personal knowledge—and the thing is too good not to say at least a word on it. A law had just been passed forbidding any one not authorized by the State giving any instruction whatever, excepting only, as to religion, clergymen in their churches. A poor peasant woman in Brittany, either not hearing of the law or not caring for it, continued to do what she was doing before, namely, teaching in her peasant's hut a few children to learn their prayers, something of their catechism, and perhaps their a, b, c. A schoolmaster of the neighborhood, a great intellectualist, an ardent supporter of the laws of the State, actually denounced her, had her fined, and the door of her cottage closed against the coming of the children!

Suppose, we say, this beautiful system to be legalized and enforced in the whole Christian world. It is certainly towards the realization of such a plan as this that the whole bent of legislation is tending everywhere, under the inspiration, no doubt, of Freemasons' lodges. Let the question be fairly put: What kind of people will you have in three or four centuries hence? We reply without hesitation: either idiotic herds, or frightful hordes of savages. Yes, we dare maintain that the portion of the people born with a mild or phlegmatic temper will be reduced to idiocy; and those naturally of a fiery and passionate disposition will become ferocious beasts. It is not difficult to prove it. By a settled purpose, well understood by all, and not denied by the designers of the project, religion is to be excluded from having any control over mankind. If religion preserved any of her former control the plan would completely fail; no one, consequently, can be surprised at the pertinacity with which the priest is to be locked up in his church with the insignificant flock foolish enough to go to him. How many will consent to belong to that despised category of men anathematized by science, and cut off from the great Church of the intellect? The greatest part of mankind, therefore, will not care for religion, and will be publicly encouraged to despise it. What kind of people can you have in such a godless society, not in two centuries hence, as we said a moment ago, but in fifty years from this time?

There are, thank God, for the peace of mankind, a great number of people born under a happy star, whose nervous system is very inactive, their muscular structure flaccid or stunted, their imagination torpid, their temperament, in fine, more or less lymphatic. When built up by religion, which develops, they say, the emotional faculties—we are bound to use the language of the Intellectualists, which is not here absolutely absurd—there arises in them gradually a curious activity, giving them, in fact, nerve and life, under the

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influence of the sense of *duty*, a strange word, to which they then pay a great deal of attention. Their muscular structure from flaccid becomes gently rounded and pleasant to be looked at by good people; for religion secures fast their chastity, which is always the mother, not of beauty alone, but chiefly of strength. So, likewise, their imagination, step by step, rises towards heaven, because religion *foolishly* teaches them to believe in angels and saints, chiefly in a bright Being transcending all terrestrial and celestial beauties, except God. So, finally, their temper, from lymphatic, which it was, warms up, and is enriched by the blending of all amiable qualities. In a Christian commonwealth, the great number of nuns in convents, of good mothers of families surrounded habitually by many cheerful children, the great mass, even of those of the sterner sex who are numbered among useful citizens, is certainly composed of this first class of mankind. But our actual purpose is not to see in detail what religion does for them; it is rather to examine what would be the effect of the contrary system upon them. Is it an exaggeration to say that idiocy would be their lot?

If you suppose religion absent from the education of such people, what must be the natural, inevitable result? *First*, morality is nonsense for them, or at least is very loose, and without fixed principles; the sense of *duty* remains undeveloped, since its necessary sanction—the judgment of God—is removed out of sight. *Duty* is an empty word, which they invariably suppose to be synonymous with *task*. It is very wrong to confound the two. They think of duty, consequently, as little as they can, and thus their whole moral soul remains inactive. It is very unwise to think that the education of the common school and the ubiquitous daily journal can supply the place of the ten commandments. These may create an interest of unwholesome curiosity or appetite, not foster, in the least, moral feelings. *Secondly*, their muscles being fed only by bread and beef, and not receiving any shape from the soul itself, which must be, however, the *forma corporis*, remain gross, flaccid, as previously stated, bloated, if not stunted; and, since chastity is out of the question in the present case, how could there be beauty and strength? You will have there a mass of matter perfectly fit to lodge the soul of an idiot; especially since, in the *third* place, imagination must necessarily remain uncreated or unborn in such a being. There may be in those forlorn animals a kind of *imagining*, like that of a dog when he sees a bone; but you will never see on their faces the upward look towards heaven which is natural to the Christian, even of the lowest class; you will never see their eyes bathed with tears, when looking toward the west at sunset, or toward the morning star before sunrise. How could you, since for them there is no heaven, with its angels, and saints, and glorious Queen?

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Still, not a word has been said of the unspeakable degradation which is too often the lot of that miserable class. Read something at least of what has been said in many books, of the wretched condition of Pagan savages. Are they not idiots, when not ferocious beasts? And it is precisely by the exclusion of the true religious and moral element that the "uncivilized races," as they are called, have been reduced to that unfortunate state. If you think that in a nation comprising a notable number of refined individuals, such a condition of humanity cannot exist, go to London, go to Berlin, go even to Paris with its *communards*, and tell me the result of your observation!

But we must hasten on, and turn to the *second* class, of which not a word has yet been said. It was stated, that in refusing to religion the guidance of mankind, in sending her ignominiously to the background and placing the reins of the world in the hands of modern Intellectualism, that portion of the population which is naturally of a fiery and ungovernable temper would be turned into a troop of wild beasts. There is no need of a long demonstration to make this evident. Every sane man admits that religion alone can tame such animals; and that if her holy rule is totally discarded, society must return to the state of that *refined* Paganism when Aristotle declared that slavery was absolutely necessary. And, mind you, the slavery he spoke of was that of the greatest part of the white race prostrate at the feet of the few. The reason the mighty philosopher could give was convincing: the majority of mankind left to itself cannot be governed except in the most strict servitude. There is no space to say more; yet the field, which must be left here unexplored, is immense.

But how can the modern Intellectualists boast of their ability to rule mankind intellectually? Do they imagine that they can form a new and happy society by the means at their command? What are those means? "Instruction," they say, "spread by the thousand channels which science and art now supply." We understand. They will multiply indefinitely their colleges, great and small, all under the rule of the State, and teaching merely *scientism*, that is, physics and sociology. They will print by the million their "Popular Science Monthlies," their "Atlantic Magazines," their "Westminster Reviews," etc. Let it be well understood: it is a question of giving a new shape to mankind by such means as these. But they can thus at best reach only the lettered class. Without inquiring what sort of "lettered class" they can form, we merely say that this is not mankind. Have they ever reflected on the task they undertake? They must evidently be told what they must undertake and accomplish, if they wish to be successful. They must establish everywhere normal-apostolic-seminaries of Intellectualism. All

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the members of those establishments, without any interest of their own, but only for the common good, must devote themselves to a life of hardship, followed often by an ignominious death. The messengers of the new Gospel must then place themselves individually in contact with every possible class of humanity, chiefly with the lowest and most forlorn, which is always the most numerous. They must win the hearts of all by the purest charity, and cover the world with establishments of every kind, in which speculation will never enter, but which will be entirely devoted to the universal good. They must form, consequently, armies of monks and nuns of "Intellectualism." This is the only means of embracing mankind in its entirety. This is what the Catholic Church has always done, and is now doing. They know it well, but they CANNOT do it, because they have NOT the required disinterestedness. None can have it but those who have drunk of it from the side of Christ on the cross. The idea could be developed indefinitely. The reader must take upon himself the task of going through this work in his thoughts. But the result of it all is that the success of the new way of guiding mankind will be a total failure, and as the Catholic Church is the only body that has always known the secret of it, and submitted cheerfully to all the most painful conditions of it, her success at this moment is as certain as the fact that the sun will rise to-morrow.

See, if you please, on which side are true intellectual ventures and intellectual profits, to use a phrase well known to merchants. The ventures of the Church are not assorted cargoes of silks, teas, or dry goods; they are not rural villages built in lovely spots for the benefit of the humble classes, but also for that of the contriver; they are not "Northern Pacific Railroads" whose profits *must be* commensurate with their length. They are far more precious than all the costly machinery by which are set on foot the gigantic enterprises which in our days astonish the world, and are expected to enrich it with an untold wealth.

The ventures of the Church are merely composed of the souls of numerous devoted servants, but not to be despised in the "intellectual line." Here are some of them:

1st. A hierarchy of noble men, having no other object in view but "the Church"—that is, regenerated mankind; anointed by God Himself to rule spiritually and govern the world; each of them having a portion of the globe as his special department, and deputed in the place of Christ to see that every individual of it, even the most degraded and despised, is truly *redeemed* and prepared for heaven. When one of these noble men dies, another is found to replace him, so that the number is always full; it increases even as the waste places previously left fallow are cultivated and

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made capable of bearing fruit. This is the first venture of the Church, for it is a real *venture*—that is, an expense of intellectual capital, which must be profitable or not, according as it is well or badly managed. In the hands of the Church it is always immensely profitable, because always well managed, being directed by the Spirit of God.

2d. Under the hierarchy you have a large army of powerful workmen, who are at this moment more active than ever. These are the men who know how to speak or write so as to attract the attention of mankind, and in the end win their cause. Some of them belong to the hierarchy, some to the priesthood, some, and occasionally the best, are simple laymen; but all have received a gift far superior to that of mere science of the physical order chiefly, since that gift has always been the very one which the world itself praises and admires above all others. St. Paul had it eminently. An infinite number of men in the Church have attracted by it the plaudits even of the world. Does any one imagine that we are deprived of it in this age? Then he does not know what is going on all around him in the whole universe. Let him listen to the voices coming from France, from Germany, from Spain, from Italy, even now from England, Ireland, and this country. They cannot be named individually in these pages; the list would be too long. But they are well known, because they are public men indeed. They may be incarcerated or exiled in Germany and Switzerland; fined for their boldness in Italy, according to law; misrepresented and ridiculed in other countries by scribblers of the opposite camp; they continue unflinchingly their noble work, and show much more real intellect than all modern Intellectualism can boast of. Do you think, for instance, that Count de Mun, in France, will sit down and keep his peace if his case, pending now in *committee*, is decided against him, as it is very likely it will be? He will find many other rostrums to speak from besides that of the republican assembly in Versailles. Do you suppose that, because Mallinkrodt, in Germany, is dead, nobody will succeed to his place and his *rôle* in the Berlin Reichsrath? Gentlemen of the intellectual order, be persuaded at last that the Catholics of this age have a tongue like you, lungs as powerful as yours, more mind perhaps, and certainly more belief in heaven, which last thing must necessarily win the day.

But there is a third venture of the Church, not so indispensable perhaps as the first two are, but extremely powerful in its way, and to which the world must bend, and in fact does bend the knee. It is that immense army of virgins which have always formed the most precious crown of the Church, and which at this moment is more numerous certainly, and whose blossoms exhale a sweeter perfume

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perhaps than they ever did. Did the Intellectualists ever reflect on the strange fact, that, in this very year of our Lord 1876, the number of Nuns and Sisters of all Orders in France alone is more than double what it was when the convents were closed in 1790? What hope can the "men of intellect" entertain of seeing that innumerable covey of multi-colored birds disappear from our fields and our sky, when they at this moment swarm in France at such rate, so soon after having been all caught in the legislative net of 1790 and throttled? And yet, unless the Intellectualists destroy the brood—as they call it—they cannot expect to rule mankind, which will always prefer "the gentle rule of the Sisters" to theirs. Did not Thaddeus Stevens, a hoary sinner and a most influential leader of the Republican party in the United States, ask and receive on his death-bed, from a simple-minded Sister of Charity, the words of faith and the waters of Baptism? Did not Sister Rosalie, in Paris, dispose as she wished of the whole cabinet of ministers, including that of the police, and this under the reign of Louis Philippe, in France? Who could refuse to bow to that holy influence when such miracles of grace as these are performed in this cold age? Yes, our power to rule will always be greater than that of science, because it reaches the heart, which science cannot do.

We could go on indefinitely on the subject, but we must refrain. After having seen, however, a few of the *ventures* of the Church, a word must be said of her *profits*, that unreflecting people may not imagine that all these are for her on the wrong side of the *ledger*. The profits in a clever and attentive merchant's books are either certain and well defined in the balance-sheet, or, when the commercial operations are not yet completed, they are regarded only as probable.

Let us look at both as they stand on the Church's books. Those that are certain and well defined are succinctly and clearly in black and white: 1st. A constant increase of the children of the Church going on uninterruptedly, so that even her adversaries are obliged to confess that she has lost nothing, or rather that she has gained in numbers, in spite of their plots, attacks, and blows. How much higher we stand than two hundred millions, no one can say. 2d. A very sensible addition, in our age, of men of real intellect to her ranks in all countries; in England certainly, in France to a very remarkable extent, in Germany wonderfully, in Italy and Spain undoubtedly, in this country and the rest of the world increasing by slow, it is true, yet gradual steps. In fact, the point mainly insisted upon in these pages, namely, the diminution of her control over men of intellect, referred mostly to the former time of her universal sway as described in a previous article. But to-day we have certainly gained over yesterday; and the progression seems to be steady.

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3d. The hierarchy of the Church, enumerated among the *ventures*, can be classed likewise among the *profits* by the important change which has certainly happened in this age. Look at its actual unity under the Supreme Pastor; consider its efficiency, tenacity, and oneness of purpose. The long history of the Church has never before witnessed anything of the kind. See what the Church was, in that regard, at the time of Arianism, in the feudal ages, even under the late monarchies of Europe one and two hundred years ago; and compare with it her present state. With this alone, adding a numerous and devoted clergy working under their rulers, you have an imperishable Church independently of any other cause. What a gain and profit over former times! 4th, and last. The ground is clear, a most important circumstance, and a great source of advantage for the Church. The side-issues are dead; the questions are well defined: God, or no God; soul in man, or mere matter, Christianity, or Nihilism, etc. The State, it is true, is breaking loose from the Church, but the Church is at least very near being free from any entanglements with the State. It is an immense loss to the State, but a much less one for the Church. She can say openly: "I do not put my trust in princes;" and by this time she knows that they are not trustworthy; an immense profit in our opinion.

After speaking of the certain gains, the enumeration of the probable ones, which are not yet clearly defined because the transactions are not yet ended, would carry us too far just now. The reader may count them on his ten fingers, and examine them well in his mind. Meanwhile, although the prospect is really not so dark as it appeared at first, none of us ought to fall into apathy, thinking that the sky is becoming clearer of its own accord, and will go on becoming brighter and brighter without any exertion of ours. What good there is, is the result of immense, of gigantic efforts; and without the continuance of the same under the grace of God, the guidance of the world might fall into the hands of those who are now so eager to grasp it. Woe to the world if this should ever happen! But we Christians cannot fear it; we can rely entirely on the promises which the God-man made to His Church: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against her."

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HOMERIC TROY: ITS SITE AND REMAINS.

The Site of Homeric Troy. By Dr. Henry Schliemann. 4to. London: 1875.

Troy and its Remains. By the same Author (edited by Philip Smith, B. A.). 8vo. London: 1875.

Homeric Synchronism. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. London: 1876.

THE interest which must ever attach to the great epic poems of the Iliad and the Odyssey, partly from their own intrinsic and unsurpassed excellence, partly from the impenetrable mystery in which both their date and their authorship are involved, has been greatly enhanced by the late discoveries of Dr. Henry Schliemann in exploring the site of Hissarlik in the plain of Troy —a site which he very confidently identifies with the Ilium of the Homeric poems. "The hill, Hissarlik," he contends, "in the plain of Troy, answers exactly to the site which both Homer and Plato assign to Ilium."[1] It was close to, and seems to have formed the Pergamus or Acropolis of the Greek town of Ilium, said to have been founded by the Lydians; and Dr. Schliemann confidently asserts that "in all antiquity it was considered as a certainty that the Ilium of the Greek colony occupied the very site of the Homeric Ilium, and until the second century B. C. nobody ever doubted the identity of the two cities."[2] He appeals to the rather vague account of Herodotus (vii. 43) of the visit of Xerxes to the site of "Priam's Pergamus,"[3] and to the obscure statement in Iliad xx. 215, that "Sacred Troy had not yet been built in the plain" when the Dardanians—we must suppose the poet meant at some period of purely traditional and very remote antiquity—"as yet dwelt on the lower slopes of watery Ida." He adds, that the distance of Hissarlik from the sea, two and a half miles, is about the measure required by the general action of the Homeric poems.

There is, however, still another site, much further from the sea

[1] The site of the Homeric Troy, by Dr. H. Schliemann, 4to., p. 9.

[2] Strabo, xiii. 1, § 35, appears to be an advocate of the opinion of Demetrius of Scepsis, who thought the site of the Homeric Troy was to be sought for in a village some three miles southwards of Hissarlik, called Ἰλιέων κώμη.

[3] Mr. Blakesley in his note on the passage suggests that this phrase is used in contradistinction to the hill-fort which was afterwards made the acropolis to the town of Lysimachus. It is more likely that Herodotus did not know where "Priam's Pergamus" really was; or, indeed, that the story about the visit of Xerxes and the sacrifice of one thousand oxen is a mere fable. How little the statements of the historian can be trusted has been shown by Mr. Cox in his History of Greece *passim*.

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(the Hellespont), *i. e.*, not less than ten miles, and much nearer to Ida, viz., the small town on a height near the modern Bunarbashi, which has been considered on many grounds to have the strongest claims to be the true site of the Homeric Pergamus and Ilium. Dr. Schliemann, however, after others, explored this site, and found nothing but some small "Cyclopean" walls, which he says "cannot be older than the fifth century B. C.;" and he adds,[1] "An inscription I found in 1873 shows that this little town was Gergis."

Nevertheless, the claims of this locality to be the "true site" (the expression, of course, assumes a much controverted position that there really was such a city as the "Ilium" of Homer) are not dismissed quite so easily as Dr. Schliemann would wish. He does not appear to have read a most important and elaborate work, illustrated by numerous plans and engravings, "The Geography of the Troad," by Sir William Gell. In that work it is shown that the locality, with its proximity to Ida and its numerous adjacent burrows, sufficiently well accords with the Homeric scenery, and that the hot and cold springs mentioned in Iliad xxii. 147–155, still exist not far from it, and are even still used as πλυναί, washing-troughs, by the inhabitants. Now Dr. Schliemann says there are only "forty cold springs at the foot of the heights of Bunarbashi;"[2] and he adds that the Scamander "rises from a cold and a hot spring in a valley near the summit of Ida, and, after a course of thirty-six miles, issues into the Hellespont." He casually mentions, what is by no means an unimportant fact, that "before it (Gergis) are three conical tombs, one of which was excavated by Sir John Lubbock." The Homeric tumuli (of Achilles, Ilus, Aesyetes, Myrina), he admits, are not to be seen in his site of Hissarlik, and, of course, he concludes (p. 6) that "they have altogether disappeared," with the exception of one, now known as "Pacha-Tépé," still standing about a mile due south of Hissarlik, which he identifies as the tumulus of Batiea or the Amazon Myrina.[3]

Without wishing in any way to disparage or undervalue the really important discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, which have an antiquarian interest and value of the very highest kind, we feel bound to say, that he conducted his researches with a preconceived conviction that Hissarlik, and that alone, could be and must be the

[1] On the Site of Troy, p. 10.

[2] The Site, etc., pp. 2, 9.

[3] Troy and its Remains, p. 198. See Iliad, ii. 813. The "vexed question" of the true site of Troy has been discussed by Mr. Gladstone in chap. i. of his Homeric Synchronism so fully that it is the less needful to enlarge upon it in the present paper. In this, as in most of the points which we have ventured to controvert, *e.g.*, in the early date and historical character of the Homeric poems, Mr. Gladstone supports the views of Dr. Schliemann, except that he is willing to place the date at a period even considerably earlier, and only "half a century after the Trojan war" (p. 10).

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Homeric Troy. "After having obtained on the heights of Bunarbashi many negative proofs, I minutely examined the whole plain of Troy, and became convinced that the site of the Homeric Ilium could not possibly be anywhere else than on the Ilium of the Greek colony, and this in accordance with the common opinion in all antiquity. To my mind Priam's Pergamus was hidden in the depths of Mount Hissarlik."[1] From that moment everything was converted into an argument favoring his view. He never seems to doubt that Homer described a real town, or to reflect that if *any* ancient city existed in the Troad, to which a tradition attached of a siege and a fight, a poet, who had visited the Troad, or who knew something of the plain of Troy even from others who had, would be morally certain to dress it up with a living reality in accordance with the general facts. The city, or succession of cities, unearthed from the soil of Hissarlik, may have been even wholly obliterated in his day, and yet the poet of the Iliad may have described in the most graphic and plausible manner its towers and walls and Scæan gates, and given detailed accounts[2] of royal palaces that never existed but in his own imagination. That the legends should agree that Troy was taken and burned, and that the city of ancient date from which Dr. Schliemann recovered so much treasure should have exhibited marks of fire, is a coincidence of very commonplace kind. Old cities were, as far as the houses were concerned, mostly built of wood, and their destruction by fire was almost a matter of certainty in the event of capture. The excavations of Mr. Layard at Nineveh showed that fire had been the agent of destruction. If then Hissarlik was the site—and we can no longer doubt it—of a very ancient, if not very populous or important city or series of cities in the Troad, it does not in the least follow that the account in the Iliad is anything but the reflection of a tradition, or that it contains even a particle of historic truth or reality.

The question is mainly, whether the poet made up his (perhaps visionary) Ilium from seeing or knowing of the site—in ruins, it may be—of Hissarlik, or of the town near Bunarbashi; or, indeed, whether he did not freely put together all that he knew about both? Those, indeed, who call in question the great antiquity of the Homeric poems in their present form, will find good reasons for thinking that he may after all have seen even the Greek Ilium. In respect of the distance from the sea of the town near Bunarbashi, much has to be said not only on the geological phenomena (often very rapid) of silting up, but on the traditions not alluded to by Dr. Schliemann,[3] that such silting up did actually take place after the

[1] The Site, etc., p. 11.

[2] *E.g.*, in Il. vi. 242 seq.

[3] The possibility of a large part of the Trojan plain being alluvial since the time of the siege, is discussed by Strabo, lib. xiii. § 36.

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siege of Troy. The poet might, therefore, easily have conceived that in the time of the war, which he described, the town was as much nearer the sea as it has become further from it since the Iliad was composed. Dr. Schliemann is "ready to admit that even the whole plain of Troy has once been a deep gulf,"[1] and he marks in his map of the Troad successive channels or river-mouths, and even an ancient bed of some miles, more to the east than the present course of the Scamander.

Now, some such traditional silting up of the plain may be described by Homer as the levelling and obliterating by the influence of water the lines and embankments of the Grecian camp. Finding no vestiges of such works in his time (albeit in point of fact camp-lines are among the most lasting of constructions), he had recourse to a theory of the supernatural to account for their disappearance. Thus in Il. vii. 460, Zeus says to Poseidon, "When hereafter the Greeks have set off for their fatherland, break down the rampart and spread it about in the sea, and then cover again with sand the wide beach, that no vestige may remain of the mighty work of the Achæans." Again, in Il. xii. 13–33, we read that, after Troy was taken and the heroes had returned, Poseidon and Apollo laid a plan to obliterate (ἀμαλδῦναι) the rampart by turning against it the united waters of the rivers (the poet enumerates *eight*, and, in doing so, shows his ignorance of the real geography of the Troad) that flow from the heights of Ida into the sea. All these streams, says the poet, Apollo made to flow in one common estuary for nine days, while Zeus kept on raining (ὗε). Then Poseidon with his trident moved away the stones and the fascines which the Greeks had laid for a foundation, and made the shore all smooth along the strongly running Hellespont. This passage, which, as in anticipation of the course of events (ἔμελλον ὄπισθε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων θησέμεναι), has apparently been introduced into the Iliad from other narratives of the action following the capture of the city, is confirmed by Quintus Smyrnæus, xiv. 631–53. This poet, whose poem, entitled the "Posthomerica," contains much of the non-Homeric narratives of which the tragic poets made so liberal a use, gives nearly the same account, though in different words. But he adds a rather curious statement, that Poseidon broke through the crust of the earth in that part, and caused water to bubble up mixed with sand and mud, and that the whole camp of the Greeks was swallowed up by a wide chink in the shore, which reads like some traditional effect of an earthquake.[2]

[1] The Site, etc., p. 5.

[2] Some of the very large hewn stones found by the author, at a depth of from twenty to thirty feet, appeared to him to have been separated by a violent earthquake (Troy, etc., p. 96). It is well known that Asia Minor has always been liable to great volcanic disturbances.

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Now, if tradition agrees with geological observation and with the well-ascertained laws of silting from river deposits, we must conclude that since the time of Homer (even placing it at a much more recent date than most scholars are willing to allow) the coast line may have very greatly changed—as, indeed, Dr. Schliemann admits that the course and effluence of the Scamander for miles has been changed. How, then, shall we conclude that Hissarlik is the true Homeric Ilium, if it is now at the same distance (2½ miles) from the sea—that it is proved to have been in the Homeric poems?[1]

Another and a very considerable difficulty arises from the smallness of the site or area of the city excavated on Hissarlik. Of course, poets may take any license in exaggerating; but what is the historical value of any account if no reliance whatever can be placed on details? "The twenty shafts which I have sunk," says our author, "on the plateau around Hissarlik show that the Homeric Ilium was limited to that very mount. But this area was very small, inclosed, as all ancient acropolis cities seem to have been, with a massive wall."[2] The number of the Trojan soldiers in Iliad viii. 560, is placed at 50,000, though, of course, the statement is historically worthless. Dr. Schliemann admits[3] that "Homer cannot possibly have seen a trace of Troy, because at his epoch the ruins of the Trojan houses, the great circuit-wall and the tower were covered by a layer of rubbish twenty to twenty-seven feet thick." He adds, and very properly, "Thus his description of Ilium is vague and obscure. He knew all the events of the city's tragic fate solely from tradition, for those events had been sung before his time by numerous rhapsodists."

If he had carried out the argument consistently, he would have come to the conclusion that no certain identification of the site of any town with the Ilium as described by Homer is possible. We cannot go a step further than to say, that *possibly* the very city has now been explored, the traditional existence of which gave rise to a wholly imaginary account and description of a siege and a fight around it. But Dr. Schliemann persists in making everything historical. His reasoning has far too much of the *petitio principii* to be sound. "Inasmuch," he says,[4] "as I discovered the city on the very site which the tradition of all antiquity identifies with the site

[1] On the Site, etc., p. 10: "In many towns on the east coast of England the sea retires; or, in other words, the shore increases so rapidly that hundreds of yards have been added within less than a century."

[2] It has been suggested in Troy and its Remains, Preface, p. xvii., that the mean dwellings clustering round the Pergamus may have been poetically exaggerated into a "well-built city," and its "wide streets." Taken, however, for what the fact is worth, Hissarlik certainly does not in this respect coincide with the Troy conceived by Homer, which was that of a large and populous city.

[3] On the Site, etc., p. 19.

[4] On the Site, etc., p. 19.

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of Troy; inasmuch as the city was evidently rich, and destroyed in a fearful catastrophe by the hands of the enemy; since, moreover, I find in it the great circuit-wall, and the great tower with the double gate, whose situation answers the position of the Homeric Scæan gates; there can remain *no doubt whatever*" (the Italics are ours) "that this is the very city sung by Homer, that this is the very city destroyed by the Greeks, that this is the Ilium of eternal glory."

Another yet more serious difficulty arises from the style of art of the numerous objects found in the course of the excavations being not only quite different from, but much more primitive and archaic in character, than anything described in Homer. Dr. Schliemann thinks, indeed, that a two-handled goblet which he found, and of which he gives an engraving,[1] was the veritable Homeric δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον. Two diadems of gold, with pendant ornaments, he identifies, after Mr. Gladstone, with the πλεκτῇ ἀναδέσμῃ. Il. xxii. 469. But this is the merest conjecture. It is worth remarking, that in the India Museum, in London, there are very similar, indeed almost identical, designs represented as *necklaces* of Burmah workmanship. The very numerous and ugly owl-headed terra-cotta figures, and quaint representations of animals, not at all unlike those exhumed from American tumuli in Ohio, and said to have been used by the natives as smoking-pipes,[2] with an immense assortment of handmade clay pottery, disks, and whorls, are all of a type very far removed from the artistic descriptions so common in the Homeric poems.

Speaking generally, and from a due consideration of the numerous engravings in Dr. Schliemann's large volume, we cannot give any other opinion than that the identification of any of them with Homeric descriptions is dangerous, if not visionary, and a task altogether hopeless. It is probable that the poet of the Iliad knew something of the Troad; it is self-evident that he sang of themes long before celebrated by other bards; it is probable that the dim traditions of an event, and the agents of it, which, however mixed with myth, was regarded by these poets as historically true, had a substratum of truth; that there was a city captured and burnt, and that it may have occupied the site of Hissarlik. But to assert that Hissarlik is the Homeric Ilium, that the treasures found belonged

[1] On the Site, etc., p. 15. This cup is so formed with a round or boat-like bottom that it cannot be made to stand unless by inverting it, *i. e.*, so as to show that all the liquor was drained, ἀναστραμμένος χοῦς. To our mind the form or design of this cup is of a very primitive and barbarous character, though one of the same kind was discovered in "Priam's treasure" made of fine gold. Troy, etc., p. 326.

[2] Many of these are engraved in the interesting volume, Flint Chips, etc., by Edward T. Stevens. London, 1870.

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to King Priam, that the gateway is the veritable "Scæan gate" of the Iliad,—all this is going a great deal too far.[1] The poet may well have visited the site of some old city in the Troad, and without the least knowledge of its real history, have resolved to localize the traditional siege by describing its scenery and surroundings with more or less correctness. The statement that Hissarlik and no other is the primitive Homeric city, is not only an assumption in itself, but is opposed to strong internal evidence of the Iliad itself.

In Book xxii. 146, Hector, hotly pursued by Achilles, runs along a high road further and further from the wall, τείχεος αἰὲν ὑπεκ, till he comes to a hot and a cold spring, from which two (or, perhaps, *the* two, though the article is wanting) sources of eddying Scamander arise. If, with Dr. Schliemann, we place these springs far up in Ida, we make Hector run about thirty miles, the greater part of his course being up hill! If there is a hot spring near Bunarbashi, as Sir William Gell says there is, but Dr. Schliemann says there is not, then the "two springs of Scamander" may be interpreted of the sources of a small tributary, Bunarbashi-Su, though Dr. Schliemann says there are forty springs, and the springs are cold.[2]

But under no possible conditions can this description, as it seems to us, be made to suit the site of Hissarlik.

The editor, however, of Dr. Schliemann's work, *Troy and its Remains*, Mr. Philip Smith, is as resolute as the author himself in asserting the contrary.[3] "That the real city of Troy could not have stood at Bunarbashi, is one of the most certain results of Schliemann's researches." Again: "That Homer, or—if you please—the so-called Homeric bards, familiar with the Troad, and avowedly following tradition, should have imagined a different site" (*i. e.*, than the hill of Hissarlik), "would be, at the least, very surprising."[4]

On the contrary, it is quite conceivable that the "real," *i. e.*, the traditional city, wholly unknown to Homer, may have been at Hissarlik, and yet that he should have wrongly supposed it was the old town near Bunarbashi. The legend, familiar to Pindar and the tragic poets, and more than once alluded to by Homer himself, that Troy was twice captured, the first time by Hercules and Telamon,

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[1] So possessed was the author's mind with this idea that it influences all his reasonings. To say (Troy, etc., p. 216) that "the situation of this town" (Hissarlik) "corresponds perfectly with all the statements of the Iliad," is certainly a very loose way of writing, which no careful or accurate scholar will accept. It is a fact, and a very curious one, that parts of the Homeric description, *e. g.*, the Temple of Athena in the Acropolis, better suits the city of the time of Lysimachus! Certainly, it is more like the Greek Ilium.

[2] On the Site, etc., p. 4. [3] Preface, p. xiv. [4] Ibid., p. xv.

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and afterwards by the arrows of the same Hercules in the hands of Philoctetes,

"Troja bis Œtæi numine capta Dei,"[1]

is consistent enough, as Mr. Philip Smith remarks,[2] with the successive strata of human habitations found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik. The oldest of the cities explored by him may of course, go back to almost any conceivable antiquity. At the same time, very extended and careful researches are required for establishing some general law or rate of increase in the accumulation of soil in both ancient and modern cities. In London, York, and very many other well-known sites of Roman towns, the remains of mosaic pavements, baths, foundations of buildings, coins, etc., are still often found very many feet, even twenty and thirty, below the present level; indeed, there is hardly a church or a cathedral of any antiquity in which the basement is not, or has not been, buried in soil or rubbish to a considerable height.[3] Taken alone, the fact of one city overlying another is extremely deceptive. If a town, especially a hill-town, were destroyed by fire, a new city might arise a year or two afterwards, the inhabitants of which would walk on the ruins of that which was the home of their own fathers, while their grandchildren in their turn might walk upon theirs. Sites have been found in England where successive interments of Saxon, Roman, and British have been clearly made out. If we mistake not, the ancient town of Cumæ exhibits the same certain indications of several settlements founded in turn each upon the remains of an older one.

Further than this, in a population little advanced beyond the rude arts of working clay or stone implements, or even bronze, such forms as appear to us to indicate the remotest barbarism may possibly have no very great antiquity. Ornaments in the precious metals, such as were found in considerable abundance by Dr. Schliemann in the stratum next above the oldest city, probably point to an era of commerce, and, therefore, of civilization considerably in advance of such barbaric artists; but they furnish very uncertain evidence of relative date. We know that numerous tribes at the present day have not advanced beyond flint implements and shell or bone ornaments, little if at all superior to those monuments of

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[1] Propert., iv. 1, 32.

[2] Preface, p. xxi. Of course, this may also be used as an argument for the wholly imaginary existence of the Homeric Troy.

[3] In p. 227 of Troy and its Remains, the author tells us that the hill of Hissarlik must have been extended eastward by *débris* not less than 262 feet. He adds: "I do not believe that there is a second hill in the world whose increase in size, during thousands of years, can in the remotest degree be compared with this enormous growth." This, it must be confessed, comes under the category of "tall talk."

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"cave man" or the dweller in the lake habitations, or of the races whose handicraft is buried many feet deep in what we have every reason to believe is glacial drift. On the other hand, Assyria and Egypt were highly civilized two or even three thousand years before the Christian era.[1]

In the introduction to *Troy and its Remains*, which evidently contains more matured conclusions of the author than those which he has expressed in his Diary, he appears quite conscious of the truth of the above view. "It is just because we can form no idea of the way in which these nations lived, and what calamities they had to endure, that it is impossible to calculate the duration of their existence, *even approximately*,[2] from the thickness of their ruins. It is extremely remarkable, but perfectly intelligible from the continual calamities which befell the town, that the civilization of all the four towns constantly declined; the terra cottas, which show continuous *décadence*, leave no doubt of this."[3]

The greater part, at least the whole of the upper part, of the mound or hill of Hissarlik is *débris*, and formed of the ruin and destruction by fire or otherwise of previous settlements.[4] This is precisely what Mr. Layard found to be the case in the vast mounds of Nimroud, Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, not to mention many other sites.[5] The Pergamus or citadel of the Iliad, which, if it ever existed at all, should have been a commanding acropolis, could possibly have been the hill of Hissarlik; for not only was it of significant height,[6] but the plateau which it presented for the site of the whole city was only about 77,400 square yards.[7] But Dr. Schliemann "asserts most positively that Troy *was* limited to the summit or surface of this hill; that the city had no acropolis; and consequently that the Pergamus is a pure invention of Homer."[8] In saying this he formally resigned an opinion he had long entertained, that the area of ancient Troy extended over the whole

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[1] Discoveries in Egypt, p. 38, assigns to Egypt a "cultivated epoch" as far back as 3000 B. C. The treasures found by Dr. Schliemann in what he calls "the second stratum," *i. e.*, that lying second above the native rock, "reveal great wealth, civilization, and a great taste for art," and he adds (what by no means follows): "They leave no doubt that Homer must have actually seen gold and silver objects as he continually describes." (Troy, etc., p. 22.)

[2] Troy and its Remains, p. 14. (The Italics are ours.)

[3] The terra cottas of the period of Alexander the Great and later, are very inferior in general *contour* to those of the age of Pericles, and even before it. In all the arts follow a general law in declining and dying out to be superseded

[4] Troy, p. 117. [5] Layard's Nineveh, Introduction, p. vii., etc.

[6] The primary soil of Hissarlik is, indeed, less than sixty-five and a half feet above the plain (Troy, etc., p. 124).

[7] Troy, p. 117. Mr. Gladstone (Homeric Synchronism, p. 39) compares the area of Rome when limited to the Palatine hill. [8] Ib., p. 18.

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space afterwards occupied by the Greek settlement, and that Hissarlik was the Pergamus of the city.[1]

Another difficulty, in itself almost fatal to the Troy of the Iliad being anything but a city erected by the poet's fancy, is the description of Hector descending from the palace in the Pergamus and hurrying through the town, in order to arrive at the Scæan gate; "whereas that gate and Ilium's great tower, in which it stands, are in reality directly in front of the royal house."[2]

Dr. Schliemann's work appears to us to evince a general confusion between an acknowledgment of Homer's ignorance of the actual city he describes, and the endeavor to identify that description with the actual discoveries. In common with Mr. Gladstone, he seems to regard the pedigree of Æneas and Priam, from Dardanus, as actual history. But what are we to think of the legends which made Apollo and Poseidon the builders, and Hercules the captor of Troy? And what personality can Priam possibly have had, when he was brother to Tithonus, who married Aurora, or the Dawn?[3]

Dr. Schliemann tacitly ignores all that has been said and written tending to throw doubt on the alleged great antiquity of the Homeric poems, in the form in which we now have them, and all the researches that go far to show that the Achilles of the Iliad is only a "solar legend" representing the sun in his glory. With Mr. Gladstone, he will not allow himself to doubt that Homer really lived "two hundred years after the destruction of Troy."[4] Hence all his calculations seem founded on assumptions. He will not concede that Bunarbashi can possibly have been the site of Troy, *i. e.*, of what the poet conceived as the locality and scenery of his poem—allowance being made for great silting in the Trojan plain—because he has unearthed the "real Troy" in another place,

[1] Troy, etc., p. 17.

[2] Ib., p. 20. Sir Charles Fellows (Travels in Lycia, p. 322) has given a representation of an ancient city cut in relief in a tomb at Pinara, in Lycia. It exhibits walls, battlements, towers, and gateways, and may undoubtedly be taken as an average type of a fortified city such as commonly existed at the time when the Iliad was put together in its present form. It is, therefore, vain to insist on identifying "Scæan Gates" and "Priam's Tower." The whole theory of Dr. Schliemann seems to break down in everything but this, that the Trojan war may have been founded on some true or partly true traditions.

[3] This word "dawn" is the same as the Sanscrit *ahana*, and *athena* as *daughter* is identical with θυγάτηρ, *door* with θύρα, *deer* with θήρ, etc. The ægis of the goddess, represented in early art as a fringed goat-skin, symbolizes the clouds in which the sunrise is, as it were, vested. The great number of rude owl-faced images found by Dr. Schliemann were probably little *penates*, symbolizing the bird of dawn, the γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. Some such symbols may be alluded to in the lenged of Æneas carrying the Trojan Penates into Italy. (See the opinion of Prof. Max Müller in p. 54 of Troy, etc.)

[4] Troy, etc., p. 91. Mr. Gladstone thinks it may have been much nearer still.

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and because his great object and desire is "to prove that the Iliad is founded on facts, and that the great Greek nation must not be deprived of this crown of her glory."[1] Again, he confidently interprets a few abnormal scratches (such at least they may be) or pieces of clay as inscriptions, because "he is firmly convinced that an alphabetical language was known in ancient Troy,"[2] a conclusion opposed to all we know of the sites of prehistoric human habitations, whether "Cyclopean" walls, megalithic pillars, or tumuli. In none of them, we believe, has a single scrap of writing ever been found;[3] and marvellous as is the early date at which the art of writing existed in Egypt and Assyria, it is well known that very scant remains of either Greek or Phœnician writing can safely be placed earlier than about B. C. 500. Neither in the shell-mounds (kitchen-middens) nor in the Lake habitations have any indications of writing been discovered, so far as we have ever heard. And that some of the later settlers on Hissarlik were allied to the former mode of life might be inferred from the "immense quantities of mussel-shells," with occasional oyster-shells, that were found at the moderate depth of about ten feet from the surface.

Among the most singular objects found by Dr. Schliemann was a prodigious number of balls or top-shaped whorls of baked clay, representations of which are given in plates xxi. to lii., in his larger work on the site of Troy. Most of them are more or less ornamented with rude devices scratched upon them. Two of these have been identified[4] as Aryan symbols of the production of fire, that is, probably, of the origin of life. On two or three some very rude attempts at drawing animals occur. All, or nearly all, seemed to be pierced through; the aperture on one side having a cuplike shape, which reminded Dr. Schliemann of a volcanic crater. He believed

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[1] Troy, etc., p. 97. With an almost amusing simplicity he says in his diary (Ib., 147) "that he hardly hopes to discover the old Trojan temple in which Hecuba caused the princess Theano to lay her costly robes on the knees of Athena" (Il., vi. 302).

[2] Ib., p. 91. In page 51 he tells us that his friend, Emil Bournouf, is of opinion that one of these bits of scratched pot contains "a real inscription in Chinese letters." Are we then to understand that Hissarlik was once the site of a Turanian settlement, as the Etrurians have recently been shown to be? Yet Dr. Schliemann is always insisting that the "emblems" on the pottery are Aryan.

[3] The author admits at a later period of his explorations (Troy, etc., p. 223) that he "is no longer sanguine in regard to this" (the finding of inscriptions), as he has "hitherto found no trace of writing in the colossal strata of the four tribes which preceded the Greek colony." The subject is, however, very curious, and it is as rash to *assert* that these marks are mere scratches as to assume that they are letters. It is certainly remarkable that the *same* marks occur on *two* of the clay whorls. See the engraving in page 367 of Troy and its Remains. Mr. Gladstone (Homeric Synchronism, p. 64) says it "appears to be held morally certain by competent judges that the inscriptions of Hissarlik are not mere ornaments or symbols, but have a meaning, and are true signs."

[4] See the interesting remarks in pp. 101–6 of Troy, etc.

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them to be *ex-voto* offerings, and many of the marks or scratches upon them he supposes to be astronomical symbols. In our opinion none of them go beyond the efforts of a rude artist to make some kind of fanciful pattern on his ball of yet unbaked clay. The probability is that they were weights used for giving both regularity and momentum to spindles turned by hand. We know, from numerous passages in Homer and other writers, that the one great employment of women was to sit at home engaged in spinning and weaving. How could it be otherwise where a large population was to be clothed, and no machinery existed to facilitate the handwork required? Even now in Asia Minor the same practice is to be seen. The Greeks at Sansoon (the ancient Priene, in Lydia) were, as Sir Charles Fellows tells us,[1] at the time of his visit, "all employed in spinning, winding, or working in some way; and their industry seemed, from the appearance of the houses and everything around, to have met with its reward." He gives us a sketch of a spindle, on the axis of which is a conical roundel, extremely similar to those found at Hissarlik.

Now, nothing could possibly be cheaper, commoner, or easier to make than these balls of clay. The little boys and girls in every family could make them and bake them as easily as clay marbles. This fact will account for their extraordinary abundance. They seem to have been flung away by hundreds as so much useless rubbish. These balls seem to be the *σφόνδυλοι χοῖλοι καὶ ἐξεγλυμμένοι διαμπερὲς* in the Republic of Plato, lib. x. p. 616 D, where he is comparing the spindle of Necessity—*i. e.*, by which the thread of human fate is spun—to the round weight which turns and balances the spindle. Had this passage in Plato, which is really decisive of the question,[2] occurred either to the author or his editor, he would hardly have filled more than thirty pages of 8vo. size, with engravings of objects of so little intrinsic interest. But, being convinced that the scratches on them were either letters or mystical symbols, he not unnaturally greatly overrated their antiquarian importance. His etymological speculations[3] on the identity of *Ἴλιος* with *Ἥλιος* appear to us of no value, and to be founded on the assumption that these clay whorls symbolized the sun, and that the sun-god was therefore worshipped in the Homeric Ilium.[4] Nor is his wonder at

[1] Travels in Lycia, chap. x. p. 200.

[2] The crater-like depression round the central hole is exactly described by the participle used by Plato, "scooped out," the piercing of the balls being expressed by *διαμπερὲς*. In the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury, among objects "of no great antiquity" from Peru, is "a spindle with the stone whorl attached to it, and having some of the spun alpaca wool around the stick" (Flint Chips, p. 269). See, also, p. 94, where the author adds, "Spindles and whorls of stone are still used in parts of France and Italy."

[3] Troy, etc., p. 126.

[4] Ib., p. 146.

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the occurrence of these objects through so long a period of time much more reasonable. "How these exceedingly remarkable objects, which are adorned with the most ancient religious symbols of the Aryan race, can have continued to be used for more than one thousand years by the four tribes which successively held possession of Ilium, and even by the civilized Greek colony, is to me a problem as inexplicable as the purpose for which they were used. If, as I now conjecture, they represent the wheel, which, in the Rigvêda, is the symbol of the sun's chariot, they were probably used as *ex-votos*, or they were worshipped as idols of the sun-god, Phœbus Apollo. But why are there such enormous numbers of them?"[1] On Dr. Schliemann's theory, we can only repeat, "Why, indeed?" The Doctor's confidence, however, in the correctness of his interpretation, seems even to increase, for he says, in p. 187, "It is certain that this symbol is here also intended to glorify the sun-god."

This persistent view of the symbolism of the "thousands and thousands" of round terra-cottas found by the author is the more remarkable, because he himself seems only just to have missed that which, in our judgment, is alone the true and reasonable view. He says (p. 189), "Among those which have no decorations, I find a few, the upper surfaces of which show distinct traces of rubbing, as if from having been used on the spinning-wheel or loom."

The amount of ornamentation bestowed on these whorls is easily explained. An occupation on which the female mind is almost exclusively devoted is pretty sure to carry with it those decorations and pretty finishings in which the taste of women naturally disports itself. Spinning-wheels yet existing, and used by our own grandmothers, are often highly ornamented with carving and inlaid ivory patterns. Theocritus has a very elegant poem on a distaff of ivory presented to Theogenis, the wife of the physician Nicias. But Dr. Schliemann says the marks of rubbing are found only on a few (very few) of the plain whorls, never on those with the "symbolical signs." Now, the plain, as well as the ornamented specimens, must surely have served the same purpose. But such marks of rubbing would hardly occur on "ex-voto" offerings. And he rejects as "impossible" (p. 189) the suggestion of M. Burnouf, that these clay balls were used by the Trojans and their successors either as amulets or as coins. They are too heavy and clumsy for the first, and show too slight marks of wear and tear for the second purpose.

A rather curious instance, as it seems to us, of forcing facts to suit the Homeric narrative, in order to establish the identity of Hissarlik with the Homeric Troy, occurs at page 194. The author

[1] Troy, etc., p. 175.

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finds two springs, respectively about 400 and 840 yards from his excavations, and of a temperature 60 and 62 degrees of Fahrenheit, which is not even lukewarm to the touch. Homer's two springs (Il., xxii. 150) are "sources of Scamander" (which these assuredly are not), one of them "cold as hail," the other throwing off steam "like smoke from a fire burning." Yet, and in spite of the fact already mentioned, that the sources of the Scamander, miles away in the mountains of Ida, really do come from a hot and a cold spring, our author thinks it is "extremely probable (!) that these" (viz., at Hissarlik), "are the two springs beside which Hector was killed." And the words of Homer, he suggests,[1] are to be understood in a "metaphorical sense."

Not more convincing is the author's conclusion[2] that the foundations of a great tower, laid bare at the depth of 46½ feet from the surface of the hill, were those of the veritable *πύργος μέγας Ἰλίου* (Il., vi. 386) which Adromache ascended because she had heard that the Trojans were hard pressed. If he had attended to the fact, that the initial digamma in *Ἰλίος* is inconsistent with the metre of the verse, he would justly have felt grave doubts as to its genuine antiquity.

A little more close scholarship, too, would have made him doubt the correctness of his interpretation of a late Greek inscription (p. 205) found on the site of the temple. What he reads without sense, *καικινᾶ Γάϊον κυζικηνὸν ἄρχοντα λογιστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος*, etc., should be (if we mistake not), *καικίναν τὸν κυζικηνὸν καταλογιστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος*, viz., "Aulus Claudius Cæcina of Cyzicus, accountant" (or auditor, of the privy purse, or *fiscus*, probably), "in the service of the most august Emperor."

A very interesting, not to say important discovery, was the skeleton of a woman, with the skull especially in a good state of preservation,[3] at a depth of 42½ feet from the surface. The remains showed marks of death by fire. A more scientific description of this skull was much to be desired. All we are told is that "the mouth was somewhat protruding, and showed good but astonish-

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[1] Troy, etc., p. 196. The common-sense view of the matter is, that the poet had heard of the hot spring at the river-head, but had no idea of, or cared nothing about, its distance from the plain.

[2] Ib., p. 203. In a similar style of undoubting confidence he "now ventures positively to assert that the great double gate which he has brought to light must necessarily be the Scæan Gate" (Ib., p. 303). He is obliged, however, to admit (p. 305) that in this case Homer's description must be wrong, and that the names were only known from tradition, while the actual sites of Pergamus and the Scæan Gates were unknown o the poet. The term *σκαιαὶ πύλαι ought* to mean the gates on the left hand to one looking northwards, *i. e.*, the western gates; whereas the aspect of this gate is more nearly southward. It may be granted, however, that their *site* is on the southwest of the city.

[3] Troy, etc., p. 209.

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ingly small teeth." It appears, therefore, to have been of that "prognathous" type so often found in tumuli, though this form of the lower jaw is usually associated with large mouth and long, often irregular teeth. The engraving of the skull seems a very poor one. Its interest is greatly enhanced by the fact that it was (with the exception of the bones of an embryo infant before described),[1] so far, the only human skeleton the author ever met with in any of the pre-hellenic strata on this hill. Others, however, he found at a later period.[2]

Our author is confessedly a good deal perplexed,[3] in spite of his firm belief that he has discovered the true site of Troy, by the fact that Homer makes no allusion to the stone axes, hammers, knives, flint saws, querns, or hand-mills, terra-cotta vases, etc., which occur in such remarkable abundance in all the strata of the hill. He seems to have hardly been aware that in all prehistoric settlements in all parts of the world stone and flint weapons are met with of precisely the same form; and that the very same implements are manufactured by savage tribes even at the present day. There is good reason to believe that implements of greenstone, diorite, obsidian, basalt, or other hard and heavy kinds of stone, were described by the ancients under the general and vague term "adamant." But the rude state of art found everywhere on the Hissarlik mount is wholly inconsistent with the frequent descriptions of works of high design and finish which we read of in Homer. So long as the popular opinions about the remote antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey continue to prevail, there will be confusion of thought and inconsistencies of reasoning on the subject of these primitive monuments. It is impossible to conceive that the Hissarlik remains can be synchronous, or even belong to the same era of civilization, or to the same advanced family of mankind. The rude little idols of pottery or stone cannot be compared with the Athena in the Acropolis, on whose knees embroidered garments were placed as offerings (Il., vi. 303). This is a style of art and a religious ceremony familiar to the Athenians in the time of Pericles. If Homer's descriptions are not altogether imaginary, they cannot refer to the races who made pots and manufactured stone weapons on the hill of Hissarlik, whether we call it Ilium or not. If any one will carefully examine the pages of that interesting and trustworthy work already alluded to, *Flint Chips*, he will see that nearly everything found at Hissarlik has its counterpart in collections from all parts of the Old World, and in specimens already stored and catalogued in museums.[4]

[1] Troy, etc., p. 154. [2] See Ib., p. 279. [3] Ib., p. 270.

[4] Especially the flint saws or jagged knives, many specimens of which are preserved in the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury, partly from the collections made by Messrs. Squier and Davis from the mounds of the Mississippi and Ohio.

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But, in truth, the descriptions of Homer are so utterly inconsistent, that we can but in fairness conclude that they are either wholly imaginary or the pseudo-archaic creations of a comparatively late age. It is impossible that a fighting age, when heroes hurled great stones at each other, should have also been the age of works so elaborately artistic as the shields, breastplates, war-cars, embroidered vestments, etc., described in the Homeric poems. It is not too much to say that the only work of art at all representing the Homeric description of arms, is the copper helmet found on the skull of a warrior, at a depth of about 25 feet, and figured in p. 280. It still retains the copper ridge with the groove in which the crest or plume appears to have been inserted. And this, we may fairly grant, has some pretensions to advanced design and workmanship.

The articles figured in pp. 261 and 285, although rude, may possibly be the *κρατευταὶ*, or spit-supporters, described in Il., ix. 214.

The row of wine-jars (*πίθοι*), nine in number, found in the room of a house below the temple of Athena, remind one strongly of the jars of wine placed along the wall in Od., ii. 341, *πίθοι—ἑξείης πυτὶ τοῖχον ἀρηρότες*. As for the form of cup which Homer calls *ἀμφικύπελλον*, which etymologically should mean "having a cavity on both sides," and is, therefore, commonly explained as a goblet having the shape of a dice-box, Dr. Schliemann rather dogmatically says such an interpretation is "entirely erroneous." Now let the reader hear his proof for so sweeping an assertion: "In the Homeric Troy there were no such cups, otherwise I should have found them."[1] The author further ventures "positively to assert" that certain two-handled cups he has found, of ingenious but very barbaric shape, "must necessarily be the Homeric *δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα*."[2] Why, then, we may ask, did he not discover such a goblet as that described in Iliad, xi. 632, which was covered with golden studs, had four handles with two golden doves to each, and was so large that ordinary mortals could with difficulty lift it from the table when full? The assumption, that the building in which he found his two-handled goblet was "Priam's Palace,"[3] or any palace at all, is quite on a par with the general tone of assertion without proof which characterizes the author's whole work, and which is, in the eyes of careful scholars, its chief defect. The circumstance of a treasure being found in or near it, if it had been of ten times the intrinsic value of that so marvellously found by Dr. Schliemann, in itself proves

[1] Troy, etc., p. 313. From the analogy of *ἀμφορὰ* and *ἀμφιφορεύς*, "carried by two handles," he wrongly contends that *ἀμφικύπελλον* must mean a cup with two handles!

[2] Ib., p. 313. We should be inclined to say that the terra-cotta cup engraved on p. 317, with a cup above and a cuplike, though pierced, base, is far more appropriately called *ἀμφικότελλον*.

[3] Ib., p. 314.

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nothing. At the very utmost, a "probable conjecture" or a "reasonable inference" might be put forward with modest diffidence. But we object, in the cause of archæology, to these treasures being everywhere advertised and spoken of as King Priam's veritable box of family plate![1] We object, in the cause of both logic and scholarship, to such hasty conclusions as the following (p. 332): "As I found all these articles together forming a rectangular mass, or packed into one another, it seems to be certain (!) that they were placed on the city wall in a wooden chest (φωριαμὸς), such as those mentioned by Homer as being in the palace of King Priam." (Il., xxiv. 228.) Again (p. 344): "I rejoice that my three years' excavations have laid open the Homeric Troy, even though on a diminished scale, and that I have proved the Iliad to be based upon real facts." (!)

In truth, Dr. Schliemann has proved nothing beyond the existence of a succession of very old settlements on the hill of Hissarlik. We are no nearer to the solution of the problems, where Homer conceived Troy to be, and whether his account is poetical and imaginary in the main, with an imperfect recognition of general local features derived from memory or oral accounts. It is only by concessions in themselves fatal to his own theory that the author can maintain his position with any show of consistency. Thus, he gives up the hot and the cold springs, the size of the city,[2] and many other principal features in the Homeric account, thus leaving, after all his efforts to prove that he has discovered the true site of Troy, but the shadow of a shade.

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[1] The editor, Mr. Philip Smith, in a note on p. 328, speaks of the "cumulative analogies between Hissarlik and Homer." But on the most careful examination, these supposed analogies seem to us far-fetched, and based on very faint and few resemblances. The truth is, that the articles even of precious metal found in the treasure, are exceedingly barbaric and rude, hardly, if at all, better than the golden ornaments brought from Coomassie in the late Ashantee war. The copper lance-heads and the chisel-like tools he calls "battle-axes," found with the treasure and depicted on pp. 330–331, are about on a par with the rude Saxon and Danish implements of precisely the same kind, but made of bronze, which abound in the English museums. Dr. Schliemann's natural enthusiasm inclines him to hyperbolical description. One does not see why the poor ugly cups and vases of silver in plate xvii. should be called "beautiful," or "most exquisite workmanship" (p. 329). The remark on p. 345 provokes a smile—that the Trojan treasure trove was "such as is now scarcely to be found in an emperor's palace."

[2] In p. 344 he allows that his Ilium is "scarcely a twentieth part as large as was to be expected from the statements of the Iliad," and that "even if we assume the houses to have been of three stories"—a very bold assumption, we may remark—"and standing close by the side of one another, the town can, nevertheless, not have contained more than 5000 inhabitants, and cannot have mustered more than 500 soldiers." He gives up, as wholly imaginary, the Pergamus (Introduct., p. 18), the temple of Athene, as described in Iliad, vi. (p. 346), and the "well-built streets" through which Hector ran to the Scæan Gates (Il., vi. 392) διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστυ.

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Had the critical knowledge of the author extended to a careful consideration of the many grave doubts that have been raised as to the alleged antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey as we now possess them, he might have felt how much better suited to the Homeric account is the old Greek city lying a little to the south of Hissarlik. It was founded before the time of Xerxes, whose visit to it is described in Herod., vii. 43. A plan of it is given in p. 374 of the present work; and in p. 17 of his introduction the author admits that he at first regarded this as the site of old Troy, and Hissarlik as its Pergamus, till he found, by sinking shafts in several places, "only walls of houses and fragments of Greek pottery belonging to the Greek period." It did not occur to him that a Greek town, which he himself thinks was founded (*Site of the Homeric Troy*, p. 8) seven hundred years B. C., may have been that personally known to the bard we have learnt to call Homer. In page 198 he remarks, "We may form an idea of what a large population Ilium possessed at the time of Lysimachus, among other signs, from the enormous dimensions of the theatre which he built; it is beside the Pergamus, where I am digging, and its stage is one hundred and ninety-seven feet in breadth."

Now, a careful and extended study of painted Greek vases of the Periclean age, proves that all the descriptions of armor, not to say of walls, ramparts, naval operations, etc., in the Homeric poems, are absolutely *Greek* in character, and, like the advanced works of art which he describes, are uniformly the same as those of this more advanced period. So true is this that it has been remarked that, if Homer really lived and wrote 800 B. C., then no material change or improvement was made in the fashion of armor for the long space of four centuries. The attempts to identify Homeric art with the barbarous pottery and idols of the deep excavations have, as we have endeavored in the present paper to show, signally failed.

The question, then, is still open for discussion, whether the Ionic bard, who was the real author of the Iliad, had not visited the *Greek* Ilium, and exercised an unfettered and uncritical imagination in describing it as he fancied it might have been when Priam and his wives had a palace on the neighboring hill. Our author's main objection to this view is the same as that to the site of Bunarbashi, viz., that excavations show no proofs of a settlement as ancient as Troy is supposed to have been. But the question, we repeat, is, not where Troy really was, but where the author of the Iliad rightly or wrongly supposed it to have been. In the Greek city mentioned by Herodotus there was a temple of Athena of sufficient size and dignity to receive a sacrifice (if the account of Herodotus be true) of a thousand oxen, though Strabo calls it εὐτελῆ ναὸν (xiii. 1), "a

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poorly built temple," in contrast perhaps with that built by Lysimachus after the death of Alexander. It must, however, be admitted that the very close resemblance of the description in Iliad vi. to the known worship of Athena in the Acropolis at Athens, tends to throw doubts on the whole story of the Trojan temple, ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ, at Troy.

Mr. Gladstone, who avows himself, in the main, a supporter of the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Schliemann, uses many ingenious arguments to diminish the apparent incongruity of Homer's account of the city with the facts revealed by the recent discoveries. Allowing for poetic exaggerations and imperfect knowledge, and granting that the hesitation of objectors is wise and reasonable, he contends that there still remains a general proposition not less important, and, in his opinion, invulnerable.[1] "On the site of Hissarlik, at a depth of some thirty feet, with three layers of successive settlements or cities over it, in conjunction with notes of conflagration which can hardly be mistaken, we found the remains of massive walls and other structures such as indicate connection with the great building race of primitive history in their works on the shores of the Mediterranean, and such as are thus placed in remarkable agreement with the statement of Homer concerning the intervention of Poseidon; or, in other words, the Phœnician or foreign origin of the walls of Troy."

But even supposing we could show by inscriptions or the style of art that the early city was really Phœnician in its origin, we are no nearer to its being the Ilium of Homer. This interpretation of the Homeric legend, that Poseidon and Apollo built the walls of Troy, rests on an arbitrary assumption, and is therefore very far from making the argument "invulnerable." We might as well plead, on our side of the question, that because iron was nowhere found in the early city, but was found in the Greek Ilium,[2] and is mentioned several times in Homer, therefore the form known to Homer must have been the Greek city, as we have shown reasons for thinking probable enough. But this extraction of history from legend, especially from legends of elemental gods, like Poseidon and Apollo, is something like the extraction of sunbeams out of cucumbers, by no means hopeful in its results. The absence in general of any allusion to the number of stone weapons and implements found in the excavations, is explained away by Mr. Gladstone by the supposition that the life described in Homer is generally of the highest class, while stone implements would be more

[1] Homeric Synchronism, p. 44.

[2] Troy, etc., p. 31.

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in use with the mass of the community.[1] The "stone age" was one in which chiefs as well as people in all parts of the known world used this material in default of anything better. But this is not the age, as every one knows, of the Homeric poems. Mr. Gladstone says it was truly the "copper" age; and he points to the articles of pure or nearly pure copper found, in confirmation of the Homeric use of χαλκός. This he regards as "one of the most striking of all the correspondences between the poems and the discoveries at Hissarlik."[2]

The recognition of the golden head-ornament (necklace?) found in the treasure with the Homeric πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη (Il., xxii. 470) seems to us as fanciful as the assumption that the blade-like laminæ of silver[3] were the "talents" or the oval-shaped cup the δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον of Homer. Mr. Gladstone thinks these blades or plates may have been "roughly and approximately divided." In this case, we think, they would have borne incised marks at the points of division. If we remember aright, however, M. Huc in his *Travels in Thibet* mentions the same custom of cutting off portions of silver for the purposes of traffic.

One way of explaining the acknowledged inferiority of Hissarlik art to Homeric, is to conjecture that all works of *fine* art mentioned in Homer have foreign associations.[4] Ingenious as the suggestion may be, it is hardly adequate to the removal of the difficulty. We should prefer the view, that all the Homeric accounts either refer to works of Greek art much later than has been supposed, and very much later than any that have been found at Hissarlik, or are pure creations of the poet's fancy. The latter is admitted to be not incredible. "Even if he had never seen any representations of life, his imagination might have conceived them."[5]

The absence of all statues from the Hissarlik site, except the small rude idols of stone or pottery, is accounted for on the ground that the early statues were generally of wood, ξόανα.[6] It is, however, not very probable that large statues of wood should coexist with such rude art and such scanty and poor implements. In this respect, however, Mr. Gladstone finds evidence that the poet lived nearer to the time of the Trojan war than has been commonly supposed. And with this growing conviction—so opposed to the critical inquiries that have been made into certain apparent modernisms and pseudo-archaic forms in the Homeric language—he is prepared to deal with the "synchronism" of Homer with some of the earliest events known to history, a subject to which the second

[1] Troy. etc., p. 47. [2] Ib., p. 48.
[3] Engraved in plate xvii. of Troy and its Remains.
[4] Homeric Synchronism, p. 56. [5] Ib., p. 59. [6] Ib., p. 66.

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part of his work is devoted, but into a consideration of which our limited space forbids us now to enter.

Mr. Gladstone's general conclusion is, that on the whole "there appears to arise from this comparison strong probable evidence of a nearly corresponding and contemporaneous condition of arts and manners, between the descriptions of the poems and the disclosures of the hill."[1] Against this view we have contended, that although the arguments from superposition and depth from the surface are deceptive, and the antiquity of a buried city may be overrated, yet the small town which Dr. Schliemann and Mr. Gladstone identify with the Troy or Ilium of Homer, was a settlement of a people low in the scale of civilization, and incapable of performing any such deeds of martial valor as the poems describe. We cannot see that the historic character of the Iliad has gained anything by these interesting excavations, conducted by Dr. Schliemann with such spirit and self-devotion, and with so large a gain to archæological knowledge. The question is one that must be looked at from a very large and wide field of view. The periods of human art, and its general resemblance at certain states of advance, must be taken into account, rather than the descriptions of poems, the date of which is wholly uncertain, and the fidelity of which to the realities of life is a mere assumption.

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[1] Page 71.

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IN MEMORIAM.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON.

SINCE the publication of our last number, Orestes A. Brownson, one of our most distinguished contributors, has been called to reap the fruit of his labors in a better world. He was from its beginning a warm friend of the *Quarterly*, and an article for its pages was the very last literary work on which his pen was engaged.

Living in a remote part of the country, which Dr. Brownson never visited but once, and then only for a few days, it was not our privilege to become intimately acquainted with him, and thus have an opportunity of appreciating those qualities which are so highly spoken of by his friends and those who enjoyed his daily intercourse. It is, therefore, out of our power, even did it lie within our scope, to eulogize the merits of his private life and character. It will be enough for our present purpose to call attention to one predominant trait of his character, as it stands before the world, which constitutes his highest praise before God and man, and makes of him no unworthy model for the imitation of our Catholic men of letters and the Catholic laity in general. We mean his inherent love of religious truth, as evinced by his earnestness in seeking it, and his sincere, manly, bold profession of it when found. And let no one imagine that this rises little or in no way above the level of commonplace praise. According to Holy Writ,[1] it is one among the properties of the Divine Nature to love the truth. And man is elevated and perfected in proportion as he approaches nearer to this Divine model. Of Brownson it may be said that this love of truth was one of the most distinguished features in his mental character. It gave shape and form, where it did not give actual origin to many of his other good qualities; it even furnishes a clew to understand and explain what some consider his defects and shortcomings.

Born in one of the strongholds of American Puritanism, and educated in the straitest doctrines of that form of religion, his natural good sense, as his mind was developed, turned away in disgust from the teachings that surrounded him. He could not fail to see, that they were alike in contradiction with whatever there is of good and true in man's nature, and with Divine Revelation on which they impiously pretend to be founded; and he rejected them

[1] Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti. "For, behold, Thou hast loved truth."—Ps. l. 7.

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accordingly. Another in his place might have been satisfied, like so many of our youth educated in the Calvinistic doctrines, to please the world and himself, by combining inward skepticism with outward profession of belief, or to betake himself to the creed and practice of Libertinism. But young Brownson found a safeguard, in what even then showed itself as his leading characteristic, and served to mould his whole subsequent course of life. He earnestly loved the truth; and he had the firm conviction that God, who had given him this restless longing after truth, would not withhold from him the means of finding it. His search was long and painful; but his trust in the Author of truth was, as it deserved to be, crowned with success. How toilsome and desolate was the road over which he travelled, none can adequately feel but he who has trod the same dreary path, and can judge from his own experience. Those born to the inheritance, and brought up in the household of Faith, can form no just conception of it. He that stands safely on the shore watching the struggles of the mariner, who is a prey to the fury of winds and waves, and in imminent danger of being swallowed up, far from enjoying the sight like the heartless worldling of Lucretian philosophy, may pity the sufferer and pray for his rescue; but he never can realize the mental agony of him who is battling for life against such fearful odds. His own sense of security is a barrier to *sympathy* in the full, original sense of the word, which implies fellowship in suffering. Thus it is with the Catholic who dwells in the house built upon a rock by no human hand, and from under its shelter looks out upon the unhappy crowd, with no guiding star but private judgment, tossed about by every wind of doctrine, and in hourly danger of spiritual shipwreck.

Our inquirer in his search after religious truth wandered through all the mazes of religious error, from the rigid tenets of Knox to the depths of rationalism. And in these he might have been hopelessly submerged, had it not been for a happy, providential circumstance. His studies, at this period of his life, became political as well as religious. It was, perhaps, the fruitlessness of his attempts to construct from the materials at his disposal a satisfactory scheme of religion, that led him insensibly to turn from God to humanity.

The phantom of world reform, social and political, which haunts so many aspiring, unsettled intellects outside of the Church, became his ideal. He undertook yet more diligently the study of history, to find in it, no doubt, what might support and confirm his own crude theories. But the effect was wholesome, for it tended to undeceive him. His politics from ultra-democratic, wild and utopian, became by degrees rational and conservative. He was compelled to recognize, especially in the Church of mediæval Europe, what not only realized but fully completed his own imperfect ideal.

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He saw in her the only element able, not only to preserve, but to control, guide, and develop civilized society. In the logical course of thought the question soon presented itself to him: was not that mediæval Church the same that on the day of Pentecost came forth from the supper-room with Peter and the other Apostles? Was it not the same, which even now under the rule of Peter's successors, does battle with error and infidelity in Europe and throughout the world? Was not this the same Church, to which Christ promised His perpetual presence and protection, the Church which the apostles preached as the only pillar and ground of truth, and which the early Christians were taught by them to look upon as the ark out of which there is no salvation? His own reflections, aided by God's grace, gave answer in the affirmative, and obedient to the voice of conscience and duty, he entered the one fold of Christ. Some thought it a mere passing whim, a new phase of religious change. He had taken up as heretofore, they said, a new creed, to discard it whenever its charm of novelty should have passed away. We know an able lawyer and statesman, who at the time offered to wager any amount that Brownson would not remain three years a Catholic. Others imagined that, out of mere weariness and disgust, he had surrendered to authority an intellect, which had proved powerless to discover positive truth, and, in its place, was willing to accept whatever in any way would satisfy man's natural craving for something to believe. Little did such men know the depth of his convictions and the sincerity of his belief. He had for years been searching for religious truth; he found it at last in its genuine source, the Church of Christ. And if he crossed its threshold, it was only with the view of enjoying undisturbed possession of what he had so anxiously and lovingly sought. It was no voluntary caging of himself, because his wings were wearied with flight; no cowardly surrendering of his intellectual powers, because they had hopelessly failed in the search after truth. He found in the Church not a prison and bondage, but repose and liberty. He submitted to her his great restless intellect, because it is only at her feet, or rather in her loving motherly embrace that submission has the power to set free, to purify, to ennoble and perfect man's understanding. He showed the sincerity of his conversion not only by his perseverance, but by the sacrifices that he made. He did not give his allegiance to a Church that possessed wealth and worldly prosperity, that could wield a controlling influence in literature, that could dispense at her will fame and reputation. We were then comparatively few in numbers, and like St. Paul and his fellow-Christians, poor, despised, and persecuted, in some places given over to the fury of the populace, in others marked out as fit subjects for legislative coercion. Only a few months before, in the

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very centres of our boasted American civilization, our people had been murdered, and our temples given to the flames by the boldness of riotous mobs and the connivance of cowardly magistrates. But none of these things moved him. The possession of Divine truth, so long and ardently sought, so happily found at last, repaid him for every sacrifice, if indeed he ever stooped to call it by such name.

After his conversion he devoted his energies, and indeed his whole life, to the defence of the truth to which his eyes had been opened. His *Review*, and other works, which will live as his monument *ære perennius*, attest with what loyal constancy and fond affection he consecrated to the service of the Church the varied talents with which God had endowed him. His *Review* is a rich mine, which will never lose its value for the student of controversial theology, of Christian philosophy, and Christian politics. His style, based on the best English models, gives an additional charm to all he wrote. He stands out certainly unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any of our countrymen in his masterly handling of the mother tongue. But the beautiful workmanship is as nothing compared to the glorious material which it adorns. It is like the mantle of gold which enwrapped the matchless Olympian Jove of Phidias. His logical power is simply wonderful; no sophistry, no specious reasoning of error or unbelief can stand before it. And coupled with this is the gift, so rare amongst profound thinkers and subtle dialecticians, of bringing home his triumphant process of reasoning to the minds even of ordinary readers with clearness and precision. One need not subscribe to his philosophical system, to recognize the power and skill that characterize his grappling with the most abstruse and intricate problems of metaphysics. And even those who do not assent to all his philosophical and political views, must allow that they were as conscientiously held as they were ably defended. Here, too, his great love of truth was manifest; for he retracted without shame or hesitation whatever he afterwards discovered to be false or unsound. Even when he laid down certain doctrines or opinions that gave offence and exposed him to obloquy, and in some degree to persecution, from his brethren in the faith, his fault, if such it must be called, arose both from his own brightness of intellect and his inherent love of truth. What he said he had to utter, because he saw it in the clearest light of evidence; and because it was unpopular, he feared that to give it anything short of the boldest expression might seem like paltering with the truth. Hence, doctrines, maxims, facts, and perhaps at times individual views, in proportion to what he considered their evidence and importance, were enunciated by him in a direct, blunt, stern, and occasionally harsh manner, that pleased some but offended.

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others. It was merely the storm-wind proclaiming in clear, loud, defiant blast what might have been conveyed as well and with undimmed, undiminished truth, in gentler tones. Some may question his prudence; none can doubt that he was prompted solely by his strong convictions and zeal for the truth.

Had Dr. Brownson confined himself to the *rôle* of a merely political writer, in the service of a party, he would have attained not preferment—for his honesty made *that* impossible—but wealth and reputation. But he would not; he had made up his mind to serve a nobler Master than party, and his soul aspired to higher rewards than worldly fame or riches. It had cost him much to come into possession of the truth. He determined to become its champion and defender, to spread it abroad amongst his countrymen, that they, too, might have a share in "all the good things and innumerable riches" (Wisdom vii. 11) that had come to him through its acquisition. And yet, to this man of noble nature and lofty disinterestedness, at the very end of his glorious career, within the last few years, some parties it seems—gauging the hearts of others by the meanness and corruption of their own—had the face to make an offer of wealth and popularity, if he would only apostatize and do his best to build up and Americanize a despicable little sect that cannot thrive in its own home, though backed by the gigantic power of the German Empire! And they thought that, for this paltry bribe, he would barter away the Church of his affection, the merits of many years, and his hopes of eternity! One might well exclaim with the Pagan poet:

"O stultas hominum mentes, O pectora cœca!"

It is hard to say which was greater, the insolence or the absurdity of such a proposal.

If Dr. Brownson, like the holiest of his predecessors in conversion, was not ashamed of the Gospel (Rom. i. 16), if he ever had its fearless profession on his lips, we should be led to expect, from his characteristic earnestness and love of truth, that in his case deeds kept pace with words, and that his religious faith was realized in his daily life and actions. And that such was the fact we have from the testimony of all who knew him.

He is gone, but his memory lives not only in the work he has done, but also in the example he has left behind him. And it is precisely this example that should commend itself to the educated portion of our Catholic laity. Most of them have had no laborious struggle to acquire the treasure of religious truth. Grown up from infancy in the house of their Father, they succeed to its possession as to their birthright. Let them prize and love it, as Brownson did; let them seek to extend its domain, so that all within their

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reach may be conquered, of their own good-will, by its gentle power. The sphere in which the educated layman can co-operate with the Church is daily widening, and the value of his co-operation is daily growing in importance. The number of distinguished laymen who are rendering incalculable service to the Church is increasing every day in Germany, France, and Great Britain. Can we say the same of our own country? How is it that, of the many who graduate at our colleges and academies, only a few seem conscious of their duty in this respect? Fewer still have the courage to discharge it. Yet it is not inconsistent with the pursuit of any learned profession which may be adopted as a means of living. There is only one calling incompatible with it; it is that of the professional politician. Oh, for a warning voice, loud and powerful enough to deter our young men from entering on this career! In our day it is simply the road to corruption and moral death. Let them learn a lesson from those of their non-Catholic fellow-citizens, who have not parted with self-respect, and retain a nice sense of honor. None of them, that prides himself on his good name, but would scorn to expose it in the political atmosphere. We are not speaking now of those, some of them honorable men, whom their position, or the exigencies of the hour, may call into public life. We speak only of the *professional* politician, whose more or less plainly avowed standard of right and wrong is not that of Christianity nor even of decent Heathenism. All may not be called on to write or speak publicly in praise or defence of their religion. But there is a sphere open to them all, in which they may show their zeal for the advancement of God's kingdom. If they love Catholic truth not only with their lips, but with all the earnestness of their hearts, "Non verbo neque lingua sed opere et veritate," as St. John says (I. John iii. 18), let them do their best to exemplify it in their daily life and intercourse with the world. "Nos non magna eloquimur sed VIVIMUS," exclaimed triumphantly one of the Fathers, speaking of the early Christians. "We do not speak great things; we LIVE them in everyday life." It was this silent but forcible speech of living example that, with God's grace, conquered the Pagan world, as widely as the preaching and miracles of the Apostles and their successors. And if our laity will only act up to this high standard, the gentle persuasion of their example will do more to root out error and unbelief, and spread the saving doctrines of true Christianity, than long and eloquent debate or innumerable tomes of controversy. Further, in their intercourse with those outside of the Church, whether it be for the purpose of simple explanation or friendly discussion, let them never conceal, never disguise the doctrines of the Church; never strive to temper them so as to suit the prejudices of heresy or of the world. The

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Church has nothing to be ashamed of. We held these doctrines long before heresy came into the world, and unless they were wholesome for the hearing and the souls of men God would not have revealed them.

In the death of Dr. Brownson the Catholic laity, as well as the clergy, has sustained a great loss; and we know not when it may be given us to look upon his like again. He had his faults; we speak not of his private life, which was above reproach and most edifying, but of those blemishes, which, like spots upon the sun, are visible occasionally in his long public career of writer and Reviewer. But our purpose does not call for any discussion of them. None could differ more radically from some of his opinions than the writer; but in the presence of the mighty dead, he thrusts aside all these petty remembrances. Let Brownson's faults, such as they were, sleep undisturbed with him in his honored grave. Far more welcome than praise or blame to his departed spirit is the soothing prayer of Mother Church, in which we invite all our readers to join: "ETERNAL REST GIVE UNTO HIM, O LORD, AND MAY PERPETUAL LIGHT SHINE UPON HIM!"

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BOOK NOTICES.

THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM. Part III. By *T. W. Allies.* London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer. 1875.

Part III. of Mr. Allies's truly grand work is, we will not say more valuable than Parts I. and II., but certainly is of equal interest and value. In saying this we will be readily understood by those who have read the parts previously published, as according the highest praise. The work, throughout, evinces extensive reading and laborious research, careful analysis and digestion of sources of history and ancient systems of philosophy, and profound and accurate knowledge of the subjects discussed.

To those who are unacquainted with the general design of Mr. Allies's work it may be well to say that the object of the author is to bring out the philosophy of Christian history. His fundamental idea can be given in a few sentences taken from the first chapter of Part I. of the work: "No one can be a true and great historian if his history be not written with a full conviction that three great powers move through the whole course of human events. There is a Divine Providence which shapes things to its own ends, 'rough-hew them how we will,' and never leaves the mastery of results to the blind or iron force of chance or fate. There is a free will of man, left sacred in every human breast by that Divine Providence, not the slave of outward circumstances nor of inward pleasure, but the very basis of our moral being, and its inviolable citadel. And there is, by the permission of that same Providence, an ever-active power of evil, universal in its operation, and tempting every human free will to a false pleasure and an unreal good. If the human mind could not discern and recognize these three powers for itself from the mere contemplation of the outward facts of history, yet, at least, when they are disclosed by revelation it sees infallible proof of their presence in those facts; nor has either of these ever been denied or ignored by the historian without manifest injury to the truth and the completeness of the view which he takes of human affairs."

In the following sentences the author finely sketches his idea of the manner in which Providence rules and directs to his own ultimate ends the free actions of men. "Who has not gazed with admiration on a swarm of insects unconfusedly engaged, with ceaseless industry and unity of purpose, in the work of their hives? Who has not felt arrested at the spectacle of the Divine mind which planted this instinct within them, and reveals itself in such effects? But look on the hive of men, where every one possesses not instinct, but the diviner gifts of memory, understanding, and will—where every one has an origin of action and choice in himself, which is essentially free, which he is ever exercising. And yet no less the whole hive conspire to a work beyond the thought and aim of the individual, beyond that of the mass; every one goes his own way, but all go together a way they wot not of, and man's free will works out God's intention. Gazing on such a scene, we realize the poet's thought, and admire him:

> 'La Providenza che governa il mondo
> Con quel consiglio nel quale ogni aspetto
> Creato e visto pria che vada al fondo.'[1]

"Such is human history in its highest aspect; a most wonderful and entrancing sight."

[1] Dante, Parad., xi. 28.

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Of the manner in which the author develops his idea in the first and second parts of *The Formation of Christendom*, we do not propose to speak. Those volumes have now been before the public for some time, and the space at our command allows us only to notice Part III.

The first chapter of this part contains a masterly sketch of "The Foundation of the Roman Church," and a proof of the fact that it was and is the type and form of every particular Church. By way of preparation for this sketch, a brief but powerful description is given of the extraordinary temporal prosperity, the wonderfully comprehensive, everywhere reaching, irresistible system of civil polity, the "immense majesty of the Roman peace," then prevailing, along with the "profound corruption of manners which made the domestic lives of even the greatest men, such as Augustus, sinks of pollution, not adequately to be described without contamination—a corruption of manners, both represented and authorized by the idolatrous polytheism, which was in full possession as well of public as of private life."

In the very heart of this civilization, more perfect as to its own kind and character than the world has ever seen before or since, and more thoroughly, and to human sight and judgment more hopelessly corrupt, the kingdom of heaven was planted by St. Peter "like to a grain of mustard seed."

To show how Christianity, thus planted, did a work which all the systems of Grecian and Roman philosophy could not do; how it contrasted with those systems, wherein its superiority consisted; how Christianity overcame and conquered them, and made subservient to itself whatever in them was essentially true, and which yet in the false connections and relations in which it was held was powerless for good—is mainly the scope and design of Part III. of the author's work.

Mr. Allies first proves the powerlessness of Pagan philosophy, in all its various forms and schools, to form a society after its own tenets, and its utter worthlessness when judged by its own professed end. He shows this by testing it as regards (1) doctrine, (2) morals, and (3) worship, "in the intimate connection of which the perfection of society consists." As regards the first, heathen philosophy did not even lay claim to any such gift as the Jew recognized in Moses and the prophets, and the Christian found in the Apostolic teaching. Abstracting "that portion of its teaching which was the continuation of the original tradition descending to the Greeks, as to all other men, from the patriarchal religion, philosophy could teach men nothing, but left them to depend on what of truth natural reason could reach." "As to its morality, that, likewise, was the product of human reason," "and so the ground of its morality was the intrinsic dignity of man as a rational being, not the acknowledgment that he was a creature," dependent on God. Of worship, philosophy was entirely destitute. "It had none of its own, and it fell throughout its course, and in all its sects, into the fatal weakness of consenting to take at least an external part in an ancestral worship to which its inmost belief was opposed. Thus, in the most important act of human life, the philosopher was a hypocrite. This is true of Plato and of Aristotle, as well as of Zeno and Epicurus, of Cicero and of Cato, of Seneca, too, and of Marcus Antoninus." After thus pointing out how philosophy universally failed in its proposed aims and ends, Mr. Allies shows, with great power and clearness of thought, and beauty of language, how Christianity fulfilled those ends.

The main portion of Part III. is then taken up, in further development of the argument, with an exhaustive discussion of the following topics: Neo-Stoicism and the Christian Church, the First Resurrection

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of Cultured Heathenism in the Neo-Pythagorean School, the Standing-Ground of Philosophy from the Accession of Nerva to that of Severus, the Gospel of Philosophic Heathenism, the Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Epoch (following which is a valuable note on the Connection of Ancient and Modern Pantheism), the Respective Power of the Greek Philosophy and the Christian Church to Construct Society, the Church Reconstructing Natural Order by the Supernatural.

In the last chapter of Part III. Mr. Allies sums up the results arrived at by his exhaustive discussion as follows:

I. As regards philosophy—"which means the utmost effort of human intelligence, the flower and fruit of Hellenic civilization,"—that it entirely failed (1) to construct a society, or furnish a ground on which society could rest, and (2) that it, likewise, utterly failed to implant the belief of one God in the minds of men, and consequently could not furnish any basis of morality.

II. As regards the Church, he shows (1) how the Church re-established the belief in one God, which is the foundation of human society and of morality; (2) how the Church re-established belief in the continuance of the human personality after death, "from which sprung the correction of a grave philosophic error, and an intense moral corruption; (3) how the Church re-established the doctrine of man's creatureship; (4) how the Church re-established the basis of morality in the relation of man to his fellow-man; (5) how the Church re-established the proper relation between the individual and the commonwealth; (6) how the Church carried in her bosom a law of nations."

Mr. Allies then closes with a masterly sketch of what the Church accomplished as regards the points just stated, and a magnificent picture of the Christian commonwealth which she established, the result of which was, "that when the time had come when the imperial unity of Rome had been broken, the spiritual unity of Rome shone out clearly to the eyes of men and the sovereigns of great nations, indifferent whether they be of Teutonic or Latin blood, acknowledged in the common Father the voice of a living law of nations, the voice of a common Christian duty, the voice of a glorious Christian confederacy; the rule not of blood and iron, but of Christian charity, upon which alone a law of nations can be based."

We wish Mr. Allies's work were in the hands of every priest and educated lay Catholic, because, apart from other considerations, it shows clearly that the prevailing skeptical philosophy of to-day, in all its phases and sects, is nothing more than a revamping of ancient Pagan philosophic ideas, which, ages ago, were weighed in the balance and found utterly wanting, even when tested by their own professed aims, and whose last word and final result, as a distinguished writer has well said, was despair.

CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN STATE. A Series of Essays on the Relation of the Church to the Civil Power. Translated, with the permission of the author, from the German of *Dr. Joseph Hergenröther*, Professor of Canon Law and Church History in the University of Würzburg. In two volumes. London: Burns & Oates.

This book has received great praise from the Catholic press in Europe, but no more than it deserves. It presents the subject of which it treats in all its bearings, ethical, theological, and historical, and does so with a brevity, a clearness, and a learned criticism to be found only in works of the highest order of merit. It was not intended to be exhaustive of the topics it discusses, but it is a complete, methodical, and lucid compendium of all that has been written and, indeed, of all that can be said

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on the relation of the Church to the civil power. Each essay gives a short statement of the question under consideration, one or more proofs of the point to be maintained, answers to the more important objections, and principles of solution for other objections not mentioned, but which have been, or may be urged, against it. In a word, every question is discussed in scholastic order, with scholastic precision, though not in scholastic form. The essays are divided into paragraphs, and copious notes and references to standard authors are given after each paragraph, which will enable the student to investigate to his entire satisfaction, every position and statement of the author. The value of such a work at the present time can hardly be overestimated. Very able essays have appeared, within the last couple of years, on some of the points included in Dr. Hergenröther's theme, but a brief, clear, and critical treatise covering the whole subject, was much needed. This want is amply supplied by the work before us. The first volume contains essays on the Holy See and Civil Allegiance, on the Vatican Council, the Syllabus, on the Fundamental Principles of the Middle Ages, and on Gregory VII. The second volume treats of the Pope and the Holy Roman Empire, from its foundation to its fall, of the Popes and their Vassal Kingdoms, in Italy and elsewhere, of Boniface VIII. and the Bull "Unam Sanctam," of the Origin of the Civil Power, and the right of resisting it, of the Punishment of Heresy, and of the Inquisition, of Liberty of Conscience, and of the claims of the Popes, since the Sixteenth Century.

The following introduction to Essay X., Vol. II., will give the reader an idea of the style and tone of the entire book: "After the eleventh century, many princes entered into feudal relations with the Church of Rome, and the rights of the Pope over such princes was much greater than over other rulers. He had not only an ecclesiastical, but also a temporal jurisdiction over them. The lord superior had a right to judge those princes who were his vassals, in any case of violation of fealty (felony), to depose them, and to give away to others the fiefs that escheated to him in these cases. The Popes in using their right of lord paramount to support their spiritual power, acted in conformity with the general feeling of the Middle Ages, according to which the material sword served as an aid to the spiritual. The exercise of their power may appear frequently to have been imprudent, immoderate, even hard and oppressive; but there was no violation of law nor usurpation of jurisdiction. We must not blame a judge who rests his judgment on the principles of jurisprudence prevailing in his time, only because they do not find the same acknowledgment in our day. This principle is always recognized, except in the case of the Popes. This is the less reasonable, as it was precisely the justice of their authority which caused their contemporaries most highly to esteem, and most strongly to support it. To meet the complaints made on this subject against the Popes, we will consider the Papal fiefs, I., in Italy; II., out of Italy."

PRINCIPIA; OR, BASIS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: Being a survey of the subject from the moral and theological, yet liberal and progressive, standpoint. By *R. J. Wright.* Second edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876. 8vo., pp. 524.

This is a book written with good intentions, to say the least, and the author has endeavored, no doubt, as he professes in his preface, to avoid giving pain or disturbance to the religious or political prejudices of his readers. In this we scarcely think he has succeeded to the full extent he anticipated. He is not sufficiently acquainted with Catholic doctrine to present it accurately; and an inaccurate statement in such matters is

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really misrepresentation, though without wilful intent. The author's explanation of our late war between the States will, perhaps, please neither party, though his language plainly shows on which side he stands. We are almost tempted to smile as we read in Mr. Wright's preface, that he endeavored to write a book "which could safely be recommended to pious young men, especially to students for the ministry, who really desire to be useful and to be abreast of their age on this subject" (Pref., p. vii.); and a few lines after he calls the book "his mite towards the Christianization of politics." Yet, in the exercise of private judgment, he puts a construction on the Saviour's maxim, "love thy neighbor as thyself," which is simply anti-Christian. "The interpretation," he says, "which some put on the word *neighbor*, making it mean all mankind, is MERE JUGGLERY; for it takes away all the meaning of the word 'neighbor,' and therefore takes away the 'point' of the passage!" It is well known that the Pharisees interpreted the passage of the Old Law pretty much as Mr. Wright does; and it was his intention to rebuke their false gloss by repeating the maxim and enforcing its true meaning. If we are to love not mankind but those of our "Precinct," we are not much in advance of our Pagan forefathers, civilized or savages; and the whole wonderful, beautiful theory of Christian charity is scattered to the winds. The social-science system is one of the hardest to be constructed; and our author lacks the ability to do it. Neither his own pet idea of six units, nor what he has borrowed from Compte, Fourier, Spencer, and other notorious unbelievers, will ever suffice to build up a theory of the science half as good as that of Cicero and other Pagans, who lived before our Lord came on earth. If he fails, it is the fault of his imperfect ideas of true Christianity, which never yet were learned outside of the Church, nor by exercising private judgment.

The author says some good things occasionally. Here is one of them: "The world has yet to decide whether the cry for freedom has been only an instinctive ruse of the *outs* against the *ins*, a mere deluded prayer of the covetousness of power, or whether it is the voice of real justice and of human rights, for all sides equally: and whether the call even for freedom of conscience in religion was ONLY for freedom for the caller's religion, or whether really for freedom for all." This, history tells us, was the cry with which the Reformation came into the world, freedom to prosper itself and to persecute others. And the very name of which it is so proud, means, according to historical truth, a PROTEST not only against religious freedom, but against mere toleration of the Catholic worship.

THE SECRET WARFARE OF FREEMASONRY AGAINST CHURCH AND STATE. Translated from the German. London: Burns, Oates & Co.

Masonry is, beyond doubt, one of the most important organizations of the present time. It claims a membership of some seventeen millions, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the claim. It exercises a powerful influence in the social, business, and political relations of all countries. It is said to control, to a great extent, the press, in every land that has a press, and to be able to shape the policy of governments. Its ranks are recruited from the mercantile and industrial classes and the professions, but it can also count amongst its adherents men eminent in science, in art, in literature, and statecraft. Its affairs are conducted with a harmony and a unity of purpose exhibited by no other society outside the Catholic Church. Secrecy, too, puts its proceedings, to a great extent, beyond the reach of unfriendly, and even of

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disinterested, criticism. Such an organization must, in the nature of things, have a great influence in every country where it has been able to find a firm footing, an influence to be estimated not by local causes only, but by the sympathy, also, and the support the society can count on from its members in other lands. It is not to be wondered at that thousands should be attracted to it by the social and political advantages to be gained by connection with it, and that even kings, and emperors, and statesmen, whatever their individual views of it may be, should seek to control, or at least to propitiate it, by becoming members of it. No one can be indifferent to the existence and the aims of a society such as this. It is too important an element in the social and political life of a nation to be overlooked. Its origin, its organization, the ends it has in view, the means by which it seeks to attain them, are not only proper, but, in a measure, necessary subjects of investigation for every lover of his country. The estimate to be formed of Masonry is, indeed, not an open question for Catholics; the highest authority in the Church decided it long ago; but it is a question that concerns all citizens of whatever form of religious belief.

The author of the work before us undertakes to prove that this society wages a covert warfare not only against the Catholic Church, but against Christianity itself, against monarchy, against social order, and against God. He wishes it, however, to be distinctly understood that he "does not impute to *all* Freemasons the ultimate aims of their secret society. Few only," he says, "are completely initiated; the greater number of the brethren sin in ignorance."

This is a very grave indictment, but it is one the truth of which, we think, he puts entirely beyond question. His proofs are drawn from the authentic records of the lodges, from the manuals of the Order, from its organs, and from the writings and speeches of men high in its councils. Stronger, or more direct evidence than this, could hardly be desired. A very well-written, and closely reasoned Introduction by the English translator, on the general theme of the author, will be read with interest.

THE GLORIES OF THE SACRED HEART. By *Henry Edward*, Cardinal (and) Archbishop (of Westminster). New York: Catholic Publication Society. 12mo., pp. 302.

The omission, on the title-page, of the name of the Cardinal's See is awkward, and, we may add, incorrect. What is a Cardinal Archbishop? There is a Cardinal Manning, and he is Archbishop of Westminster, but he is not a Cardinal Archbishop. It is readily enough explained *in sensu diviso*, as they say in logic; but in setting down an official title, the usual style should be followed, and explanations should not be needed. The inaccuracy, trifling as it is, is not to be imputed to the Cardinal himself, nor to our worthy American publishers, but to the English publishing house from which they obtained duplicate plates, thus securing a correct and authentic edition.

This admirable book is made up of ten discourses by the Cardinal, and now collected under the following heads: I. The Divine Glory of the Sacred Heart. II. The Sacred Heart God's Way of Love. III. Dogma the Source of Devotion. IV. The Science of the Sacred Heart. V. The Last Will of the Sacred Heart. VI. The Temporal Glory of the Sacred Heart. VII. The Transforming Power of the Sacred Heart. VIII. The Sure Way of Likeness to the Sacred Heart. IX. The Signs of the Sacred Heart. X. The Eternal Glory of the Sacred Heart.

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The non-Catholic world, outside of the Church, is too often Socinian, and even when it strives to be truly Christian, rarely gets higher than Nestorianism. What else was to be expected, when it threw away the Real Presence, and the honor due to the Blessed Virgin? These two doctrines are the great bulwarks of the Divinity of Christ, and the surrender of this citadel of Christianity is only a matter of time, when the outworks have been given up. No wonder that they object to the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as "the newest and most degrading form of Catholic idolatry," for they do not understand it. Nor can they, since the whole doctrine of the Incarnation has become obscured in their minds. They seem to know nothing of the hypostatic Union, nothing of Christ's deified Humanity. Some of them may worship as something abstract His divinity out of sight and dwelling in heaven; did they see Him on earth, present in the flesh, they would be shy of saying to Him, with St. Thomas, *Dominus meus et Deus meus.*

TERRA INCOGNITA; OR, THE CONVENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By *John Nicholas Murphy*, Author of *Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social.* Popular edition, with several new chapters, and the statistics of convents brought down to the present day. London: Burns & Oates. 1876.

We have long been accustomed to see Mr. Murphy's name mentioned in connection with every good and charitable enterprise in his native city, but we question if he has ever done anything more meritorious, or that entitles him as much to the gratitude of Catholics as the writing of this interesting and instructive book. It is a kind of *ex-voto* offering intended to enlighten his Protestant fellow-subjects, to whom it is dedicated, in regard to the nature and objects of the conventual institutions of Great Britain and Ireland. He treats his subject in a calm, impartial, and scholarlike manner, and we are glad to perceive from the press notices given at the end of the volume, that his work has been well received by those for whose benefit it was undertaken. The fact that such a book as this can be read and, to a certain extent, appreciated by the Protestants of the United Kingdom, is a sure sign that the old no-popery calumnies are fast losing their hold on the public mind of those countries. The chief strength of Protestantism lies in its misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine and discipline, and, that once exposed, numerous conversions may be hoped for from among such of our opponents as are in good faith.

The first twelve chapters of *Terra Incognita* are devoted to the history of the ancient orders of men and women, from their introduction, in the third century, to the Council of Trent, particular attention being given to the orders of women, of this class, now existing in the United Kingdom. These are, the Benedictines, the Canonesses of St. Augustine, the Carmelites, the Poor Clares, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Servites, and Bridgettines. Chapters XIII. and XIX. are interesting sketches of the lives of Miss Nano Nagle, and St. Vincent de Paul. Chapter XVIII. is an admirable answer to popular objections to convents. The remaining chapters give an account of the foundation, rules, and occupations of all the modern orders of women, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, with statistics of their different convents, schools, asylums, etc. These communities are twelve in number, the Ursulines, the Nuns of the Presentation, the Irish Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Charity of St. Paul the Apostle, Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Faithful Companions of Jesus, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Nazareth, Nuns of the Good Shepherd, and Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Information is given in regard to all these

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communities, not to be found in any other work, and which cannot fail to interest and edify the reader.

THE PRIMACY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE VINDICATED. By *Francis Patrick Kenrick*, Archbishop of Baltimore. Seventh revised edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 182 Baltimore Street. 1875.

This is the seventh edition, and the fourth stereotyped edition, of this valuable work. It has the advantage of being printed on much better paper than any of the preceding editions. This book, like every other book from the pen of the learned author, is a standard work on the subject of which it treats. As a vindication of the primacy of the Apostolic See, we think it unequalled by any other popular treatise thus far given to the public in any language. When written, it was as complete as a work intended for popular use could be expected to be. Now, however, it must be regarded as laboring under one defect very much to be regretted, which is, the want of a brief exposition and defence of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, as defined by the Vatican Council. It is true, indeed, that a vindication of his primacy is a vindication of his infallibility, for he is infallible because of his primacy; still, it were greatly to be desired that a work of such singular merit in all other respects should contain a direct thesis on the dogma of infallibility. Had the illustrious author been spared to assist at the Council, of which he would have been the brightest light, this defect would, no doubt, have been well supplied. But this was not to be. In this work before us, he makes but one passing allusion to this important subject. It is in Chapter XVII., page 223: "It has been warmly disputed whether a solemn judgment thus pronounced, wherein a doctrine is proposed to the Church generally, as necessary to be believed under pain of anathema, or an error is proscribed as opposed to faith, with the same sanction, may possibly be erroneous. The *personal* fallibility of the Pope, in his private capacity, writing or speaking, is fully conceded by the most ardent advocates of papal prerogatives. His official infallibility, *ex cathedra*, in the circumstances just specified, is strongly affirmed by St. Alphonsus de Liguori, and a host of divines, in accordance, I believe, with ancient tradition, although the assembly of the French clergy in 1682 contended that his judgment may admit of amendment as long as it is not sustained by the assent and adhesion of the great body of bishops." In this passage the author states the doctrine of infallibility with his usual precision. Why he did not draw it out more fully and defend it, it is, of course, impossible to say now. It certainly could not have been because he regarded it as a mere theological opinion. He could not have viewed in this light a doctrine affirmed by "a host of divines in accordance with ancient tradition." Perhaps it was because he was unwilling to put any unnecessary obstacles in the way of certain persons returning to the Church, where faith in this doctrine would eventually come to them. Who can tell?

THE LIFE OF OUR LIFE, PART THE SECOND. THE PUBLIC LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By *Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S. J.* London: Burns & Oates. 1875.

These two volumes on the public Life of our Lord, will be found deeply interesting and instructive. In none of his writings does Father Coleridge take his readers over beaten paths. If what he has to say is not always new, it is never commonplace. He is a man of strong intellect, of attainments both varied and accurate, and of a sound practical judgment. His works can owe little of their success to grace of style, or the glow of rhetoric. Their chief excellence lies in their erudition,

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in the freshness of their thoughts, and in their adaptation to the intellectual and moral wants of the present time. It is to be regretted that too many of the lives of our Lord, especially those written in the form of meditations, with much that is admirable, contain too much that is farfetched, arbitrary, or trivial. In the volumes before us, there is nothing of this. The author takes up the leading facts in the life of the Redeemer, and his leading doctrines, comments on them, explains them in the light of theology and learned exegesis, shows their dogmatic and moral significance and bearing, and the nexus between them. He perfects the outline that is but partial and broken on the inspired page, gives light, and shade, and perspective to the picture, clothes it in the beauty of color, and does so in strict accordance with the rules of the divine science to which he has devoted his life. He makes no parade of authorities or opinions, though every scholar will perceive that he must have read and considered nearly everything at all connected with his subject. His conclusions are just and logical, his reflections appropriate and suggestive, and the practical lessons he draws from the words and actions of the Saviour, well chosen and wisely enforced. Simple and popular in form and style, his work, in reality, is most erudite and scholarly, and when finished, will be a rich mine of interesting and edifying information for all, but especially for such preachers as desire to instruct more than to please their audiences.

THE KEY OF HEAVEN: A Manual of Prayer, by the *Rt. Rev. J. Milner, D.D.* A new enlarged and carefully revised edition. Published with the approbation of the most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1876. 16mo., pp. 480.

Amongst the crowd of new prayer-books, daily growing around us in number and many of them in popular favor, it is pleasant to recognize the face of an old friend like the "Key of Heaven," and to find that it has not been thrown into the shade by its younger competitors. This little book has been of the favorite devotional manuals of the Catholics of Great Britain, Ireland, and America for the last hundred years. And it is probably still older. For, though, on the title-page, it is said to be Milner's work, we are inclined to think it older than the time of that illustrious divine. It is very likely that he had it republished for circulation amongst his flock; and thus, as frequently happens, it came to be known among them by his name. In the same way, the Catechism of Bishop Butler in many places at the South is known simply as "Bishop England's Catechism," and of the many who derived from it their knowledge of religion, not one in a thousand is aware that its true author was Bishop Butler. To the best of our recollection, Husenbeth, in his charming Life of Bishop Milner, nowhere attributes to him the authorship of the book in question. In the handsome edition before us, there are several improvements and additions, amongst which are some of F. Faber's Hymns. The Prayers for Morning and Evening, and devotions for assisting at Mass, are judiciously printed in larger type than the rest of the book.

THE ACOLYTE; OR, A CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR. A Story for Catholic Youth. Philadelphia: Peter F. Cunningham & Son. 1876.

A very readable story, though by no means a sensational one. Its aim is to illustrate the manner in which the irreligious education of the day works evil, that it is difficult afterwards to eradicate; and to show how, on the contrary, education of the highest kind under the sanction

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and guidance of religion, far from weakening, strengthens and invigorates the first elements of Christian piety taught by parents in the truly Christian family. There is one chapter of peculiar excellence, headed "The Golden Vision of a Catholic Future," in which the author unfolds his ideas of the proper way to preserve amongst our youth, verging into manhood, the blessings they have once received from Catholic education. Perhaps our American boys very seldom discourse with one another in such a lofty strain of Christian wisdom, as Charles Desmond and James Lambeth are made to do in this book. But there is no harm in proposing a lofty ideal to youth for thinking, even if they cannot talk up to its standard.

YOUNG LADIES' PROGRESSIVE READER, designed for the higher classes in Schools and Academies. New York: P. O'Shea, No. 37 Barclay Street. 1876.

The selections for the "Young Ladies' Progressive Reader" have been made with care and good judgment. They are taken from the writings of numerous authors; amongst others, Archbishop Landriot, Percival, Balmes, Digby, Washington Irving, Chateaubriand, Cardinal Wiseman, Monsignor Dupanloup, Lacordaire, Lamartine, Addison, Goldsmith, and Emerson. The selections of poetry are equally numerous, consisting of excerpts from Longfellow, Bryant, Tennyson, Schiller, Adelaide A. Proctor, Eleanor C. Donnelly, Mrs. Norton, Byron, Shakspeare, and others.

UNION WITH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IN HIS PRINCIPAL MYSTERIES. By the *Rev. John Baptist Saint-Jure, S. J.* New York: D. and J. Sadlier & Co. 1876.

This is a very admirable treatise, and, like all the works of the distinguished author, breathes an air of piety as enlightened as it is earnest and tender. It is an excellent book for spiritual reading; and persons in the habit of making meditations, will find in it much fresh and suggestive matter suitable to their purpose. It will also be a valuable aid to those whose duty it is to guide or help others to the higher paths of Christian perfection.

REAL LIFE. By *Mathilde Fremont* (*Mme. Boordon*). Translated from the French by Miss Newlin. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co., 174 West Baltimore Street, Baltimore.

This is a tale of domestic life, depicting through a series of letters the incidents, trials, duties, failures, and victories of the heroine passing through the scenes and vicissitudes of real everyday life. It is well written. The heroine is placed in the middle rank of society, equally removed from poverty and material splendor. Her sorrows and joys come to her from her own family. There is the theatre of her hopes, her illusions, her strength, and her triumphs. It would be well if more books in this sphere, and on this plane, were written and published.

MARGARET ROPER; OR, THE CHANCELLOR AND HIS DAUGHTER. By *Agnes Stewart.* Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co., 174 West Baltimore Street. 1876.

Among all the cruel acts which blacken the character of Henry VIII of England, none is more detestable than his treatment of Sir Thomas More. The author of the work before us brings this out quite fully. The faith adheres to historical truth in her recountal of the scenes and incidents which make up her story. The character of Margaret Roper, the daughter of Sir Thomas More, is well sketched, as is also that of the Lord Chancellor himself.

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THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

Civilization in the Nineteenth Century. By W. S. Lilly, M. A. London *Month* for June, 1876.

Où Allons-nous? Par M. L'Evêque d'Orléans, Membre du Sénat. Paris, Ch. Douniol et Cie, 1876.

IN the situation of the Church at any given time no Christian need fear that the majority of the people will ever be arrayed against the Church. Did not the birth of Christ "bring good tidings of great joy . . . . to all the people?" (Luke ii. 10.) Did not our Saviour Himself declare that He came "to preach the Gospel to the poor?" (Matt. xi. 5.) Did He not bless them and denounce woe to the rich? He was Himself one of the people, lived constantly in the midst of them, took pleasure in instructing them, relieving their wants, and using His Divine power for their benefit.

Under His instructions and inspiration the Church has always manifested a motherly affection for the poor; and there is no need of expatiating on a subject so perfectly well known to all. But it is proper to insist on the great fact that the gratitude of the people toward the Church has been thus far a prominent feature of modern history. Take any part of it you choose and in all the innumerable difficulties which the Church had to encounter, the people almost invariably stood up at her side ready to defend her, and sharing generously in all her perils and vicissitudes. The exception we have just mentioned, refers to the well-known period of Protestantism at its first outbreak, when a great part of the people in Germany

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embraced openly the cause of her enemies. It would be useless to look into the causes of this anomaly; it is sufficient to remark that even in the north of that country the mass of the nation would not have abandoned the cause of the Church, had it not been for the treachery of the princes. But everywhere else, even in England, the people were certainly opposed to the Reformation. They embraced it finally in Great Britain because of their belief that the change after all was not radical, since under Henry VIII. they had yet a hierarchy, the Mass, sacraments, and a certain array of festivals, together with the greater number of their former customs. The reader knows what sacrifices Ireland made to keep her faith; how ardent were the people in France against the innovators; how the common citizens of Paris itself went even to the excesses of the *Ligue* to prove their allegiance to Catholicity.

A full and impartial history of the Reformation would prove conclusively, that, if the Church was then betrayed, it was not in general by the lower classes of society, where, on the contrary, she found her stanchest defenders. But as it is with the present time that this paper is concerned, it is our duty to show briefly, first, that at this moment the great mass of the people, in all countries, is more ardently attached than ever to the cause of the Bride of Christ, and the semi-persuasion of some men who incline really to believe that the whole world, including even the lower classes of mankind, are now turning their backs on her whom they called so long their mother, is after all a mere dream, an unholy fancy, which cannot stand against the least discussion. This requires a moment's attention before coming to inquire how far the people have been tainted by the false ideas of the age, and what is the real extent of the danger, in that respect, for the future.

How can the Church be imagined without the people around her? Are not her instructions, her sacraments, her festivals, her processions, pilgrimages, and ceremonies chiefly for them? Is it not the people that surround her prelates, her priests, her ministers of any degree on all those occasions? Is not the love, the veneration of the lower orders, as they are called, bright as the light of day whenever she comes out for any purpose whatever? It is, we are sure, for this very reason that in most countries, even in those which are still called Catholic, restraint is put on her whenever she wishes to come forward in public. She must have, of course, the consent of the civil authorities for any demonstration of this kind. The civil authorities are so tender of the health of the people that they are afraid that contagion, pestilence, the cholera morbus, or the plague would be the consequence of such promiscuous gatherings as these. These strange motives the writer himself has seen assigned for shutting up the priests in their churches

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on the greatest solemnities, as, for instance, on Corpus Christi day. But the fact is, the modern rulers dislike such displays as these, because they are too sure an index of the real feelings of the people, and the rulers themselves wish to engross all the public attention and respect.

In a human point of view the affection of the people for the Church is almost as remarkable as the love of a great part of mankind for Christ. Those who have read the *Mémorial de Ste. Helène* know how deeply impressed was Napoleon I. with that strange phenomenon, the *love of Christ*, and the readers of Mr. Lecky's *European Morals* have also, no doubt, admired the eloquent paragraph he penned on the same subject. It may be said that the deep attachment manifested at all times by the common people for the Church of God, partakes of the same character, and could furnish the theme of remarks as eloquent and true.

But look for a moment, dear reader, at the really surprising phase of this tender, affectionate feeling in this very country of ours. Were the Catholics of the United States, the poor among them chiefly, demented in doing what they have joyfully done during so long a period already, not alone for the mere support but for the extension, adornment, and glory of the Church of Christ? No: but they loved their religion as the source of untold blessings; and we see the tokens of that love in the innumerable churches, asylums, hospitals, protectories, houses of education, parochial schools which they have erected. They do not confine their exertions any more to large and populous cities; they dot the whole country with similar establishments, and in the North and East, at least, it is difficult to find a village of a respectable size entirely deprived of these proofs of the warmest attachment. Yet they know that the Church which is the object of so much affection on their part is despised, when it is not hated, by a great part of the surrounding population. They know that by professing openly their deep attachment to Catholicity, they often place obstacles in the way of their success through life. They see the sects around them rich, influential, in possession of sumptuous establishments, and they are aware that a little hypocrisy in pretending conformity to them would secure to them hosts of friends, and occasionally open to them the way to a brilliant life. Are they ever tempted to renounce their mother and hang to the skirts of a more showy woman who invites them to her embrace? They do precisely what the infant, mentioned by St. John Chrysostom, does irresistibly when finding her whose milk he sucked clad poorly, but smiling in the midst of richly attired ladies. The infant does not bestow a look on all this worldly pomp, but runs to the embrace of the only one he loves among them.

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Do you wish to have another and certainly a brighter example still of the love of the people for the Church? Go to Ireland. This simple word is sufficient, and it would be vain to enlarge upon it. After centuries of woe better days at last begin to shine over that unfortunate nation. But the change in their worldly prospects does not make any in their feelings. The Church is all for them, and they are only too glad that they can prove it, and bestow upon her all their gifts, without fearing any more the hand of the spoiler.

What Ireland was a hundred years ago Poland is at this moment; and the heroism displayed by the Irish people in previous centuries is the only sign of life the Poles can now give. See the deserts of Siberia filled by thousands of heroes condemned to an ignominious, or, at least, obscure death in the midst of frozen solitudes. Count, if you can, all those who perished before their transportation or on their way to their place of banishment. Picture to yourself, in fine, the agonizing throes of a martyred people. All this they suffer merely because they prefer Catholic unity to schism. All the pretensions of the autocrats of Russia that they are rebels and revolutionists cannot be substantiated, and never could. They had a right to their independence, of which they were unjustly deprived. But at this moment this flimsy pretext has become an open untruth; for the Poles cannot be called political offenders any longer. Their only resistance to-day is in defence of their faith, and they merely suffer and die because they love the Church more than life.

Turn we to Germany at this moment. A spectacle almost as heroic presents itself. Eleven millions of Catholics, deprived gradually of their pastors, look on their churches closed one after another, and are denied the right of educating their children in their faith. The only motive is to place over their heads wolves instead of shepherds, and if they once consented to it favors of every kind would be showered upon them. But they resist determinedly, as the Irish and the Poles did before them; and they show as ardent a love for the Church of Christ as the first Christians ever did under the persecuting scourge of the Roman Emperors. If life is no longer taken away it is rendered unbearable by the taunts and reproaches of the officials of the German government, by their rigid execution of the Falk laws, and by the gloomy prospects to which true religion seems to be doomed.

It is certainly difficult to find in the annals of Catholicity any epoch whatever where a stronger attachment was displayed by the people for the Bride of Christ. Yet we are far from being done. Have we not the heroism of the Swiss peasants and graziers under the lash of a small number of anti-religious fanatics? Can we not with reason expect nearly the same state of affairs in Italy, as soon as its Parliament shall have perfected its means of attack and per-

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secution, or when the radicals finally obtain the power which is now within their grasp? Surely when this time arrives the Italian people will prove to the world that they have not degenerated from their deeply Catholic ancestors. The latent faith which all along has been simmering in their hearts will then start up in a blaze, and reveal what is now hidden. Because, forsooth, for more than half a century the innumerable secret societies, which have convulsed the peninsula, counted among their numbers many names belonging to this people, simple souls have imagined that the nation had turned its back on the Church and would never return to her fold. Vain and foolish thought! Those who have entertained it are perfectly and innocently unaware that no nation on earth knows so well how to distinguish between politics and religion. In this they far surpass the French, who for a century have firmly believed that no republican can be a Catholic, and almost no monarchist an infidel. To be enlightened on the subject of Italy in that regard, you have only to enter any Italian church on a day of solemnity. See that crowd of men, of all conditions, but chiefly composed of the lower classes. Many of them have, no doubt, often expressed fiercely their irreconcilable opposition to the government of priests; not a few have belonged, and perhaps belong yet, to some *venta* of Carbonari. Look at them, all on their knees, with their heads bent in adoration at the blessing of the Host. Hear those thousand male voices reverberating through the aisles of the vast edifice. Can this be a sham profession of faith? Is it not a mighty song, coming from the heart as well as from the throat?

The Italian, in fact, especially if he belongs to the people, cannot exist without the Catholic religion. In it he finds the fulfilment of his natural aspirations towards the beautiful, the ideal of art in all its branches. Whatever is noble and grand strikes him; and human respect, that bane of the lower orders in almost all other nations, cannot prevent him from expressing his admiration for anything truly sacred and pious. Let the enemies of the Church in Italy try—not to close the temples of God; the idea would be simply preposterous—but to curtail the religious privileges of the multitude, and to render difficult the solemnity of worship; the voice of the people would soon be heard, and the rash attempt would not be long persevered in. The actual government of Italy is so fully aware of it that it beheld, at least at the beginning, with real dismay, the determination of the Pope not to officiate in St. Peter's. The motive was not, as some pretended, the fear of offending public opinion throughout Europe. It would have been, unfortunately, a baseless fear. It was really the desire of not offending too glaringly the well-known leaning of the multitude.

What we might say in regard to the Spanish people must be dis-

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missed with only a word. That it is religiously the same nation which the world has known for many centuries, is proved beyond dispute by the Parliamentary difficulty which still exists, we believe, with regard to granting toleration of worship to the sects separated from the Church. This simple observation is sufficient for the present object; because the difficulty cannot come from the ruling classes in Spain. These mainly have lost their faith, and they would hail with joy the day when all possible sects could, without hindrance, raise their discordant voices and quarrel with each other as well as with the mother Church. But the people in Spain are wise enough not to accept this grant when they do not want it, and when there is not in fact anybody to claim it. The great evil of Spain has been rather of a political than of a religious character; indifference or unbelief is confined to a class of busybodies more troublesome than numerous; and it seems that, after all, the great source of agitation originates from the ranks of the army and the navy. The body and soul of the nation belong to the Church, as they did two or three centuries ago.

The picture seems to be complete, with the exception of France; and it looks as if the actual situation of the Church, with regard to the people, had not changed from what it was formerly. Yet it is not entirely so. Immense efforts have been made to estrange the great mass of mankind comprised in the universal name—the people—from the religion of Christ; and these efforts have not been altogether unsuccessful. To what extent the evil has gone, and what hope there is of contracting it into narrower limits, is the main object of this paper. To this we come at last; but what precedes could not possibly be omitted, because of a preconceived notion, altogether false, yet prevalent at this time, and far too mischievous to be left uncontradicted. We mean the idea that faith is in general so far on the wane, that with the exception of a few *Ultramontanes*—this we believe is the word—all orders of society have practically renounced it, and there is no longer any attachment to the Church, unless in the foolish and impressive hearts of a few women and children. Whenever the number of Catholics is quoted at two hundred millions, there is a shrugging of the shoulders, a smile of pity, as at a perfectly preposterous statement, too wild to be believed, except by an idiot. The exclamation even is occasionally heard: "They are all nominal Catholics." We beg your pardon, gentlemen. It is not for the sake of a nominal creed that the Catholics of this country impose on themselves so heavy burdens, and consent to so many pecuniary sacrifices. It is not for a discarded faith that the Irish have so long suffered, and pay so heavily at this moment. It is not for a known sham that the Poles perish of cold in Siberia, that the Germans beard Bismarck and his

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laws, the Italians refuse to listen to Protestant propagandism, the Spaniards deny to heresy a right of possession in their soil, etc., etc. No, no, our two hundred millions are not composed of ciphers. We may consent to humor you, gentlemen, to the extent of fifty thousand or so. But as these make a great deal of noise, and are continually fussing and bustling, they are supposed to be much more numerous than they are in fact. And now, having been so generous in allowing them to you for peace's sake, we will add for the sake of truth, that most of them repent of their errors on their death-bed, when they do not belong to the very small knot of *Solidaires* in Belgium or France. The short sketch just outlined in the previous pages was thus absolutely necessary. We come now to the precise object intended from the beginning.

And, as an important preliminary, it must be stated that the subject to be discussed can scarcely be understood by the great bulk of our readers. It supposes the existence of a state of things so different from what is generally witnessed in this country, that sensible people may very well almost refuse to believe. To bring them to a better frame of mind with regard to comprehending so strange a moral phenomenon, we beg of them to remember what they may have themselves witnessed, and what they have certainly often heard, of the fanaticism of former Protestants of the *Blue* kind against the Catholic Church. It is now a subject of wonder; yet every one is sure that such a monstrous misconception and outrageous antagonism really existed for more than two hundred years in this country and in England. The same kind of wonder—or rather a still worse kind—is going to be exhibited in all its naked deformity; and the reader, by remembering this short reference to a former delusion well known to him, will more easily understand the shocking spectacle which must be placed under his wondering gaze in this nineteenth century. But the gradual steps by which the enemies of the Church, or rather of Christianity, led a small part of the people to this climax of absurd hatred against it, ought to be first briefly stated to show how this incredible extreme of folly and bloodthirsty madness was at last reached.

Protestantism had already before endeavored by calumny to turn the people of all European nations against the Church. Our language is plain; some persons may call it heated, or even rough. To suppose Protestantism capable of *calumniating* anybody or anything! Yet it is a fact that all the accusations brought by this widespread heresy against Catholicity were false. There were abuses certainly which demanded correction, and which the Church corrected herself, so that for centuries they have disappeared. Has not Protestantism continued to reproach us with them? Has it not added to them many things which never existed? Do we not

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still hear occasionally of great *disclosures*, which a non-Catholic public has learned to laugh at because it knows them to be calumnies? Was it not by Protestants first that the Church was accused of extortion, of cruelty to the people, of deserving its execration, etc. This is now a part of history, and it can be referred to without subjecting the writer to the imputation of hot-headed abuse or rough and uncouth language.

But it must be said that the philosophers of the last century in France and the open or concealed enemies of the Church in this age have far outstripped Protestantism in this regard. They have, in this age, assumed a brilliant name, which too often turns to be a misnomer. They call themselves Liberals, and their programme is supposed to be that of *liberal doctrines*. We must first discuss this Liberalism, because, under the pretext of it, the Church has been wrongfully accused before the people. These Liberals generally preface the books they write on the subject by long dissertations on the gloomy times which preceded this enlightened era. There they find many occasions for abusing the Church and accusing her particularly of being the enemy of the people. A model in this kind of literature is a big quarto volume published in our day by the editors of the compilation known as the *Moniteur Universel*—the official daily paper during the French Revolution. As no publication of the size of the *Moniteur*—twenty enormous folio volumes—has ever contained so many horrors coolly detailed day by day during this memorable epoch, chiefly during the Terror—it is supposed that the modern editors wished to smooth down this frightful recital of revolutionary madness by piling up horrors of another kind in the previous period of time. De Tocqueville in his book *l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, shows that he had been bewildered by the first volume of the modern *Moniteur*, so as to adopt many of its statements. Recently Mr. Taine has written a powerful work on the same subject, starting from the same data, and reaching the same conclusions. All those contributions to historical knowledge impress the reader with the conviction that until 1789 France had groaned under the most wretched despotism, dating from the middle ages, weighing particularly upon the poor, and that the people were reduced to the most abject slavery. The Church, of course, was mainly instrumental in bringing about this frightful result, and the first thing to be done was to wipe out the Church. To do this, the people must first be weaned from her; for, strange to say, the nation was still in 1789 ardently attached to her in the greatest part of France, and an immense effort was required to alter its sentiments in this regard. Nothing was thought to be more sure of success than the heralding of the new *Liberal doctrines*, in which the people would find a guiding light, and would acknowl-

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edge in the promoters of the new enterprise their only true friends and protectors in their forlorn state.

This is not the place to discuss the truth or falsehood of the recent accusations against the then ecclesiastical rulers of France. Even if they were true, they would not affect exactly the Catholic Church, which, we believe, spreads farther than the limits of France. There were, no doubt, many abuses among the French clergy before the Revolution. Still, that it was not the upholder of despotism is evident enough from the whole annals of the French Church from beginning to end. At any rate the Revolution has not, that we know, rendered the lot of the French people much more tolerable than it then was; and the rapid succession of revolution after revolution in that unhappy country is a sure proof that happiness has not flowed naturally from Liberal doctrines.

But it is with these Liberal doctrines that we must be chiefly concerned at this moment, and the discussion of the subject may open the eyes of many who, trusting to a fine name, are easily satisfied that they contain an unquestionable boon.

The modern Liberal ideas are certainly, with regard to religious, social, and political principles, exactly the contrary of those of the middle ages. For this reason, probably, the modern Liberals are fiercely opposed to the spirit of those "dark" times; and they pretend to be the ardent friends of the people by fighting against the return of the despotism, rudeness, idiotic credulity then prevalent. It is the Church, they say, which yet upholds mediæval ideas; it is against the Church, consequently, that the people ought to rise as against their secular enemy. On this theme they have been harping for the last hundred years in France; and, unfortunately, a part of the people has listened to these fierce accusations, and is at this moment decidedly hostile to the Church in many parts of the country. These open denunciations have even reached countries far distant from France. M. de Bismarck also has declared in a celebrated speech that he is fighting only against mediævalism, and that the secular party, of which he is the champion on the side of the Germans, must this time conquer and crush its clerical antagonist. The great chancellor is, therefore, by his own declaration, on the *side* of the people; but the Catholic people of Germany do not seem to have much faith in this declaration.

It is evident that in this fierce contest there is misrepresentation somewhere; and the question must be clearly elucidated, to be decided correctly. No question, perhaps, at this time, is more important than this one; because it is evident that the principles which ruled society during the mediæval epoch were totally at variance with those generally upheld by modern Liberalism; and, as there is undoubtedly an ugly side, not in the mediæval principles—

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mark it well—but in many features of society at that time, the *principles* are never spoken of, and the *features* being constantly thrust forward, the Church is accused of being the cause of these, and is condemned, although nothing of the kind can justly be imputed to her, as will be proved.

These ugly features—the principles will be discussed further on—were derived from two sources: the want of physical knowledge and feudalism. This last was by far the worst of the two. By the primary and essential law of the system, to the possession of land alone was attached the enjoyment of any rights, political or civil. And, as the possession of land belonged then to the successful invaders of any country, among whom it was invariably divided, it followed that only plunderers had political and civil rights, at least originally. Dudo, of St. Quentin, has told us in his barbarous poem how the whole of Normandy, without the exception of a hamlet, was thus wholly distributed among the hungry crews of Scandinavians whom he admired for their boldness and ferocity. Thus was laid the foundation of feudalism by rough tribes, pagan at the time, and not acknowledging any other law but that of *might*. When the fury of the barbarian invasions had cooled down, the same original customs naturally continued to prevail, and the fortunate landowner alone could enjoy rights of any kind. The remainder of the population was composed of *villeins*, for whom there could not be any rights whatever, not even that of an action at law. This prevalence of *might* continued for a long period, and was the source of incessant wars. What share had the Church in the establishment of such an abominable social state? Can any of her enemies accuse her of having suggested or shared in this barbarous scheme? No doubt many bishops, in course of time, became at once both church dignitaries and feudal lords. But no one has yet pretended that such guilty abuses were in any way countenanced by the Christian principles always taught and advocated by the Church of Christ. This was the chief bane of the mediæval period; and if the times were dark it was mainly owing to a social system imposed on Europe by the barbarian fury coming from the pagan North, which lasted from the fifth to the tenth century.

But is it not true that the Church has often appeared as the friend of despotism against liberty? In these modern times has she not often sided with the absolute rulers against the people? This seems to be more plausible, but does not go further than plausibility, as a few words will suffice to prove.

That absolute power in these modern times did not originate with the Church, must be admitted now by all students of history. In the middle ages the right principles of government were acknowledged theoretically, and abstractedly from the outbreaks of

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feudal might. They had been thus settled by the Church herself. She had been mainly instrumental in establishing the municipal and political liberties which preceded everywhere in Europe the era of absolute power. The mediæval epoch, in fact, is remarkable for the liberal charters granted to all cities, and for the yearly parliaments, or States General, which form so universal a feature of the period. Absolute power in Europe originated, in fact, from Protestantism. It was fostered by the first leaders of that great heresy, who did not imagine they could succeed without enlisting the favor of the secular princes; and in this opinion they were right. These leaders of heresy, therefore, declared that the political rulers were supreme in Church and State. This is well known now, as well as the origin of the theory of the divine right of kings, which gradually passed from England to France, owing to the adoption of the Gallican doctrine, so called, which was forced on the clergy by Louis XIV. Macaulay can be read with profit on the subject in his *History of England* (vol. i.). Thus the false accusations made against the Church are really true charges against her adversaries.

After a period of absolute power, in which the Church had no share whatever, and from which she was the first to suffer, came, as was natural, a popular reaction against its excesses, from which sprung the political revolutionary spirit so conspicuous in our days. Had the new theorists merely aimed at bringing back the former liberties of the people and re-establishing the old freedom, without disturbing permanently public order, there is no doubt in our mind that the Church would have blessed the attempt, and advised the kings to consent to necessary reforms. But all men acquainted with contemporaneous history know that unfortunately this was not at all the case. The new advocates of freedom went directly to such an excess of *reformation* that they proposed first to destroy everything, without knowing exactly what system of government they would finally adopt. All thoughtful writers on political questions have remarked the radical and portentous change which took place in the mind of Europeans generally at the end of the last century, and brought on the period of fluctuation in governments, such as nearly all nations in Europe have experienced during the last hundred years. Then, indeed, began the struggle between "the kings and the peoples." No sane man can admit that, in this terrible contest, the kings were always wrong and the peoples always right. In general the popular fury went immediately beyond all the bounds, not alone of propriety, but of decency, honor, and justice. Thus the Church could not side with the "revolutionists," and on this account she has been accused of being the enemy of freedom. For this we admire her, and we think her firmness came from the Holy Spirit who guides her. The rulers

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of a mere worldly institution might have been tempted to place themselves at the head of the "people," as Pius IX. was urged to do by the Italians in 1848. There was no danger that the head of the Church could be guilty of such a folly.

The second ugly feature which has been mentioned in regard to the mediæval period was the want of physical knowledge then prevalent, which was certainly the source of much rudeness, discomfort, disease, and a thousand inconveniences of every sort; and this is coolly brought against the Church as if she had been the cause of it. We would not consent to lower ourselves so far as to discuss such a point as this, if it did not furnish us the occasion of reflections not altogether unimportant. The objection against the Church is commonly placed before the eyes of the people in this wise: "The modern world is certainly far ahead of mediæval times in point of comfort, knowledge, wealth, and mild manners. All our actual superiority in this respect is due to 'modern thought or science.' The Church, therefore, in opposing this, sets herself in antagonism to our actual superiority, which she would destroy if she could." The ignorant or unreflecting multitude admires the argument, and execrates the Church, supposing that, if she could, she would oblige us to travel on foot instead of using steamboats and railroads. The writer remembers to have heard this said in his presence by a learned member of a scientific body in Florence.

The answer is plain and decisive: Material comfort in mediæval times was, undoubtedly, far less general than it is in our day. The natural progress of physical and chemical science; the knowledge of natural laws; the extraordinary extension of commerce; the diffusion of wealth, have brought a far greater degree of material well-being. But these things the Church has never anathematized, no more than science itself. "Modern thought" or "science" to which the *Syllabus* is opposed, is nothing of this kind. All our superiority in this regard over our ancestors is the certain result of the progress of knowledge, to which Christian men have contributed at least as much as others. It is not in the least due to the spread of Liberal ideas, but to the study of the physical world. We are more enlightened in this respect than the mediæval people, merely because we happened to be born five or six hundred years after them. The barbarians, their near ancestors, knew absolutely nothing of physics; and the monks of the "Dark Ages" had to begin the study themselves. A certain friar, by the name of Bacon, was not, after all, a very mean adept in physical and chemical sciences; and an Irish bishop, of the ninth century, by the name of Virgil, was not a very unsuccessful student of astronomy, although he had not the aid of any telescope or *lunette*.

Pope Pius IX. has never denied in the *Syllabus* that Christians

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can lawfully enjoy the comfort consequent on a greater knowledge of natural laws. We would like to see a full list of the men devotedly attached to Catholicity, who have contributed to the well-being of ordinary people by discoveries of this kind. It would be a very long one. As for the multitude of excellent Catholics who do not scruple to profit by those useful inventions, who could count it? Who would pretend that commerce has been extended to its actual limits, which now embrace the whole world, by men altogether devoid of faith? Has ever the Church discountenanced the progress of geographical discovery? Have not many of her missionaries been themselves geographical explorers and discoverers?

All this is certainly ridiculous and stupid. But the opponents of mediævalism are so furious in their attacks on that period that we must go on a little longer in the same vein.

One of the most prominent features of the middle ages was monachism, and it is universally known how this institution has been ridiculed and assailed. Many men yet think that the monks in general were ignorant, were afraid of the wiles of Satan, if they strove to dive in the mysteries of nature, and were consequently opposed to "science," or even unable to understand the meaning of the word, wallowing in filth in their wretched cells, given up to superstition and unmanly fears, unfit entirely to guide the people who looked up to them with awe and veneration. Except a few bolder spirits among them, like Friar Bacon, to whom honor is paid with a kind of condescending respect, the rest of them are considered to have been absolutely worthy of contempt, and the greatest obstacle to improvement; so that they were justly removed out of the way as soon as science appeared.

Pity that we cannot expatiate on such a theme, and show to such appreciators of worth that they "blaspheme what they do not know." But a word only may suffice. Any one who has studied the subject in the proper sources, any one who has, for instance, gone through the abundant monastic matter contained in the great collection of Migne, is satisfied that the notions mentioned in the previous paragraph are sheer nonsense. The magnificent establishments with which the monks had covered Europe have been ever since the great models for architects when they wished to construct princely mansions, palaces of art, scientific institutions of any kind. If the cell of a monk was not large it was not *filthy*. Filth in fact was left by them to the future constructors of "tenement houses." The life of the monk was divided into two nearly equal parts, one devoted to the worship of God in their splendid churches, the other entirely given to study or agriculture. Examine the ruins that remain of the great monastic centres in Italy, Germany, Spain, France, England, Ireland, etc.; look into the material details of

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those gigantic structures, and say if there was need of removing them when science arrived; say if in the modern establishments that have replaced them, such as barracks, prisons, factories, and the like, the comfort of men is better consulted than it was in the much-abused monasteries. The monks, in fact, have been the introducers of comfort in Europe; they have given the first example of it, for the barbarians before them cared more for plunder than for comfort.

Who will believe that if the numerous appliances for an easy life had been discovered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—as many were undoubtedly introduced at that time—the monks and churchmen of the period would have spurned them as inventions and wiles of Satan? Yet such is in reality the idea many people of our age have formed to themselves of the old Christian times. They actually imagine that men were not then men in flesh and blood, but fanatical devotees like Hindoo ascetics or Mohammedan fakirs.

But the upholders of "modern times" and "modern science" will insist that comfort and an easy life were positively in antagonism with the very idea of Christianity as understood by the monks. Had they not professed to follow a life of austerities, fasts, and vigils, the scourging of the body, the most extreme mortification, and penance? Was not, in their notion, the road of comfort the highway to hell, etc., etc.? The answer is easy and requires only a sentence or two. That Christianity does not invite us to a life of pleasure, but plainly teaches us to subdue our senses, and strive for heaven while on earth, is not a monkish doctrine only, but that of Christ. Christ in His Divine person gave us the example of it. The subject is too holy to be treated lightly, and would require development which time and space forbid us. A single remark must suffice. A man may be an austere Christian and still devote his life to science, far from anathematizing it. Comfort does not necessarily lead to hell, and can be indulged in by ordinary Christians, provided the commandments of God are kept. The mediæval monks understood this well. With this reflection the subject must be dismissed.

A word must be added on the subject of the Papacy and the Church in general, in relation to science and modern improvements. It is passing strange indeed that people should persevere in accusing the Church of an antagonism which not only has never existed but is directly and emphatically contradicted by all the facts of the case. The reader is referred to a previous paper, where it is absolutely proved that there has never been on earth an intellectual body comparable to the Catholic Church.[1] There is the unan-

[1] The Church and the Intellectual World, Amer. Cath. Quar. Review, July, 1876.

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swerable reply to the taunts of modern scientists. Should they pretend that this opposition to science regards only the present time and the physical sciences studied in our days, we would merely, in answer, copy a passage of the *Unità Cattolica* of Rome, a translation of which has been published by the *Catholic Review* of Brooklyn:

"If the Papacy had been afraid of science it would not have had in Rome the first university in Europe, and such a number of scientific establishments and academies, as to make it the very city of studies. What have you found in the monasteries of Rome which you ransacked? The richest of libraries; so rich that you had not men enough to convey away the treasures they contained; but had to make donkeys of your soldiers to drag away on carts the books of those *ignorant* monks. Your Victor Emmanuel Library 'of the first class,' contains 300,000 volumes taken from these same ignorant monks; and of those taken from the Jesuits the greater part were books on experimental sciences! If the Papacy had been afraid of science we would not have had in Secchi the most learned astronomer of the age; we would not have had in Pianciani and Stoppiani profound geologists; nor would we have had the long series of naturalists who to-day are found among the most courageous defenders of Catholicism."

Thus we have gone through the *ugly* features of mediævalism, and it is now in order to speak of its principles as opposed radically to the Liberal doctrines of our days. It is by the proclamation of these doctrines that a part of the "people" in Europe has been not only estranged from the Church, but set in fierce opposition to her. This must, therefore, attract all our attention.

A contributor to the *Month* of London, in its number for June of this year, states exactly the difference between the mediæval and the Liberal ideas:

"The difference between the civilization of this age and the Christian civilization of the mediæval period is radical. Their essential ideas are diametrically opposed. The one was based on self-sacrifice, the other rests upon selfishness. In the one the unseen world counted for everything, in the other it counts for nothing. The one derived its motives and its principles from the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the other derives them from the teachings of political economy. The place which is filled in the one by God and man's duties, is occupied in the other by man and man's rights. This is the difference, I think, between this age of the world and the first period of modern civilization."

This short sketch is sufficiently clear, but it requires some development to be perfectly understood.

The word "civilization," in this passage, is taken in the sense of moral and religious culture, not in that of material well-being only; and in this sense it is absolutely true that mediæval civilization was far superior to our own. But to give a more thorough and clear understanding of this we will exclude the term "civilization," and use that of *ideas*. Thus we say, and we shall prove, that mediæval ideas were far preferable to Liberal ideas. This last expression is commonly but very erroneously taken, in the opinion of most men of our age, to be conterminous with that of culture. Nearly

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everybody says that any one who opposes liberal ideas opposes civilization, culture, the well-being of the people, etc. On this account the Church is set down as the great enemy of progress and of the people. Let us analyze, therefore, what is contained in the expression *Liberal ideas*, and we may form an opinion very different from the current one. Donoso Cortes had already published some admirable reflections on the subject in his golden little book entitled *Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism.* But unfortunately the evident haste with which it was published, prevented him from expressing his strong and often profound views with sufficient clearness. Lucidity, it is known, is invariably the result of patient labor only.

The best way, after all, is to contrast the ideas of mediæval times with the Liberal ideas of our age on whatever regards political, social, and moral questions, and it will not be hard to decide on which side superiority rests. A somewhat lengthy discussion is necessary here because it is really from misrepresentation and misconception of the subject that the popular fury in some countries has, in fact, been excited against the Church.

I. What principles were upheld on government by the great masters of the middle ages? They were altogether those of the Christian Scriptures; and the long line of the rulers of the Church, beginning with St. Paul, had explained the subject thoroughly, *Omnis potestas a Deo est.* This was the cardinal principle on which everything, even in civil and political affairs, turned. Man, even the highest monarch, could not command man, unless he had received the power from above. This was not the Divine right of Kings as understood and explained by James I. of England; far from it. But this axiom contains a great truth on which depends all our dignity as men. The real elevation of any human being is such that God alone can claim his obedience. If, therefore, he is bound to submit to the orders of a king, or of any civil governor, a military chieftain, a superior in fine of any kind, let him be prelate in the Church or man in authority in the State, it is God only that he obeys, because all power comes originally from God. Its immediate source may be hereditary right, or constitutional enactment, or popular election, or a combination of these; but the real investiture of authority is given by God himself, who is the only true source of authority on earth. This undoubtedly raises the claim of obedience to a high degree, but it is merely the obedience of a rational being to a mandate of God; and, instead of lowering man, it supposes in him so high a dignity that heaven alone can impose on him such a duty as that of obedience. And this is true in every Christian commonwealth, be it the most democratic republic, or the most absolute monarchy.

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This idea of authority belongs exclusively to the Christian religion. In the former Pagan republics or empires, it was absolutely unknown except in the most ancient times. Homer tells us that it is Jove who gives to the kings the power of ruling. But much later on, if there was a faint remembrance of the principle, it was merely a shadow, and in point of fact *might* ruled and nothing else. But St. Paul told the Christians of his time that "they must obey the prince for *conscience sake*," and this became a universal principle in Christian states. Public opinion in Europe continued to be ruled by this weighty axiom until the modern Liberal ideas, as shall soon be proved, completely altered it, or rather abolished it.

Does such a principle of government as this consecrate despotism? Certainly not, since it can agree with the most popular *régimes*. In point of fact, a most extraordinary degree of liberty prevailed in Europe all through the middle ages. This was the time when innumerable franchises, corporate, municipal, or provincial, flourished everywhere, and were, for all, the sure guarantees of personal immunity from injustice. The lower orders of society had their guilds or associations, whose privileges the highest in the land dared not infringe upon. There were, no doubt, occasional collisions between those various corporations and the feudal dignitaries; but these collisions were proofs of an active life, and of a true liberty based on acknowledged rights. It is not, of course, pretended that the system was perfect. There were many and great abuses. But these resulted from the inherent defect of human nature.

Beside all this, if the power of the rulers was then great because they were the "representatives of God," this power was not only limited by the numerous privileges just alluded to; it was also far from being irresponsible; and this irresponsibility is the only sure mark of despotism. Every master in any degree was responsible to a superior, and abuses of any kind could be repressed by a higher authority. The very hierarchy of feudalism—although what the writer thinks of the system is well known—was in fact, a well-settled scale of power over power to which the weak could appeal in case of oppression. The highest monarchs even had to acknowledge the authority of the Popes as being above theirs, and yet what was the most exalted consecration of true freedom (which consists in the sacredness of all rights, and the security from all injustices), has been artfully misrepresented as the most cunningly devised engine of despotism on the part of the Church.

The voice of the middle ages was most emphatic on one point in politics, namely, that the great object of political power was the good of the people; and this was likewise an axiom publicly and

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authoritatively proclaimed by the Christian religion. According to the very text of those times the rulers were bound in conscience "to do all in their power for the increase of God's kingdom, and the training of man for his supernatural destiny."

We must rest satisfied with this fundamental doctrine of mediæval Europe on politics. We must pass on to the consideration of our second point: What were the social principles then prevalent?

II. They were those of the Decalogue as explained in the Gospel and by the Church. These were considered as principles of law which were to govern the people in their relations with the state, with each other, and in their families. It ought not to be supposed, however, that these were understood precisely as they were once in New England, and that the civil enactments in mediæval times were of the same nature as the *Blue Laws* of Connecticut. We would not abuse unduly the old Puritans. They knew, at least, how to maintain morality in their American States; and if they were harsh in their legislation, they formed, at least, a strong and energetic people a hundred years ago, at the Declaration of Independence. This, indeed, is not small praise.

But it is not to be denied that they were no more infallible in the framing of their laws than in their interpretation of Scripture. They themselves rejected the claim of infallibility in any shape. They followed, therefore, merely the bent of their nature in the institutions, legal, moral, and civil, which they established; and their nature was stern, uncompromising, and exclusive. The general leaning of the Catholic Church has never been in the same direction. Those who do not admit her claim to infallibility in faith and morals, must, nevertheless, grant that the institutions she everywhere fostered were always more genial, and better accommodated to the natural weakness of human nature, without, however, compromising in any degree the great principles of Christian morality, which she always sustained at whatever cost.

And throughout the middle ages her claims in this regard were fully admitted. Man was a being destined to immortality. His actions on earth would find, hereafter, their due rewards or punishments. Purity of life was sure of the first, vice of the second. His relations with his superiors, his equals, his inferiors, always regulated by religion, imposed on him duties which his eternal interests required he should attend to. Was not this a grand basis for society? Can the reason of man frame a better one? This has been attempted by Liberalism: we shall soon see with what success.

But it is chiefly the domestic view of the system which ought to attract our attention for the moment. The domestic hearth of the Christian throughout the middle ages was understood to have

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a sublime pattern and model in the *House of Nazareth.* There is no denying this. Read any of the chronicles of those times, and say if this is not perfectly true. Did not people then often think of Jesus, and Mary, and Joseph, as portrayed in a few lines of the Gospel? It cannot be denied that their chief attention was given to religion which engrossed most of their thoughts, and thus consequently in their houses, in the feudal castles as well as in the cottages of the poor, the *House of Nazareth* was continually before their eyes. They were so often and so fully occupied with this holy thought, that the very walls of that cottage were said and firmly believed to have been transported, for their benefit, first to Dalmatia, then to Italy. As soon as Palestine was given over to the uncontrolled power of the Moslem, and the Christians could not, except with the greatest difficulty, go and shed tears of joy in the very place where Jesus had dwelt so long with His mother and reputed father, the House itself was carried by angels through the air over all Asia Minor and Greece, to rest finally on the Italian shores of the Adriatic. Call this only a legend, if you choose; it tells, at least, what was uppermost in the minds of our ancestors. They did not invent such a legend as this either for the grotto of Bethlehem, or even for the Holy Sepulchre for which so many thousands of them gave their lives. The legend, if you will so call it, concerned exclusively the house of the Holy Family, to consecrate by its daily sight, the ruling idea they were to form of their own family. Thus the great type of the *family*, so important in the social life of man, was considered of paramount importance by those ancestors of ours whom so many think of as entirely rude, uncouth, almost barbarous. Look at the great ideas contained in this single one! Jesus, the model of Christian children and young men; Mary, the model of all women; Joseph, the pattern of all men, chiefly of the artisan and laborer. Was not this, we repeat again, a deep and solid basis for society? Can any one invent a better one?

Finally, the moral aspect of the middle ages ought to be examined for a single instant. Morality was certainly concerned in the previous considerations on politics and society, but it is the proper attribute of man as man. He is the only moral being on earth. This was the great principle of mediævalism, that man was to regulate absolutely his conduct by the precepts of the Gospel. Then he was not told, "money is power," and "time is money," and "honesty is the best policy," and "go ahead, honestly if you can; at any rate go ahead." These pagan axioms and others of the same kind, were not his only moral code. He would have shuddered at the very idea of regulating his life from them. He knew too well the value of his soul, and the certainty of a here-

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after, to adopt them as his governing principles. His morality was of another sort, and was based on the idea of a conscience ruled by eternal and heavenly principles, to which he had often to sacrifice his worldly interests. Conscience! We will soon consider what Liberalism has made of it; but for the mediæval man it was a Divine voice, speaking constantly in his inmost soul, which he was bound to follow and obey under pain of offending and disobeying God! This voice he had to consult in all his actions through life; to obey implicitly when it spoke plainly; to consult others wiser than himself when the utterance was not distinct enough. Whenever he failed in these great duties he was bound to acknowledge he had done wrong; to repair it if possible; to bewail it at any rate; to consider it as disobedience to God, and humbly beg the pardon of his heavenly Father. What has Liberalism done with these saving principles which have preserved the edifice of society during so many ages? For it is not to be denied that although they regulate the conduct of *individuals* only, still they are the safeguard of the whole social body.

The subjective certainty, therefore, of having a conscience; the objective responsibility of it before God; the judgment-seat at the end of life as a great sanction of the whole: these were the bases of mediæval morality. Who will refuse to acknowledge that when man has reached such a point, he is civilized, thoroughly civilized?

But this subject cannot be discussed any longer, owing to the limits imposed on us. The Liberal ideas have now to be briefly studied, and confronted with the previous ones.

Liberalism is a very vague term. On the threshold of this investigation it must be analyzed thoroughly. Were it confined to what it meant first, a political system embracing rights for all, constitutional guarantees, sacredness of individual, corporate, or provincial privileges, etc., there would be no real antagonism between Liberal and mediæval ideas. For, in spite of the misconception of many men on the subject, it is a solemn fact that in the mediæval period power was not absolute; man had rights as well as corporations and federative provinces; law and custom consecrated many liberties, as well as religion; and in fine men were not slaves, but free agents. The exception taken against feudal abuses cannot here have any bearing, for reasons adduced in a previous paragraph. The consequence is that Mediævalism was in truth Liberalism understood in the proper sense.

But it is unfortunately true that the word Liberalism has been retained to express a system altogether *illiberal*, which goes now also under the various names of "modern thought," "modern culture," etc. An effort ought to be made to understand what all this means exactly. For the subject is at best obscure, and not yet suf-

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ficiently explained, although it inflames millions of men with a sort of enthusiasm, and goads to a real madness, as we shall see, a considerable part of the *people* in several European states. To be just to the adverse party, we will take their own expressions, and use their solemn declarations. It would not be fair to judge them from the notions some of their adversaries entertain of them. For, there is a party opposed to Liberalism of any sort; but we do not belong to it. In fact a Catholic cannot belong to it in these United States, where the whole liberty of the Church reposes, in great part, upon genuine liberal ideas. These are not to be confounded with modern Liberalism, but rather belong to those mediæval political and social doctrines, referred to a few paragraphs back. Undoubtedly, many men misconceive in this country the right notions on the subject; but it can be maintained that the liberty the Church enjoys, comes in great part from the original freedom shared in by all Christians during the mediæval period. The elements of it remained in England when they disappeared in other European countries, and from England passed over to America.

Let us hear, therefore, what the upholders of modern Liberalism say of their own tenets, setting aside whatever is asserted against them by the pure and absolute monarchists of France, Spain, and other European countries. The reader will then clearly understand why Pius IX. has condemned modern Liberalism in his *Syllabus*. The subject must be considered under the three heads of political, social, and moral principles, as was done for the adverse doctrine.

I. First, it is undoubtedly a political axiom with them that society in modern times ought to be governed independently of religion. And the meaning of this is not, that in countries where many sects exist together with the Catholic Church, none having the predominance, maxims of toleration ought to be prudently followed, when otherwise great evils would be the consequence. They go much farther, and they openly pretend that society has now reached such a high point of perfection that religion has no bearing on it. It can very well prosper, they say, independently of a publicly acknowledged religion. Religion bears only on the individual, should he feel inclined to it; and the individual may draw great benefits from it, but he must be allowed to follow his free choice. On this account they deny *in toto* that "power comes from God." What need is there of it since religious principles of any kind have no bearing whatever on government, politics, society? Power, they insist, comes from the will of the majority. There is nothing divine, consequently, in human governments, neither in their origin nor in their action. Man has to bow to the will of the greater number; and in obeying the just laws of his country, he does not obey God, who

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has nothing to do with human governments and with law. It is in this sense that politics are altogether removed from the domain of religion, contrary to the great fundamental axiom of mediæval times. Which of the two is the better? The choice certainly is not hard to make, at least for those who admit that God has something to do with human affairs, and that law is based on eternal principles; that is, for all sensible people.

There is no need of remarking that this political principle of Liberalism renders conscience in man perfectly useless, a complete dead weight, at least in politics. When the majority decides a question, it is altogether independently of conscience, over which no human power in itself can have any control. You have to follow the decision, because it is that of the majority, and for no other reason. To-morrow the decision might be reversed, and the change of conduct then imposed upon you could not likewise have any bearing on morality. In this case it is only the force of the majority that can compel you. When the principle, "politics must be independent of religion," is put forward, this must be the necessary consequence. The whole must be called by its proper name: it is simply political atheism.

It follows, also, strictly from this that religion being completely removed from the field of politics, the Church can have no function to fulfil in the State; and this is universally admitted, wherever modern Liberalism holds sway, as an axiom never to be infringed upon. Cavour proclaimed: "A free Church in a free State;" but it was at best a deception. As he died before the maxim was fully admitted in Italy, no one can know what he really meant; for the proposition is susceptible of several meanings. The obvious one would be that in a free State the Church must be free; but this is merely a truism, and it is not the meaning intended by Liberalism. For if it were, then, in order that the Church might be free, no restraint could be placed on her action with respect to her spiritual children, and her decisions would never be interfered with by the State. In all European countries the courts would then declare themselves incompetent to interfere, as they frequently do in the United States, when some clergyman or a layman rebellious against her discipline, applies to the lay tribunals for redress. But this is what European nations will never understand. The great number of Liberals in Europe attribute, in fact, to the motto of Cavour only the absurd sense that the State is perfectly indifferent to the Church, and only on this account leaves her free to do what she chooses, as long as nobody complains of her. For Liberalism cannot attach any other meaning to the maxim, since its great principle on the subject is that politics are altogether independent of religion, and have not any respect to show to her.

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And in general this supreme mockery, such as it has just been shown to be, lasts but a moment; for, another maxim, to which Liberalism tends everywhere, is that the State is supreme, and controls the Church. How can the Church be free under the operation of this latter maxim, which is more and more reduced to act, everywhere? Consequently, you do not hear any longer in Italy the celebrated axiom of Cavour: "A free Church in a free State;" but you begin already to hear a very different one, namely: "The Church subordinate to the State." Is not this the meaning of the law lately enacted in Italy by Parliament, that clergymen shall be subjected to *conscription?* When a solemn principle of the Church, which absolutely forbids her ministers to bear arms, is so openly declared null and void by the Legislature, who will dare to speak again of a "*free Church in a free State?*"

In adopting these maxims of government, the pretended Liberal States of Europe deprive themselves of the help which the Church could furnish for the moralization of the people; a very serious consideration for all true statesmen. The spiritual power, humbled by the lay element, considered by the State as unworthy of any trust, and subjected only to the suspicions and the spy system of the police, or the animadversion of the courts of justice imbued with the same maxims, is thus purposely offered to the people as a contemptible anomaly in the social order. What respect can the rulers of the Church expect from the classes of society which are generally deeply impressed by exterior appearances, and which judge of worth only by the show of visible deference rendered by the public? The State cannot, in this case, rely on the means of moral improvement left to the Church with regard to the mass of the nation. But what do they care? They have come to the point of desiring the disappearance of that detested spiritual authority; and the sooner the people renounce their allegiance to it, the better for their own supreme control.

It is not thus that statesmen, and often even mere politicians, regard the Christian ministry in the United States. The maxim of Cavour was adopted here long before Cavour uttered it, but they understood it in the obvious sense referred to above. They are very careful to recognize the spiritual authority in all that relates to Church discipline, and thus to leave her free; and any case brought before the courts of law where that discipline simply is involved, draws directly from the judges a decree of incompetency, and the whole subject is sent back to the decision of the proper tribunal, that is, of the Church herself. Everything likewise which conduces to the honor of the clerical element is done by the State to preserve among the people respect for it. Thus churches, schools, charitable establishments, under the exclusive control of the clergy, are ex-

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empted from taxes. The decorum of public worship is strictly secured by the police, if need be, etc., etc. There is, unfortunately, at this moment some disturbance of this friendly feeling; but it has been mainly caused by what is going on in Europe; and it is to be hoped that the former harmony will soon be restored.

To return to European liberalism, it is not surprising that the declaration of the supremacy of the State over the Church should usher in encroachments of a similar character upon many other points, besides that of the spiritual authority. At this moment these "encroachments" extend to nearly all the departments of human activity in municipal life, corporate action, social and intellectual culture. They unblushingly establish an open "monopoly" for the State in the government of cities, in dictating laws to all corporations, regulating social customs, and chiefly, in taking possession of the human intellect by State education.

Is not this what is understood in our days by "Modern Liberalism?" At least it is thus understood by nearly all statesmen of Europe. We take the liberty of coolly calling it the most monstrous *despotism* that could be devised. At least it will become so when carried to its last consequences, which it has not yet reached. A contributor to the London *Month*, of June last, Mr. Lilly, has justly remarked on the subject:

"Neither has the change in the basis of governments been favorable to their stability, nor has the contraction of their sphere tended to the advancement of liberty. The contemporary history of countries where the new ideas have had free course . . . supplies only too abundant evidence of the truth of this assertion. Revolution succeeds revolution on the continent; but the effect of each change is ever an increased centralization of authority."

In conclusion we may be allowed to ask: What has been gained for the welfare of mankind in the passage from mediæval to modern ideas? This question would become still more interesting by demonstrating to the reader that from Liberalism has sprung Socialism, which now looms up ready to destroy all existing institutions, and replace them by its wild fancies. But this portentous subject may be treated of more satisfactorily on a future occasion.

II. Passing now from the political to the social theories of Liberalism, and contrasting them with those of the mediæval period, the task becomes comparatively easy, because the modern ideas on the subject are at this time profusely developed, explained, and eulogized, in the innumerable books written on the supposed science, called *Sociology*. Political economy has preceded it, and is yet included in it. Innumerable volumes have likewise been published on this last subject. The words which recur oftenest in those elaborate productions are these: *Capital, Labor, Sources of Wealth*, Check on the Increase of *Population, Fight for Existence, Supply*

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and Demand, Wages of Labor, etc., etc. The authors evidently imagine that the best thing that can be made of this beautiful earth is to turn it into a huge, gigantic, grinding and crushing, iron or cotton mill; or into a systematic, co-operative, and mathematically-arranged farm, with all modern improvements, including the suppression of Sundays and Holy days. It will be the supreme reign of machinery. Man himself will have to go at the speed of a locomotive; as well as the government, the camp, the police, the municipal institutions, and the Church, if any is left. All this, including rewards and punishments, which receive quite other names in the new system, is pompously called *Sociology;* and there will be no other human society acknowledged by "modern thought," except the complexity of relations suggested by the present paragraph.

Of all the elements of social life which, anterior to the present time, were considered as sacred and imperishable, the sentiment of the submission of the subject to the State for God's sake, the preservation of all rights inherent in the social hierarchy, the feelings of Christian charity for all, etc., etc., one only is by chance preserved in the new system, and the same name is used still, except by the most advanced Sociologist, namely, the Socialists. The word *family* is not yet expunged from the vocabulary of many of those gentlemen. But how different from the family originated by Christianity! The sacrament of marriage being unrecognized, and a kind of civil tie being adopted in its place, what becomes of woman? She is, alas! destined to become again the slave she was in former Pagan times. What becomes of the children? First, their number must be reduced to the lowest point. A powerful check must be imposed on the "increase of population." Secondly, the children are useful only in multiplying mechanical power on earth. For, everything is resolvable into mechanical power. Thirdly, their education does not belong to the father and mother, but to the State; and thus, in fact, the family is abolished.

Let the reader be well convinced that there is no exaggeration whatever in these remarks. A fuller development would make them even still more striking. But what a frightful degradation! How different is the picture here offered from the one we have seen in mediæval times impressed constantly on the imagination of all,—the House of Nazareth! And it is in favor of such *Liberal* ideas as these that the people have been lashed to fury against the Church, as will presently be seen.

III. But we must hasten on, as a word, at least, has to be said of the moral aspect of the individual in the new Liberal ideas. The principle is boldly and unflinchingly laid down that the morality of man must be independent: independent, namely, of God and religion. But an independent morality in such sense as this must

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necessarily resolve itself into *utilitarianism*. Mr. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, has devoted nearly one-half of the first volume to the consideration and refutation of the system. He has done it powerfully. Still, the way he speaks, the excessive care he takes not to offend by his expressions the upholders of the system, is a proof that he acknowledges the vast support it receives in our age from many theorists and writers. It must be said, with real grief, that all the convincing arguments Mr. Lecky uses against the system will not prevent it from prevailing ultimately. For nothing can do this except the reintegration of Christian ideas on morality; and neither Mr. Lecky nor any other writer in the same camp is prepared to undertake this, because he knows that the age is *un*christian.

The logical consequence of all this is clear. The human conscience disappears entirely; and the reflections indulged in previously will naturally revert to the mind of the reader, and convince him that the moral ideas of the middle ages are the only ones which can save the human conscience from perishing.

Is not this the cause why the plane of intellect, of morality, of true happiness, has sank so remarkably during the last hundred years? Every one at this day, even the blind, begins to see and admit it. What is now the range of deep thinking in philosophy, of ideal in art, of nobleness and sublimity in poetry, of true generalization in science, of *genius* in fine, to include all in one word?

Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his article in the *Month* for June, on "Civilization of the Nineteenth Century," brings in quotations from J. S. Mill, Mr. Lecky, Mr. Carlisle, and De Tocqueville, powerfully bearing on that subject. We are reduced merely to refer to them.

Yet it is in the face of the strong contrast between the actual degeneracy, caused certainly by the *Liberal* principles now advocated, and the strong vitality of the middle ages, the result, no doubt, of the Christian maxims then in full vigor, that men of talent undoubtedly, but carrying their opposition to Christianity to the extent of fanaticism, have succeeded in persuading the lower classes in several European countries that the Church is, and has always been, their enemy; that she would reduce them, if she were allowed, to a strict servitude, as in the middle ages, and that she ought to be incessantly pursued by their unrelenting hostility. Artfully confounding feudalism with the institutions fostered by the Church, they have made her appear guilty of the ceaseless wars of those dark feudal times; they have pronounced her the cause of the occasional prevalence of might over right, so shocking at the time; although, if right at last prevailed, it was doubtless due to her exertions.

In the face of all the previous reflections and proofs, it is an actual fact that in all the great cities, and in a considerable portion

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of the rural districts of France, the Church is every day cursed and blasphemed by the lower orders of the population, as if she were longing to bring back the harsh times of serfdom prevailing in their opinion anterior to the great revolution, a supposed wish on her part graphically expressed by the talismanic words: *The Tithes and Feudal Rights: La dime et les droits féodaux.*

At this moment these ominous words are not so frequently heard as they were, to the personal knowledge of the writer, at the beginning of this century. In fact, the same class of people in France does not even care to assign so flimsy a pretext as this as the cause of their hatred against the Church. They hate, *because* they *hate*, and for no other reason. A pamphlet just published by Bishop Dupanloup comes pertinently to our object, and cannot but produce a thrill of horror in those who read it attentively. It is headed: *Où allons nous?—Whither are we drifting?* A few passages from it will give the reader a more forcible idea of the strange phenomenon we are now studying, than could pages of an elaborate discussion of the subject.

The whole of it is a fearful picture of the inveterate hostility of many of the poor in France against Christianity; nay, not only against Christianity itself, but against all the truths of natural religion. It is the coarsest display of a radical atheism, of a low materialism, of a brutish and grovelling sensualism. It is, in fact, a kind of unreasoning madness, scarcely conceivable to men living in a sensible country like this. If ever the lower classes of France become to a great extent imbued with such a degrading spirit of unbelief, they will certainly be reduced to an undisguised barbarism, and differ from the savages of Dahomey only because they will not believe even in fetichism; and the bloody horrors of Whydah will undoubtedly be reproduced on the banks of the Seine and the Rhone. Yet the Bishop of Orleans is certainly a moderate writer, opposed, all his life, to the excesses of party spirit in France, on the side of conservatism as well as on that of radicalism. He shows first that the danger with which the Church is threatened in his country by the "people," is not a peril of insane theories only, a contest of mere ideas waged in the minds of men, big on paper, but never reduced to act. "The time of ideas, of theories, of systems is past," he says; "men have arrived at the point of hating God, and of declaring open war against Him. They are not satisfied with denying God and religion; they pursue both unrelentingly; they fight against both to the knife; they have declared against them a deadly war."

It is no more a question, therefore, of dissenting, of accusing, even of misrepresenting. The mob, inflamed to madness by its leaders, does not attempt to reason, to discuss, to accuse the

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Church systematically, as a hundred years ago. They scarcely express any more their fear of the return of those times when tithes were paid to the clergy, and feudal rights were enjoyed by the aristocracy. The former universal outcry, *La dime et les droits féodaux*, is seldom heard. But instead of it there arises an outburst of blasphemy against everything formerly held sacred: "God must disappear, and not be any longer remembered;" "Our new revolution is atheistic; the name of God is scratched out of it." "Let us resolutely reject everything divine; we are on earth; fie on any aspiration towards heaven." "With the last priest, the last vestige of error shall disappear." These are a few of the dogmatic sentences read in a thousand of French pamphlets, sold wholesale to the people for two cents apiece. For this barbarian propagandism they have what they call *Popular libraries*, *Democratic libraries*, etc.; all for the use of the people of the lower orders of society.

If from their doctrine on God we pass to their axioms on man, on the soul, on human thought, on life, on death, we meet everywhere with the same outrages against reason itself and all common sense: "The inquiry into the origin of man is senseless; let him come from God or from the ape, it is the same as to his actual attributes." "Like all other animals, man has a brain; and that brain is organized for thought as the stomach is for digestion." "Consequently, thought is only the product of cerebral digestion." "Life is but a phase of metamorphosis of the spermatozoid larva." "Death is another phase of the same, a mere passage to another state of material being." Let the reader consider what conclusions can be drawn by uneducated people from such doctrines as these; yet the people to whom these lessons in metaphysics are given, devour this mental food placed in their hands for only two cents a pamphlet.

But they are not left to draw the conclusion themselves. The same pamphlets give it in black and white: "The simple mechanism of human volition excludes absolutely the childish notion of a free will." "Female modesty was invented by those of the women who were born ugly." "Morality is purely relative; many races of men seem to be fatally deprived of it, whilst several animal species furnish remarkable proofs that they possess it." "Moral good and moral evil vary in consequence of mere social conventionalities."

The Bishop of Orleans, after citing these quotations, and many others of the same import, justly remarks: "It is in these doctrines of atheism and materialism that the true origin of the ferocious hatred against the Church is to be found, the violent explosion of which we witness everywhere." Then he describes in the second part of his pamphlet the various and disgusting features of this new kind of madness. We must be satisfied with merely referring to it.

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The special purpose, however, of these pages requires an allusion at least to some remarks and quotations of M. Dupanloup, in his eloquent denunciation of this abominable war. They refer to the evident objects of the chiefs of the party toward inoculating more and more, with their own gall and virus, the peasants, the workingmen, the poor in general, the lower classes of the people, as they are called. These classes are already, in all the great cities of France and in many rural districts, deeply plunged in unbelief, and fiercely opposed to the Church and her ministers. But the radical leaders wish to complete the subservience of these poor, ignorant men to their own selfish schemes, by enlisting them all absolutely under the antichristian flag. They harp constantly in their journals, particularly in the *République Française*, the organ of M. Gambetta, on this hopeful theme of theirs: "The peasant," they say, "needs only to open his eyes in order to see that clericalism—that is the Church—is the centre of all perverse designs, of all conspiracies against him." "The clericals are full of tears of compassion for the workman's lot; but all they wish in their paternal hearts is to subject him again to all the restraints, all the slavish burdens under which he groaned during the middle ages," etc., etc. These calumnies, constantly repeated now for more than a hundred years, have already brutalized thousands of men in France. Their terrible effects have been visible enough every time there has been a revolution in that wretched country. The shooting of priests, the destruction of religious emblems, the desecration and devastation of churches, the closing or demolishing of convents, have always been the necessary accompaniments of these popular outbreaks. We say popular, because unfortunately a part of the people itself has then acted, and showed its real feelings. Its anti-religious rage was a glaring proof of the immense change effected in the French rural populations, in some parts of the country at least. But it must be said, and without fear of contradiction, that on the next subversion of society that shall happen in France, if it is really radical, if the lower orders are allowed to have their full sway, the horrors that will be perpetrated will certainly surpass any of those which have already horrified mankind. And this, because now, speaking openly as they do, they boast of their determination to do their work so completely this time, that there will be no fear of another resurrection of the Christianity they detest. Many declarations of this kind could be extracted from the innumerable penny pamphlets which have lately appeared. The writers have openly adopted the phrase of Garibaldi, who once said to a crowd of Italian students: "Every man born on this earth ought simply to tear away the street pavement, and revenge himself on those hypocrites, wherever they are met with, clad in their black cassocks." Barodet,

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in the *Rappel* has given to the sentence a French-Spartan air, by exclaiming, "Let the republicans form themselves into a serried phalanx against the *black* International Association." The very titles of most of their pamphlets show their rage against the clergy, and their purpose of communicating their fury to the lowest ranks of the population. A short list of them is given by Bishop Dupanloup, forcible and pithy for Frenchmen who can understand their slang; to the greater number of Americans it would be almost worse than Chinese. The rabid spirit itself which has dictated them is scarcely comprehensible in this country, where nothing of the kind exists. To have a slight idea of it the reader ought to picture to himself those thousands of "unemployed workingmen," who in their lamentable distress are now preparing some *demonstration* or other; not, indeed, contenting themselves, as they do here, with calling on the city authorities for work, but openly proclaiming in posters, on their flags, and in numerous inflammatory pamphlets, that they are going to fall—not on the rich, as yet, whose turn will soon come; not on banks and moneyed institutions—but on the splendid churches which line the avenues, and on the clergymen who officiate in them, because, forsooth, the Church is the cause of all their misery. Nobody in this country would understand this, and everybody would say, the workingmen are mad. This is precisely what takes place in France, where the Church has no more to do with public abuses than in this country, notwithstanding what the Paris correspondents of some American journals may write, one of whom stated on the 8th of last August, that "a victory for the clericals is a check to the cause of good government in France." The previous remarks, however, on the misconception of the middle ages in Europe, and the confusion arising from some ugly features existing at the time wholly unconnected with the clergy, and totally at variance with the Christian principles which alone the Church stood up for and enforced, can give persons in this country an inkling into the causes of a moral phenomenon otherwise perfectly inexplicable.

This enlistment of popular fury against the Church is not carried on in France alone. The same is taking place openly in Belgium and Switzerland; the same is being prepared also for fair Italy, and Garibaldi during his long career has been earnestly working for it. Did not the antichristian portion of the people of Catholic Belgium attempt quite lately to sack churches and religious establishments, merely because the previous political elections had not resulted to their liking? Was not the government forced, against its will, to call out its armed police and its soldiery to protect what of all things on earth is most worthy of respect? Every one is by this time aware to what excess of infidel fanaticism the rabble in Switzerland

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has lately gone in its blind hatred of the religion of Christ. That it has not yet gone so far in Italy, is not the fault of Garibaldi and his compeers. But that the same latent force against Catholicity is at work even there cannot be doubted for a moment by any intelligent man. This is, in fact, the case wherever the revolutionary spirit spreads. The Church must oppose it, for it cannot be reconciled with Christian morality. It is radically opposed to the commandments of God, and if successful would be the greatest scourge which could be inflicted on mankind. No one has yet fathomed all the individual miseries and public calamities which would follow in its wake. What was witnessed in France at the end of the last century could scarcely furnish a shadow of what society would suffer if it were to become universal and embrace the whole of Europe, as it threatens to do. Who, therefore, can suppose that the Church would do anything in regard to it but anathematize it? And, mind you, the Church alone can effectually fight it out and conquer it. The European sovereigns do not see this; they are blind, and play with the lightning, and dance on volcanoes. The "popular" party, as it is called, has more sound understanding than all modern statesmen; the popular party knows that the Church alone is able to check it and deal it its deathblow. This is the real cause of its antagonism to the Church.

The noisy outcry relative to the middle ages is only a bugbear. The chiefs of the revolutionists are fully convinced that those times can never return, even if the Church wished it, and were she ten times more powerful, politically, than she is. That there is even a bare possibility of ever re-establishing in France, or anywhere else in Europe, *la dime, et les droits féodaux, et le droit du Seigneur*, or any other of the mediæval abuses, is as ludicrous a supposition as any of the renowned Munchausen stories. The chiefs of radicalism know this full well. But they know likewise the credulity of the ignorant men they lead, since these have been brutalized by the loss of their former faith. All these French phrases have as many fearful meanings as there are heads among the unbelieving lower orders; and they are goaded to madness by the uttering of them, as was the Irish fishwoman—according to the story—when O'Connell called her a *parallelopipedon.*

The extent of this evil in Europe has attained huge proportions. What would have seemed impossible five or six hundred years ago, namely, that any of the people would ever curse the Church and call for her destruction, is a deplorable fact; and during the last forty or fifty years it has undergone large developments. Is it possible to check it and, at least, prevent it from spreading further? Is it likely that the scales will ever be turned, the people return to their allegiance to the Church, and find again in her the remedy for

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all their moral distempers? A few words on these two questions will naturally conclude a subject pregnant with the highest interest for every man of mind, and full of portentous consequences in the near future.

First, it is consoling to reflect that the importance of the matter in question is fully understood in Europe by all the leaders of what is called Catholic opinion. These gentlemen are numerous at this hour, have already acquired a real power over *the masses*, as the neological expression has it, and show their earnestness by their readiness to submit to any sacrifice for so holy a cause. They have, consequently, established associations called *Cercles d'Ouvriers* in all the large cities of France and Belgium. Besides evening schools opened for their benefit, they have for them courses of lectures in winter where all the falsehoods or misconceptions of the opposite party are rebutted, and the innumerable benefits that have accrued to mankind from Christianity are openly proclaimed before those men, used previously to hear only the calumnies and misjudgments of the radical speakers or papers. At this moment a large number of workingmen in Paris have openly enlisted under the flag of the Church. For, mind you, it is a real intellectual war prior to the muscular contest which it is expected will follow. The great Count de Mun is at the head of this powerful organization; and under him many gentlemen of the highest rank in France are engaged to labor incessantly for the salvation of their poor countrymen. We see by the late periodicals that the probability we predicted in a previous paper, of his being ejected from the Republican Assembly, at Versailles, has turned out to be a fact. The majority have declared that he was unduly elected because of "clerical influence" in his election. As the same gentlemen consider "Clericalism" as a political party in France—and it is really so, since the word "clerical" is applied by them not only to clergymen but to all laymen likewise who generally support measures favorable to the Church—their vote amounted to a decision made, for instance, by the House of Representatives in Congress against the due election of a Democratic member in New York, *because Tammany Hall had supported his election!*

At any rate, Count de Mun is free again to canvass the whole of France for the increase of his "Cercles d'Ouvriers." In Versailles he would have been absolutely unable to turn the Assembly from its radical leanings; and most probably not a single measure proposed by his initiative, or supported by his wonderful eloquence, would have obtained a majority. His presence there would, consequently, have been scarcely profitable, except as a strong protest against the injustice of the measures those gentlemen of the majority proposed to pass. Others will be there to protest, and mean-

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while Count de Mun will continue to appear day after day in the midst of his enthusiastic followers, viz., the thousands of artisans and laborers whom he has already enlisted on the side of the Church and Christianity.

There is a peculiarity about those Frenchmen of the lower orders which it is good to take into consideration. They are savages when lashed into fury; they will tear to pieces those whom they regard as their enemies; they will run into excesses which barbarians alone are generally supposed to be capable of. Read some of the scenes described in the *Moniteur* during the French Revolution, or any faithful history of those times. Read again the details published in this country during the horrible sway of the Commune of Paris in 1870. You seem to be transported to Dahomey or Ashantee, or to the court of the irascible Mtesa sending his wives to execution. Go and see the same men the day after the perpetration of their horrible crimes; you will find them in "the bosom of their families," full of tenderness for their wives and children, speaking with you with calmness as if powerfully actuated by humane feelings. You will incline naturally to believe that all the reports of the atrocities committed by them were false, or, at least, immensely exaggerated. The writer has conversed with Americans who, two or three years ago being in Paris, took the trouble of going to Belleville and other places in the neighborhood, known to be still occupied by the population which acquired justly such an atrocious reputation. They entered the houses of those *monstrous beings*, and after repeated conversations with them they came back convinced that they had been calumniated. "They were, after all, good people," these American visitors repeated, and repeat everywhere. No doubt those communists speak and act like "good people," when not under the terrible sway of their fell passions. But when once under their impulse, they are as complete barbarians as the youthful pages of Mtesa, as the executioners at the "customs" of Dahomey, as were the horrible tools of the *Montagne* at the massacre of the prisoners kept purposely for a barbarous immolation *aux Carmes*, *à la Force*, and in the other *maisons de détention* into which they had been brought from every quarter of Paris, in September, 1792.

Their madness is merely owing to the tales they have heard about those "hypocritical clericals," intent only on plundering them, enslaving them, preventing them from rising in the world, which is the great object of their ambition, since they have been entirely deprived of their faith and left in the most forlorn situation, without the least hope of, or aspiration for, heaven which they foolishly blaspheme.

Enlighten them gently; prove to them by positive facts that you

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are their friends, that you wish them good; chiefly, induce them gradually to return to the faith of their childhood, nay, to the ardent devotion yet preserved by their wives and mothers,—as is very often the case—and you will be surprised at the change which will come over them. They will soon bewail their former blindness, and repair by great acts of self-sacrifice their previous life of error and sin. Some of them will turn out to be heroes of faith and virtue. In spite of the terrible delusion under which they have so long acted and degraded themselves, they will show that there is in them a great deal of good at bottom. A recent writer has lately given, in two quite large volumes, strong reasons for believing that the great mass of the French people is yet of Gaulish extraction: that is, they are Celts. The author certainly brings powerful proofs for asserting that the Roman conquest had not the least influence on the primitive race of the inhabitants of France; that the German invasions contributed very little to effect a change in blood; that all the subsequent events which have acted on the nation have but confirmed the original characteristics of the race. It is not to be doubted that this is true, more particularly of the lower classes of the French people. The upper ranks of society partook, most probably in a higher degree, of the tribal leanings of the German invaders; the "people" must have remained nearly the same. They are still Celts, therefore, and show it still by their impulsive and often unreflecting nature. But it is generally admitted that religious feeling is almost inseparable from the natural bent of the Celts. When they appear to have lost it, it can be restored by convincing them of their error. As soon as they come to perceive that they have been made the victims of a gross deception, by which they have been deluded into hating the Church without cause; that their ancestors did *not* groan under clerical despotism; were *not* reduced to slavery nor serfdom by monks and priests; that they were *not* the tools of priestcraft until the great revolution of 1789, there will be in them a reversal of feeling which may astonish the world. This is what Count de Mun and his associates are now laboring to effect. After these French workingmen or peasants have once consented to hear—this is the main point—they will soon recognize in the Church an old friend of a thousand years. As soon as they know what bishops, priests, monks have done for their ancestors; the real difference between the mediæval principles and those of Liberalism; the necessity, for the happiness of the poor, of believing in God and heaven; the claims of virtue, and the natural abhorrence which vice should excite; they will listen again to the voice of conscience, which the sophisms of pretended friends had nearly extinguished in them; and the return to faith and the practice of religion, which the last twenty years

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have witnessed in the upper ranks of society in France, will be still more remarkable among peasants and workingmen, as it is proper it should be. For in all countries and under all governments religion speaks with more authority and efficiency to the heart of the poor than to that of the rich; and the claims of the Gospel on those whom Christ blessed in a most especial manner are of so peculiar a nature that they have never, in any nation, been deaf to it for any long time. This is the sure foundation on which rests the hope that the French "people" will return to their former allegiance, and this time never to again renounce it; and the Liberal principles will then in vain be offered to them for acceptance. The outcry, after all, against the existence of God, against the belief in a hereafter, against the superiority of the soul over the body, is not raised permanently and successfully for the deception of those who suffer, and whose existence during this life is scarcely tolerable. We cannot do better, in conclusion, than quote the words of Victor Hugo himself on the subject. We copy from the London *Month* of June last, merely translating the passage of the novel of *Claude Gueux* cited in the *Month:*

"Give to the toiling suffering masses, for whom this world is becoming truly evil, belief in a better world made for them, and they will keep quiet, they will be patient. Patience is built up of hope. Whatever you may do, the lot of the mass of mankind, of the many, of the far greater number, will always be relatively poor, miserable, sad. To them is assigned the heavy work—burdens to drag, burdens to carry. Look well into that pair of scales: all the enjoyments in that of the rich, all the sufferings in that of the poor. Are not the two shares most unequal? Shall not the balance, of necessity, incline on one side, and the State with it? But now, in the share of the poor, in the scale of sufferings, throw in the certainty of a heavenly hereafter, throw in a warm aspiration toward eternal happiness, throw in paradise, that magnificent counter-weight, and the scales keep on a level. The share of the poor is at least equal to that of the rich. *This Jesus knew.*"

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WHAT THE CHURCH AND THE POPES HAVE DONE FOR THE SCIENCE OF GEOGRAPHY.

Récherches Géographiques et Critiques sur le livre "De Mensura Orbis Terræ," composé en Irlande au commencement du neuvième siècle, par Dicuil, suivies du texte restitué, par A. Letronne. Paris, 1814.

Dei Vantaggi dalla Cattolica Religione derivati alla Geografia e Scienze annesse. Dissertazione letta nell Accademia di Religione Cattolica nel giorno 23 di Maggio, 1822, dal Padre D. Placido Zurla, Abate Camaldolese. Roma, 1822.

Les Papes Géographes et la Cartographie du Vatican. Par M. R. Thomassy. Paris, 1852.

THE spotless spouse of Christ has her own peculiar mission—"all the glory of that daughter of the King is within"—in that deposit of supernatural truth which she holds, and with it her co-operation in the work of man's redemption, but she has too her external splendor "in borders of gold, clothed round about with varieties." Around that living centre of supernatural truth, the transcendent, the essential, other truths of the natural order must by their very nature revolve, drawn and attracted by the superior and the grand. In the harmony established by Him who is essentially Truth itself, the truths of the lower order must fit in on the hem as it were of the higher, like a robe of beauty.

The Church was not established to diffuse over the world truths of the natural order, the science of the material universe, but in her glorious mission, with the only solid basis of the relation of the seen to the unseen, she has ever been the guide, the regulator, the cautious fosterer of human sciences.

Her action has not, of course, escaped cavil and censure, nor has it always received the praise it merited, or been appreciated from the proper standpoint. Her mission is to guide souls to heaven by supernatural truth and supernatural means: where human science, art, or learning tends to aid in this great work she favors and encourages; where it becomes an instrument to create doubt and perplexity, to weaken faith, to dispel hope or dampen charity, she lays a restraining hand till all danger is past; so the Church in the Old Law destroyed the Brazen Serpent, made by God's command for the temporal good of the people, when it proved a source of spiritual evil.

She can be no enemy to scientific truth, for truth is one, but every theory that seems plausible or solves difficulties is not neces-

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sarily true, and the fact that a theory is used to counteract the great work of salvation, excites a suspicion that justifies a suspension of judgment, till by becoming established as a truth the theory comes to aid, instead of hampering the great work.

Through ages of barbarism, of ruin and decay, of destruction and blind groping for light, the Church has come down, the ark, bearing learning, art, science, culture, and refinement. Eloquence has paid the highest tributes to the services she has thus rendered to mankind, even the eloquence of those who denied her supernatural claims.

But what she has done for geographical science is too often overlooked. And yet here she was more than any other, in her own sphere, preserving, acquiring, combining, and ordering knowledge essential to her own work, and nevertheless a benefit to all men.

God made of one kindred all the nations of the earth; sin scattered and divided them, rearing walls of brazen hate between nation and nation. The command to the Church, to go and teach all nations, broke down the wall and gathered the nations once more into brotherhood.

The Apostles went out on their great work, and as they proceeded, gathering the believers into churches, a correspondence grew up between these bodies, each imparting its own trials and triumphs, sympathizing with each other in their spiritual gain, aiding each other in distress, and all turning by their earliest teaching to the holy city, Jerusalem, and the city where St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles and his successors, presided.

From the shores of India, and the unknown sources of the Nile, from the wandering Scythian and the unconquered German, from the mountains of Spain and the far-removed British isles, came men to venerate the spots hallowed by the footsteps of our Redeemer, or to seek counsel or blessing from his Vicar. They might come as strangers amid the pomp and luxury of Roman towns to the very centre of the imperial power, but in the presence of the lowly bishop who bore the dangerous honor, sure in those days of the martyr's crown, that Christian from afar was no stranger; he was a son in the presence of his father. He came to one who knew of his land and of the struggling church within its limits; he told of its hopes and its prospects, of its progress and its gain. If a bishop, he detailed the advancement of the faith, and left an account of his diocese and of those near him. If a man in civil authority, he too would give descriptions to guide the missionaries whom he sought for his people. Each successive pilgrim found his land better known to the venerable Pontiff and his associate priests, lurking in the catacombs, to escape for a time the fury of imperial power.

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And when messengers went forth from that peaceful kingdom they penetrated to distant realms, where no courier of the Cæsar dare set his foot, went with ample knowledge to places and countries of which the learned men of Rome had but a misty and uncertain idea.

The great geographer Ptolemy flourished in the time of the emperors Adrian and Marcus Aurelius, embodying all that was known to the pagan rulers of the empire and their advanced schools in the second century, as the maps of Agathodæmon do for the fifth century, yet the writings of the Fathers down to those times show that the Church was far beyond the State and its men of science in a knowledge of the geography of the world.

Without insisting on the labors of the Apostles, St. Andrew and St. Philip, in Scythia and Sogdiana; St. Thaddeus and St. Thomas, in Persia, Parthia, Media, Chaldea, and India; St. Matthew, in Nubia and Abyssinia, as to which even among Catholic writers diversity of opinion exists, it is certain that the Christians of India and the neighboring countries numbered among their bishops and other teachers in the earliest centuries St. Frumentius, Edesius, Theophilus, and Pantænus. John, bishop of Persia and India, is among the Fathers who signed the acts of the Council of Nice, in 325; St. Jerome in his epistle to Læta mentions the numbers of monks in his time in India, Persia, and Ethiopia. Archelaus, Bishop of Cashgar, as early as 280 opposed the heresy of Manes, as St. Epiphanius relates.

And yet these are only incidental allusions or mentions, showing evidently that a full ecclesiastical record of the time would have been a more complete geography than the learned men of paganism dreamed of, when the shadowy Thule was all they knew beyond Albion; when the Cimbric Chersonese and Germany, vaguely delineated, limited their knowledge on the north; the Caspian, Bactriana, the Ganges, on the east, and the vague indefinite Ethiopia, and the dimly-known Fortunate Islands, on the south.

Thus geographical knowledge was gathered in the councils of the Popes. Fathers of the Christian world, no part of it was without interest to them. The Church fostered alike the geographical knowledge embodied in the Bible, and what Greece had gathered and compiled. The Scripture geography, after the hand of God had crushed the kingdoms of Israel and of Juda and scattered their people in the lands of bondage and exile, would have fallen into oblivion, had not the Scriptures been translated into the Greek, then becoming a universal language. The translators, exiles in Egypt, knew alike the Hebrew and Greek names of places, and all that concerned the natural history of their desolated country. In interpreting the sacred books they could scarcely have gone astray

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on the most trivial point. The Church rendering into Latin the inspired books, had the services of St. Jerome, living amid the very scenes of Holy Writ, with the Septuagint before him, and the tradition of Hebrew scholars to support him. The Vulgate is thus doubly valuable for the geography and natural history of the Holy Land; and science is now rating at its due worthlessness the English Protestant translation, which, discarding in brilliant ignorance these sure guides, struck out a wild system of translation that makes it a mass of errors, for geographer and naturalist to disentangle and correct. Geographical truth and religious truth remained with the Catholic Church, while doctrinal and scientific error alike marked the separatists of the sixteenth century.

Scriptural geography was not a mere study. In the Church it was something of practical use. The Holy Land was a land of pilgrimage to the Christian world; the Jewish law had been one of pilgrimage. Jerusalem at its great feasts was the point to which the faithful journeyed from every division of Juda and Israel. When scattered in distant lands the Jews still felt obliged from time to time to visit the Holy City and take part in one of the great solemnities of the temple. The record of Pentecost shows us Jews from every land, from the Tiber to the Ganges, and from remote Abyssinia the eunuch of Queen Candace journeyed to offer up prayer and sacrifice in the temple of the living God.

The temple of Solomon with the Ark of the Covenant and the Tables of the Law was holy. Holy even the second temple, though these sacred deposits, hidden by Jeremias, were not replaced within its walls; but holy as these had been to the Jew, far holier to the Christian were Calvary and the Mount of Olives, were the points that marked the way of the Cross, were Bethlehem and Nazareth, Cana and Bethany.

To direct the pilgrims from various lands itineraries were formed, guiding the pious of each country on his course from his home to the sacred scenes of Redemption. From the Itinerarium Burdigalense, numbers of these have been preserved to our days, showing how the Church in her own vocation yet contributed to science. Many a point as to routes of trade and travel, as to ports that had dwindled away, or new emporiums that arose, depends for its solution now on these itineraries of the early Catholic pilgrims.

But the Church gave more. Her monks and clergy visiting the Holy Land brought back clearer notions of foreign countries, and imparted more accurate knowledge. The Holy Land was too great an object of interest to be long undescribed.

Thus the Church in her natural operation, in her constant tendency to bring the other sheep who were not of the fold within her bosom, so as to form but one sheepfold under one shepherd, kept

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up constant communication between all parts of her ever-extending realm and the two great centres, Jerusalem and Rome.

Missionaries going from the See of Peter, or returning to report the result of their labors, bishops, priests, and people visiting Rome as pilgrims, or for the affairs of the Church, formed one class; the pilgrims to the Holy Land another.

All availed themselves of what antiquity had left to guide them on their way and make their journey instructive; and they noted for the benefit of others the changes wrought by time, by wars, invasions, and the violent movements of nature. They revised and corrected the earlier geographers, to conform their accounts to the actual position of affairs, often requiring an entirely new description, leaving to scholars possessed of leisure to harmonize the old and the new.

Others again described as their starting-points lands unknown or barely described on vague rumors by the earlier writers.

From the material thus collected arose two classes of works elaborated in the quiet of cloisters: the first were new editions of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, embodying recent knowledge of the condition of the countries described, with the results of such explorations and discoveries as added new territory beyond the limits known to the earlier writers; the second were new contributions, which without employing the ancient writers gave for actual use, as guide-books, contemporary descriptions in detail of the Holy Land, and in some cases of other countries. It is a curious fact that we possess an early example typifying each of these classes, written by Irish monks. Saint Adamnan, of Raphoe, Abbot of Hy, author of the *Life of St. Columba*, wrote a work, *De Locis Sanctis*, which is the base of many subsequent treatises on the Holy Land; and about the year 800 Dicuil, another Irish monk, wrote his work, *De Mensura Orbis Terræ*, a general geographical work, bringing down the knowledge of earlier writers to his own time, and embodying details as to the explorations of his countrymen on the Atlantic.

Ireland, it may be said, was then especially active in study and research, but we can scarcely believe that she stood alone, and that some similar works were not compiled in the monasteries and cloisters of other lands.

Rome was certainly not inactive. As the centre to which pilgrim and clergy tended; as the place where missionaries reported on new fields of labor or sought the canonical organization of a new-formed church, Rome necessarily received details as to the extent, nature, and resources of each country, to enable the Holy See to act understandingly. The knowledge scattered in widely separated churches and monasteries would thus naturally be brought

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together in the archives of the Pope. Thus the great religious idea of the Church's world-wide mission made science her handmaid for increasing its usefulness for her great work, and for the good of mankind.

It must not be supposed that this theory of an accumulation of geographical knowledge at Rome is a mere hypothesis, with no basis but the pious wish of an earnest adherent of the Church. If Adamnan and Dicuil show geographical knowledge and science, cultivated in one of the remote corners of the Christian world, proof exists attesting the reality of the general geographical knowledge possessed at Rome, and of the importance attached to it by the Holy See. "Surpassing Augustus and Agrippa, who painted on their walls a map of the Roman Empire, the sovereign Pontiffs, rulers of a far wider empire, depicted on the walls of the Lateran palace a map of the whole world. This work of art and science dates back to the earlier part of the eighth century. Of Pope Zacharias (741–752), we read: 'Hic in Lateranensi patriarchio ante basilicam beatæ memoriæ Theodori papæ a novo fecit triclinium . . . . . ubi et orbis terrarum descriptionem depinxit atque diversis versiculis ornavit.' 'He restored the triclinium in the Lateran palace before the basilica of Pope Theodore, of blessed memory, and painted on its walls a description of the world and adorned it with various inscriptions.—*Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, ed. 1602, p. 112.'"

What had the Church gained up to this time? Ireland, scarcely known by name to Greece and Rome, was occupied, fully explored, full of seats of learning, diffusing light over the north, over Scandinavia on the east, and the islands of the gloomy ocean on the west. The faith had been borne through Scotland; thence Irish monks carried the faith to the Shetland, Orkney, and Ferroe Islands, adding them to the domain of science. The Ferroe Islands, inhabited at an early day by Irish hermits, were retained by them as a favorite retreat till the heathen Danes ravaged them about 725. Saint Brendan, of Clonfert, had already in the sixth century, advancing in the rude coracles of his country through the dangerous sea, reached Iceland, bringing back a knowledge of its volcanoes, of the icebergs, of the long polar days and nights, each measured by days. This island, as we see by Dicuil, was not only known but colonized by the Irish, and the Scandinavian annals attest the fact that religious articles, books, bells, etc., left by Irish priests, were found by them on their first visits to the island.[1]

St. Brendan's voyage, distorted and altered by the fancy of narrators in prose and verse, became the great legend of the Middle

[1] Dicuil, De Mensura, c. vii., § 3; Letronne's Observations, pp. 131–146.

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Ages, but in the wildest form we can see the underlying truth, and its authentic accounts were received by scholars. His island found place on maps, though located most wildly. He heard too of islands beyond, one of which, termed in Irish, Hy Brasaill, long figured on maps in various positions, and the name, given at last to a part of the New World, is still borne by the great empire of the Western Continent, making it commemorate the labors of the early Christian explorers, the Irish monks.[1]

Then from Ireland went missionaries to Saxon England, and with converts from that land, pushed onward to the immemorial forests of Germany and Scandinavia, warring on Woden and Thor in their very fastnesses, and tracing with sweat and blood the courses of rivers and mountains, the divisions of tribes.

The letters of these early missionaries betray at every turn their interest in geography; and what can be a more striking proof than the dispute between the English St. Boniface and the Irish St. Feargall or Virgil, which began in regard to the validity of a doubtful baptism, but when finally referred to Rome included a debate as to the shape of the earth, the existence of the Antipodes, and the possibility of circumnavigation?

In the midst of the forests of Germany, with pagan hordes around them, among men utterly devoid of letters or science, these missionaries discussed cosmography, and laid the matter before Rome as the seat of science and of faith. The Pontiff Zachary, with his mural maps, sustained the clearer knowledge of the Irish missionary, who soon became bishop of Salzburg.

In this pontiff's day the Weser, Elbe, Oder, and Danube could be laid down, and St. Anscharius, Archbishop of Hamburg, claim jurisdiction over Iceland and even Greenland. These last countries, of which Europe now first heard, soon received bishops of their own; monasteries of Benedictines and Dominicans arose amid the northern ice, and bishop and religious, impelled still by the pristine zeal, bore the cross and science to Vinland and other portions of the New World.

In the East the monks of the Thebais penetrated into Nubia and Abyssinia, spreading and reviving the faith, and bringing accounts of the source of the Nile, as men are now doing a thousand years later. Monks of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia traversed India, Thibet, and reached China, where monuments of Christianity of a

[1] Cardinal Zurla, speaking of St. Brendan and of his islands, which were one of the points of Columbus's search, remarks: "Under this point of view no slight glory redounds to our St. Brendan (he claims him as a fellow Benedictine), not only to have extended the limits of geography in those hitherto unknown regions of ocean, but to have perchance struck the first sparks that guided the Genoese Tiphys in giving us a new world."

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very early date still exist, and the heralds of the cross brought back not only definite accounts of those remote countries, but bestowed on the Emperor Justinian the first silk cocoons seen in Europe, the fruitful source of the silkworms of Greece and Italy; all springing from the few that missionaries concealed in their hollow staffs.

Two causes now arose, which not only checked for a time this rapid extension of geographical knowledge, but destroyed much that had been acquired, and was not generally diffused.

The successful inroads of the Danes and Northmen in the West, and the fearful growth and extension of the Mohammedan power in the East, swept away whole communities of Christians; church and shrine, monastery and school, the library, with the treasures of ancient learning and the records of later experience, perished in some places utterly and irremediably. The Church in time won to the faith the fierce pagans of the North, but the sectaries of Mahomet have ever proved deaf to the voice of truth.

The earlier geography of the East and of Northern Africa, based on that of the Roman empire, now became useless. States with new names, new cities, new governments and customs arose, all that was human changed; naught but the everlasting hills, the stream and forest, and the sea that seemed to mourn the past, remained.

To study and map out this new East became a task, which there was no European government to undertake or encourage. Again the Church came forward to assume the task. In the hand of the infidel, as in the hand of the pagan, the holy places were still objects of deepest reverence to all whom the Church imbued with a spirit of piety. Amid new and untold dangers the Christian pilgrims from all directions hastened to Rome and to Jerusalem.

Itineraries like that of the Saxon St. Willibald describe the Holy Land in the eighth century, and others keep up the chain of positive knowledge through the next few ages. But the wrongs, extortions, and outrages to which these Christian pilgrims were subjected increased, till at last when all Europe was threatened by the insolence of Moslem power on land and sea, the religious idea called Christendom to arms, that by their united efforts the Saracen power might be broken, the holy places rescued, and Europe itself saved from these invading hordes. A closer union among the Christian powers, a renewed spirit of faith, experience on the sea, all resulted from the Crusades. They failed to effect the permanent rescue of the Holy Land, but they saved Europe for a time by making Asia the battle-ground. The Greek, ever thwarting the Crusader, from his antagonism to Rome, found too late that he was left alone to meet the Turk.

A familiarity with the geography, resources, and divisions of

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Asia, and with their products and industries, was one of the marked consequences of the Crusades. The East became the great object of religious zeal and of commercial adventure. Then arose the great missionary bodies in the Church, the sons of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and they, with Benedictine, Carmelite, Augustinian, spread to all parts of Asia, and their fearless intrepidity knew no obstacle in the savageness of man, the ruggedness of the land, or the extremes of heat or cold. The Sovereign Pontiffs, continuing doubtless in their mural maps the progress of discovery, made these new missionaries their envoys to the remotest parts. Innocent IV. dispatched the Dominican Simon of St. Quentin to Nouyan Batchou, commanding the Tartars in Persia; the friar John de Plan Carpan was nuncio to Tartary in 1247, traversing Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Cumana on the Black Sea, and Cashgar. Franciscans and Dominicans, sent by the same Pope to Genghis Khan, drew up reports which can be read in Ramusio. The friar William de Rusbruquis, a few years later, with friar Bartholomew de Cremona, laid open a whole series of countries in Asia. In 1271 the Dominican William of Tripoli and Nicholas of Vicenza were dispatched by Pope Gregory X. to the Khan, and were accompanied by Marco Polo, whose accounts of the interior of Asia became better known than the more modest narratives of the pious religious who preceded him. In 1289 Nicholas IV. sent John of Montecorvino to the Mongol Khan in Persia. This zeal of the Sovereign Pontiffs to win to the faith the conquering Tartar, added rich treasures of knowledge to the imperfect descriptions, and corrected many errors as to the lands controlled by these warlike hordes.

The successors of the Apostles again, after the lapse of ages, penetrated China. John de Montecorvino was made by Pope Clement V. Archbishop of Khan Balyq, or Pekin, and soon had a number of suffragan bishops. The Blessed Oderic of Friuli visited almost every country in Asia in his wonderful mission-life, and his companion James, an Irish friar, after continuing his work, returned to Ireland, bearing with him Blessed Oderic's geographical treatise, *De Partibus Infidelium*, describing most of the States of Asia, and showing the extent of his labors. The manuscript escaping the destruction which befell so many valuable manuscripts at the hands of the English, was carried to Ratisbon in 1529, and has recently been printed.[1]

Pekin was not the only archiepiscopal see of these new missions, for we find in 1330 John de Cor made Archbishop of Solthanyeh.

The letters and reports of these missions are replete with details

[1] P. Marcello da Civezza, Storia delle Missioni Francescane, vol. iii., pp. 739–781.

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as to the countries embraced in their field of labor, and these were all the more precious, as they filled a space in cosmographies, which had hitherto been a blank or a conjecture. But the information was not always easily acquired. The Franciscan Pascal de Vittoria, martyred by the Moslem Tartars in 1342, was not the first or only one to fall like a Christian hero.

Asia, from the Mediterranean to the China Sea, from the inhospitable wastes of Siberia to the Indian peninsula, was thus included in ecclesiastical geography; religion could point to the great cities where her bishops presided, the towns and spots where monasteries and convents attempted to diffuse at once the religion of Jesus Christ and the science of Europe.

Africa was not overlooked. The northern provinces, where the See of St. Augustine was once but one amid hundreds, that land of Latin civilization to which we doubtless owe our Vulgate version of the Bible in its earlier form, was now Saracen, without bishop or church, almost without a Christian, and its actual condition was unknown and unexplored. The earliest band of Franciscans who entered Morocco gave their lives as a penalty for their zeal, but their brethren were undismayed, and some light was gathered, some light diffused. Algiers, Tunis, and Fez, all became fields of Franciscan labor; while Trinitarian and Mercedarian studied their geography to carry out their heroic and charitable work of ransoming captives.

The collection of geographical data brought from all quarters to Rome, had already begun with the commerce that had grown up in the Italian States to make cosmography and navigation peculiarly the studies of the peninsula. While Marco Polo explores as a student and traveller the interior of China, the Zeni brothers, also Italians, visit the coast of Greenland and the adjoining shores, pioneers of the race of Italian navigators and cosmographers, pupils of the Church and profiting by her work, who in succeeding centuries identified their names with all the new discoveries.

During the great schism of the West, the papal influence in exploration and foreign missions suffered, and the absence of the Sovereign Pontiffs from Rome was injurious to science and to art, no less than to religion. Yet even in this period we meet testimonies of the interest in geography manifested by the Popes. Rienzi, in 1350, accused Pope Boniface VIII. with concealing an ancient map of Germany and Italy engraved on bronze.

In the fifteenth century evidences of the care given by the Popes to geographical science meet us on all sides, from the commencement to the close of that age. The first translation of Ptolemy was made in 1409 by James Angelo, who dedicated his work to Pope Alexander V. The learned Cardinal Peter d'Ailly praises

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this work in his *Imago Mundi*, written in 1410, a work prized by Columbus, whose copy, bearing marginal notes in the great discoverer's handwriting, is still preserved. D'Ailly was one of the first in those days to raise the theory, advanced of old by Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Pytheas, that the Indies were at no great distance from Spain, a theory to which we owe the discovery of America. Another prince of the Church in that day, Cardinal William Filastre, sent to a library which he had founded at Rheims a continuation of Ptolemy, giving the actual condition of the known world.

The spirit of discovery inflamed the minds of all, and the rival nations of the western peninsula of Europe, Spain, and Portugal, looking out upon the inscrutable ocean, sought to solve its mysteries. The rivalry that might have led to angry and hostile action was appeased by the action of Pope Eugene IV., who in 1438 drew the first line of demarcation, deciding that the Spaniards should sail westward, and the Portuguese to the south, confirming to each all that they might discover. The decision was a prophecy of what Vasco de Gama and Columbus were to effect. A bull of Nicholas V. confirmed this important step.

Bartholomew de Pareto, acolyte to Pope Calixtus III., shows in a map executed by him at Genoa, in 1456, that the Pontifical palace was still the favored home of geographical studies. The map of this learned priest is engraved. It lays down not only the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, but also the islands of St. Brendan, and still further westward Antilia and Roillo—the former undoubtedly the origin of the name Antilles, still on maps in our day.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who became Pope under the name of Pius II., was one of the learned men of his time. He was especially given to geographical studies, and in the cosmography which he prepared, combines extensive erudition, vast contemporaneous research, and sound criticism. He applied himself to one point, which every century invested with fresh difficulties. This was, from a study of the best ancient geographical works and the various itineraries and other similar works compiled from time to time, to fix the exact position of ancient places no longer known, and to show this with reference to the nearest modern towns. Based on solid critical grounds, he is led away by no fancies.

His secretary, Hondius, to whom Mabillon attributes the use of the Christian era in dates, carried out the plan of Pius II. in still greater detail in a special work on Italy.

About the same time the Camaldolese Dom Mauro compiled a map of the world, of singular merit and excellence, in its judicious use of all known material.

The influence of such a Pope was felt, and Italy soon produced a series of editions of Ptolemy, which are invaluable as showing

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the gradual discoveries of this period. The first edition was issued at Vicenza in 1475; three years later an edition was issued at Rome, with maps. The printer, Buckink, received all encouragement from Pope Sixtus IV., the ardent restorer of art and science, and especially liberal in his gifts to the Vatican library; the worthy Pontiff who honored the learned Regiomontanus, and raised him to the episcopacy for his virtues and scientific works, and who summoned him and other learned men to Rome to reform the calendar.

Other editions of Ptolemy were issued in Rome in 1490, and in 1507, the last with a Greek text as well as a Latin version. These successive editions, with maps showing the progress of discovery, form now a series of incalculable value in geographical study. Special maps and accounts of voyages, many of which have perished, were here embodied, and where traditions would be questionable in many cases but for the support afforded by these works.[1]

While geography was thus cultivated and encouraged at Rome by the Popes, it had become the study of many natives of the peninsula, and no country ever showed so many men skilled in navigation by actual experience, by study, and by the thorough possession of the geographical data then known. Italian pilots were to be found in all maritime countries, their superior intelligence, learning, and skill putting them so far beyond the local pilots that jealousy was apparently never excited. Even Portugal, which had taken the lead, owed the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, in 1449, to the Genoese, Antonio Nolli, opening the way towards the Cape of Good Hope in 1486.

The religious idea in its most exalted form influenced the whole character and whole career of Christopher Columbus. Navigator, used to the sea, and to a life amid rough, hardy men, he was a profound student, yet not so immersed in science as to lose sight of the "one thing necessary," and in him this was not merely his own salvation, but in his full religious heart the salvation of millions. His very name seemed to him a command to bear Christ to the nations.

He never felt science so absorb his mind as to make him forgetful of God. He never had, like Bishop Walmesley, to put aside his mathematical studies because they made him oblivious to all else before the very altar of God.

He was too reverent in spirit, too deeply religious, to use his

[1] As indications of the fostering care of the Popes for this study, we may note that Pope Pius II. sent to the Republic of Sienna a copy of Ptolemy, and a map of the world painted on canvas, and that his nephew, Francis Piccolomini, Archbishop of Sienna, by his will of October 29th, 1479, left to the sacristy of his cathedral a Ptolemy and a map on canvas by the cosmographer, Anthony Leonardi, a Venetian priest.

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studies to weaken the faith of the unlearned or throw doubt on the inspired word. We know many of the authors whom he studied, and he doubtless bore with him for use the Ephemerides, prepared and printed by the learned Bishop John Muller, better known as Regiomontanus.

When the world seemed combined against him, he found in the convent of our Lady of Rabida, and in a plain Franciscan friar, the weak things that were to confound the strong. The Church is so identified with the spirit and the work of Columbus that even on the bronze doors of our Capitol, justice compelled them to introduce the Franciscan Father Marchena as the great advocate of Columbus.

When passing the Saragossa Sea and the wide Atlantic, Columbus finally descried land from his vessel, whose name he had changed to St. Mary, it never entered his mind to give it any mere human name; he styled the new-found land "San Salvador," land of that Holy Saviour whom it was his mission to bear to unknown shores, and kneeling he pronounced a prayer, itself a token of the religious spirit that animated him in his project: "*Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cœlum et terram et mare creasti: benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua Majestas, quæ dignata est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte.*"

When Columbus returned to Spain the account of his wonderful discovery was transmitted without delay to Rome, as though it were an established rule to deposit such evidences at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Roman press at once gave the account to the world, and though American book-lovers vying with each other to secure copies of these wonderfully rare little volumes, contend which of the various almost identical editions is to be considered the first that announced to the world the wonderful voyage of the Christ-bearer, they all agree that at least four editions of it were printed at Rome by Stephanus Plannck in the autumn of 1493. A New York library, rich beyond all dreams of book-hunters, possesses a copy of each of these wonderfully-rare little books, proofs of Rome's interest in geographical science.

Nor should it be forgotten that Italy of the Popes, alone printed accounts of the second and fourth voyages of the discoverer of the New World. The *De insulis meridiani atq. Indici maris nuper inventis*, of Scyllacius, 1494, and *Copia de la Lettera per Colombo mandata a li serenissimi Re et Regina di Spagna: de le insule et luoghi per lui trouate.* Venice, 1505.

Truly of this period does Thomassy say: "As to the Papacy, last support of Italy, whose pristine grandeur it still perpetuates, she made it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the general reposi-

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tory of ancient and modern science. The ecclesiastical calculations, which finally took shape in the Gregorian reform of the calendar, rendered astronomy popular there with the clergy, and with astronomy and mathematics raised to the highest honors, the study of time and space, chronology and geography."

The discovery of America came to these students, already versed in the actual geographical knowledge, with a full conception of its immense importance for science and religion, for commerce, and for humanity.

Spain and Portugal, then rivals on the ocean, would have made future discoveries a motive for war had not the Pope interposed, and like his predecessor drawn a line of demarcation between the rival states. A line from pole to pole between the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands first divided the earth into two hemispheres.

As the extent of the new discovery became apparent the division made by a Pope was accepted by science, and in the fourth edition of Ptolemy, issued at Rome in 1508, by Fabricius de Varano, Bishop of Camerino, the Celestine Mark Beneventanus, and John Cotta, of Verona, and dedicated to Robert, Cardinal of St. Anastasia (remarkable too as having from Julius II. a special privilege to the publisher for a period of years, the first instance of protection to literary property), appears John Ruysch's Map of the World in hemispheres, the first of the kind ever issued.

The very geographies used by our children in schools show unwittingly in their opening pages the influence of the Popes in this branch of human knowledge, as the division into hemispheres originated with a Pope, and the first map of the world so drawn was issued at Rome with peculiar privileges from a Pope, dedicated to a cardinal, and edited by a Catholic bishop and a monk.

All the countries on the Atlantic seaboard now sent their vessels across the ocean; the hardy fishermen began, or perhaps but continued, their unrecorded voyages across the wide expanse of ocean to the rich codfisheries off Newfoundland. An activity unprecedented in human annals was seen, but leading the vessels of all nations we behold navigators from Italy of the Popes, the Colons, Vespucci, Cabotos, Verazzanis.

A religious influence pervaded all the explorers. They went forth with the Calendar of the Church in their hands and ever in their thoughts. In a few years the coast line on the expanding map of the New World read like a martyrology. As the Catholic navigator struck the coast he named his landfall after the feast or saint commemorated by the Church on that day. Then as he sailed on day by day he named from the calendar the capes, rivers, bays, and mountains that he discovered. Yielding to the spirit of the Church he rendered a service to science. Had he given the names

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of the men of his own land famous for good or evil, had he transferred to the New World the names of localities in the Old, these names would have told nothing to future times. Using the calendar, he made each name a monumental date. His original narrative, his original chart might perish, but we could still read his course on the maps. The maps and letters of Estevan Gomez have been lost, yet in the earliest map compiled after his discovery, that of Ribero, preserved at Rome, we can, by the help of the calendar, read on the coast distinctly where he reached it, the direction he took along it, and where he left it.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence bears that name because the pious Cartier discovered it on the 10th of August, the feast of the holy Roman deacon. St. Augustine received that title to commemorate the fact that Melendez reached the coast of Florida on the 28th of August, the feast of the holy Bishop of Hippo.

So absolute was the custom that in the warm discussion now going on among American scholars as to the authenticity of the letters and map attributing discoveries on our own coast to the corsair Verrazzano, his neglect to conform to the usual custom is brought forward as an argument against the alleged voyage.

"It was the uniform practice," says one of these writers, "of the Catholic navigators of that early period, among whom, according to the import of the letter, Verrazzano was one, to designate the places discovered by them, by the names of the saints whose feasts were observed on the days they were discovered, or of the festivals of the Church celebrated on those days; 'so that,' says Oviedo, 'it is possible to trace the course of any such explorer along a new coast by means of the Church calendar.'"[1]

With these vessels thus religiously guided went priests, and soon after bishops, missionaries of the secular clergy, and of the religious orders, and many of them rendered direct service to geographical science, while thousands contributed more indirectly. In the developed field of activity the clergy became and long remained in Catholic countries directors of the schools of hydrography and navigation, maintained by government for the training of duly qualified pilots and navigators.[2]

It is common with a shallow class of our writers to laud New England in comparison with New France under a literary point of view, but it is only a piece of audacity to cover up a real case of weakness. New England during its colonial days produced no

[1] Henry C. Murphy, The Voyage of Verrazzano, p. 46. Unaware of Oviedo's remarks, the writer years ago directed the attention of some of our historical writers to this means of following the course of explorers.

[2] See for example in the Annals of Dieppe the numbers of priests connected with the school of navigation as directors.

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scientific or purely literary work, and in this respect has really nothing to boast of. Quebec had her school of hydrography, directed by learned Jesuits or learned laymen, and the elaborate maps of our whole northern and western country still extant, from the hands of men formed in or directing that school, contrast with the utter poverty of New England in chartography. In fact the earliest and best charts of New England coasts and harbors are those of Champlain, formed to his profession in the schools of Catholic France. And Canada was in the study of botany and natural sciences always in advance of New England.[1]

The Church's contributions to geography began early. Gherardini, first bishop of San Domingo, wrote an Itinerary of the New World, and missionaries sent from all parts descriptions of new lands and nations, rivers and mountains, with charts, sailing directions, routiers. As the vast extent became more evident, the solitary missionary, mapping his field of labor, asked that a bishop be sent with clergy to occupy the field.

That reports of missionaries and of explorers were sought for and sent to Rome we have abundant evidence. Pope Clement VII. requested that the maps of Gomez should be sent him in order to keep him informed of the latest discoveries,[2] and Ribero's map of 1529 bears the arms of that Pontiff. The information obtained was at this period in Italy embodied again in mural maps and in globes.

Globes and maps of the world due to the Popes are constantly referred to. Ptolemy was the starting-point of Vatican chartography, as we have seen, but the Popes were prompt in collecting all the scientific elements, says Thomassy, to control and rectify the ideas of antiquity and of the middle ages; and never had the world seen such a centre of geographical information as the Popes enjoyed. Geographical truth reached them from all parts of the globe, and with the establishment of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and the college which emanated at once from that idea, the reports systematized the information gathered in every country. Negro, Arab, Hindoo, Chinese, and Japanese, formed to European science as well as to Christian erudition and divinity, in the capital of the world, went forth to illumine their own lands with the vivifying principles of the faith, and while laboring to convert and civilize their own countrymen, traced scientifically the boundaries, features, productions, and government of their native States, to transmit to

[1] Kalm shows clearly that he found nothing done in New England for its botany, while in the governor and officers of Canada, in the physicians and clergy, he found students and collectors. A hundred years ago there were two special works on Canadian botany, besides Charlevoix's treatise, the writings of Lafitau and Sarrazin.

[2] Murphy's Verrazzano, pp. 124–5.

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the See of Peter, with a feeling of national pride, and in order to awaken or keep alive interest in their fields of labor.

Alexander Piccolomini, a cosmographer, mentions in his work, *Della Grandezza della Terra e dell 'Acqua* (Venice, 1558), a terrestrial globe in the possession of Cardinal Viseo, and another in the palace of Cardinal Carpi, which showed by a new and ingenious system the altitudes of the mountains (thus really adopting centuries ago a system set up as new in our time). He mentions a still larger one then possessed by Cardinal de Urbino. He expatiates more at length on a large and fine globe, very carefully made, which he saw and examined at Rome in the house of Mgr. James Cocco, of Venice, Archbishop of Corfu, and one of the Fathers of the Council of Trent.

The princes of the Church evidently prided themselves on possessing such globes. They were not mere spheres covered with a printed map, but each was a special work by itself, the result of years of study and collections, embodying all the information acquired by some cosmographer.

Our own country possesses one of these globes, which is invested with special interest. It stands in the library of the New York Historical Society. Amid collections on the Dutch settlement of New Netherland, and publications of New England and other historical societies, relics and mementoes of American worthies, the visitor will find a copper globe in its wooden frame, now dark with age. It gives the maker's name, Euphrosynus Ulpius, and bears this inscription: " Marcello Cervino, S. R. E., Presbytero Cardinali, D. D., Romæ," showing that it once belonged to that cardinal, who became Pope, and alone for many centuries preserved his name in the Papacy, ruling the Church as Pope Marcellus II. The globe is forty-two inches in circumference, the outlines of coast graven in the copper, the names apparently punched in letter by letter. It was made in 1542, thus antedating all the settlements on our coast, even that of St. Augustine, and is almost coeval with the last voyage of Cartier. It lays down the discoveries of Verrazzano, and is the earliest monument in favor of their authenticity, but leaves blank the date, showing that the conscientious maker failed to obtain positive information on the point.

Such were the globes showing the latest discoveries that cardinals in the sixteenth century were proud of having in their homes, and we may well assert that no city in Europe at the time could have produced such a number of valuable compendiums of geographical knowledge.

But these are not the only proofs of the interest felt at Rome. We have already mentioned the mural maps of the Popes. These were never abandoned. Above the Loggie of Raphael, on the

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third floor of the great court of the Vatican, are the galleries devoted to this science. The first owes its present decorations to Pope Pius IV.; the second was completed by Pope Gregory XIII.

On the walls are maps taken from the latest editions of Ptolemy, painted in 1549 and 1566, and embracing the discoveries recorded in Ruscelli's first edition in Italian, issued in 1561. At the clock at the extremity of the first gallery are the British Isles, England, Scotland, and Ireland; then Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, India, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia, Muscovy, Scythia, or Tartary; closing with Greenland, which, first dependent on the see of Hamburg, had for some centuries its resident bishops, dwelling at Garda, where recent explorations have traced the ruins of the Cathedral.

Between the maps are views of Rome and Venice, and a view of the Council of Trent. All this was executed by Piero Ligorio, under the pontificate of Pius IV.

Under Pope Gregory XIII., the father of modern science, the Reformer of the Calendar, were added maps of Africa, in two parts; the kingdom of Tombotu (Timbuctoo), and of Abyssinia, being the two divisions of that day. Below West Africa, in an oblong border, are three paintings of cities, Senega, lignea civitas portatilis (Senega, a portable wooden city); Fessa nova civitas, Fessa vetus, Mauritaniæ urbs regina (New Fessa, Old Fessa, queen city of Mauritania).

Under Abyssinia is shown Mount Amara and three cities, one being Cassumum, city of Queen Candace.

At the third portico began maps of Turkey, Egypt, Arabia Felix, and views of three cities; Muscovy, Persia, Cathay (China), India, within and beyond the Ganges, with a map of Zeylam (Ceylon). This map has been much injured by rains, that have penetrated the roof. Then follow China, Tartary, Japan, America, the Archipelago of St. Domingo, and a recent and very full account of New Spain. Other maps, now much injured by time and weather, next meet the eye, and at least one of the islands near the first meridian, in which St. Brendan's Island is laid down, with a nearer approach to truth than is usually seen, as Iceland.

The first series of maps are on Ptolemy's system of spherical projection; but the others are on plain projection, the latitude and longitude being carefully laid down, for these maps were all the work of scientific men.

The explorations of Dr. Livingstone in our time have attracted the attention of the world, yet on the map of Egypt, painted three hundred years ago, in the Vatican, the east branch of the Nile rises in Lake Zambesi. The kingdom of Tombotu (Timbuctoo) occupies the valley of the Niger, showing that knowledge was possessed

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at Rome, which the rest of Europe ignored till this century put it too clear to doubt.

The map of America gives all the Northeast as New France, and calls the ocean around Newfoundland "Sea of New France." Tierra del Fuego appears as part of a great southern continent.

The Gallery of Pius IV. was faithfully restored in 1583 by Pope Gregory XIII., who also had another gallery, now known as the Gregorian Promenade, painted with the provinces of Italy in detail, and adorned with paintings of scenes in Italian history, ancient and modern, among which, as one of the glories of the peninsula, Columbus is shown in a triumphal chariot on the sea. The paintings were executed by Tempesta, Romanelli, and other painters of eminence. This gallery was restored in 1631 by Pope Urban VIII., but with so little judgment that the added colors turned black. Pope Pius IX., amid all the important cares of his wonderful pontificate, thought even of these geographical glories of his predecessors, and, correcting the error, has had the second coat removed and the restoration properly done by Bianchini, fully in the spirit of the original work.

These mural maps have not been mere curiosities of the past, but embodying information contained sometimes in local maps that have perished, have frequently been decisive in controverted points.

Many of the noted cosmographers have been priests, but for exalted position and extent of geographical labors we will take but one, the Very Reverend Father Mark Vincent Coronelli, General of the Order of Minims, or religious of the order of St. Francis de Paula. He was a native of Venice, cosmographer of that commercial republic, and renowned for his public lectures on geography. He issued no less than four hundred maps, which were so highly esteemed, and won him so widespread a reputation, that Cardinal d'Estrées induced him to make for King Louis XIV. of France two immense globes, each twelve feet in diameter, for the royal library. They received the approbation of scientific men of that day for their superiority. Coronelli, to perpetuate his work, founded at Venice an Academy of Cosmography. He became General of his Order in 1702, and died in his native city in 1718.

The new Catholic missions throughout the world—into which the recently-formed Society of Jesus entered with heroic zeal—had become so multiplied and so vast that the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory XV. created a special congregation, called De Propaganda Fide, to which was specially committed the direction of all the missions of the Church in countries where Catholicity and Christianity were not the prevailing religion. To this was soon united that great university for pupils from all nations of the universe, the Urban College. A new impulse was given to the apostolical laborers

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throughout the world, new missions were formed, new bodies rose to carry on the evangelical work in fields still white for the harvest, seminaries of foreign missions were established in various ports, and a new spirit awakened which culminated in our century in the organization of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, in which the Catholic millions, giving their slight offerings, have made so much good practicable by the devoted missionaries in all lands. The Propaganda at Rome, by the very force of circumstances, became a great centre of geographical information, and among the Cardinal Protectors have been many whose names are familiar to geographical students as patrons of science.

The Propaganda became a centre not only for information from all parts, and naturally a depository of maps, charts, and globes, but by the establishment of a printing press, where type of a vast number of languages were cut and cast, it became a centre of linguistic science, one of the greatest helps to accurate and certain geographical and ethnographical knowledge.

The missionaries in all parts of the world studied the languages of the peoples to whom they were sent. Where no grammars or dictionaries existed they set to work to prepare them; always under great disadvantages and seldom with the leisure required for thorough work at first, or the means of comparison and dialectic study, but these were almost always followed by more solid works, or if no opportunity was afforded, the original elementary essays stand in many cases as our only monuments of extinct languages. Rome became the depository of immense numbers of these works, and priests of the Catholic Church were the first to point out language as the surest test in establishing the relationship of the various tribes of the earth, and the true means of grouping them into families.

To learn to what extent the Catholic Church has contributed in this field, it is enough to take a work like Ludewig's *Literature of American Aboriginal Languages*. If we omit the mere vocabularies of limited length taken down by travellers, the great mass of what can properly be called dictionaries and grammars are the work of Catholic missionaries. In this country we find even in New England that the dictionary of the Abenaki, prepared by the martyred Father Rale, is the most extensive one of any New England dialect. New York shows no grammar or dictionary except those from the pens of Catholic missionaries. Of the Indians of Maryland the only known grammar is one still in manuscript at Rome, prepared by Father Andrew White; a grammar of the Timuquana language of Florida was written by Father Pareja. The Wyandots, who once had a village at Sandusky, and gave it its name, had their language reduced to grammatical form by Fathers Chaumonot and Potier,

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and a dictionary compiled by the Franciscan Brother Sagard. The only monument of the Illinois is Father Le Boulanger's dictionary. In our time Bishop Baraga published a grammar and dictionary of the Ojibwe; and Rev. Mr. Belcourt another grammar. The California languages found lexicographers and grammarians in Fathers Sitjar, Arroyo de la Cuesta, and other Franciscans.

The Church was not only the first in thus collecting material, but the first to show its scientific importance by classifying, comparing, and reducing to families the various known dialects. The pioneer in this was the priest Lorenzo Hervas, till its suppression a member of the Society of Jesus, who aided by missionaries of that society, gathering at Rome from all parts after the storm of infidelity uprooted their mission work, prepared his "Catalogo delle Lingue conosciute e notizia della loro affinitá e diversitá," and other general linguistic works, in his vast treatise, *Idea dell' Universo.* He was the pioneer, and Adelung and Vater but followed in the path traced out by the learned Catholic priest, whose sound judgment is as fully admitted by writers of our day as his immense industry and varied learning.

The Church may claim this great branch as peculiarly her own, from the vast collection of material by her missionaries, and from the first scientific arrangement made by one of her priests in the Roman States and under the protection of the Pope.

The maps of early date collected by the Propaganda are numerous and valuable. Thomassy describes at length fifteen of remarkable importance. Two of these, the Verrazzani and the Ribero maps, printed in the recent controversy as to John Verrazzani, are constantly referred to on both sides, the collections of the Propaganda thus furnishing American scholars with the important documents on a contested point of historic American geography.

The library and the museum of the Propaganda are rich in medals, coins, engraved gems and intaglios, paintings and manuscripts from all parts of the world, with much to illustrate the manners, customs, mythology, and rites of various nations, and thus give additional aid to the study of geography. Many Pontiffs and Cardinals have enriched them by precious donations, and the name of Cardinal Borgia will long be numbered among their most judicious benefactors.

Besides the direct reports to the Propaganda, missionaries contributed most valuable and important works, devoted specially to the countries where they labored, and others which, while describing their own evangelical labors, are replete with geographical information which might be sought in vain in the professed geographical works of that day. Of Japan, till within the last few years, all that was really known was what was described by the Catholic missionaries. The same was the case with China, and is now of Corea.

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Only a few years ago the work of two Catholic missionaries on Chinese Tartary and Thibet was translated into all languages, and gave the first detailed information of their present state. Relations of separate missions, the *Lettres Edifiantes*, *The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, give an immense mass of authentic material as to the less known parts of Asia, Africa, and Oceanica.

As to America, from its discovery to the year 1600, the material is almost exclusively Catholic. For the next century the Church supplies, so far as exploration and geography are concerned, the most important part.

The philosophical historian, Bancroft, says of the Jesuit missionaries, in words so often quoted, that it seems almost useless to cite them here: "The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." But even he is contracted in his view, as is Parkman in styling his work, *The Jesuits in North America*, when, in fact, he treats only of the Jesuits in part of the diocese of Quebec, not even a whole diocese, much less a continent. Men accustomed to churches whose dogmas are received only in a country or a state, get their ideas cramped; it needs Catholicity to expand the chest and thought so as to embrace a world.

The Jesuits were not alone, nor were their labors confined to French explorations. The Franciscan Father Mark, from sunny Nice, penetrated to New Mexico in 1539; two of the same order followed, bearing the cross to perish. Others followed, exploring and christianizing, so that Father Martin Ignatius, before the close of the century, in his *Itinerary of the New World*, describes an overland route through New Mexico; and in the next century explorations were pushed from it in all directions. The Dominican Andrew de Olmoz penetrated to Texas in 1544; three years later Luis Cancer, of the same order, died in what would seem a wild attempt to penetrate into Florida and convert its fierce people, did we not know that he had already, alone, and with nothing but his crucifix, won the natives of a part so hostile that Spaniards called it Land of War, till his peaceful conquest gave it the name of Land of Peace. If Jesuits bedewed the banks of the Rappahannock with their blood, Dominicans had already explored the Chesapeake and reared the altar and the cross, all seeking the route to China. Carmelites explored the coast of California before Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican began their labors there; and in the expeditions through the valleys of the Gila and Colorado the names of Jesuits and Franciscans mingle, Kühn, Salvatierra, Font, and Garces.

The honor of penetrating to the interior of our territory divides among all the missionary orders, the secular clergy, and the bishops.

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Benedictines accompany Cartier, and ascend the St. Lawrence. The Franciscan Caron penetrates to Lake Huron; the Jesuit Jogues to Lake Superior, Lake George, and the Mohawk; Dreuillettes and Albanel to Hudson Bay and the mouth of the Kennebec; the Franciscan de la Roche to lands east of Niagara; Allouez, a Jesuit, studies the tides of Green Bay; his fellow-missionary, Marquette, descends the Mississippi till he decides into what waters it must empty, and draws a map of its course, and the nations lying upon it; the Franciscan Hennepin follows, exploring the river to the Falls he named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, as his fellow-missionaries had bestowed the name of the foundress of the second order on Lake St. Clare. The Jesuit Rafeix prepares numerous maps of countries on the lakes; the Sampson-like Dollier de Casson and his fellow-Sulpitian, Galinée, map Lake Erie. At a later date Father Aubry dies near the Lake of the Woods, as he seeks to penetrate to the Pacific; and a Spanish Franciscan from New Mexico meets a like fate near the Missouri, while pushing on his course of exploration and missions. At the South we find Laval and Siguenza, Jesuits of rival nations, both scientific men, exploring the northern shores of the Gulf. The missionary explorers were of all religious orders, and also from the ranks of the secular clergy.

Their maps, their statements, were adopted by cosmographers, and where, as in the case of California, prejudice induced men to discard the knowledge acquired by Jesuit missionaries, we now in turn laugh at the men who made Lower California an island, rather than follow the Jesuits whose actual experience convinced them that it was only a peninsula.

The near approach of America and Asia in the north was first argued by the Jesuit Father Grelon, who, after laboring among the Hurons on their lake, afterwards met in Chinese Tartary a woman of his former flock who had been sold from tribe to tribe till she reached Asia. From China he wrote to the learned societies of France his theory, based on this, that the two continents either joined or approached very closely in the north.

Our modern missionaries have done much in Africa, Oceanica, and even in America, exploring our western country, and still more the northern parts of British America, where they have pushed their missions to the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

The information acquired by these early missionaries, whose labors were aided by no expensive array of scientific apparatus, show how much can be accomplished by thoroughly trained men, of practical ability.

Their works, like the Jesuit *Relations* of Canada, teem with information, full even to minute detail, as to the life, ideas, habits in war and peace, progress and character of the Indians; as well as to

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geography properly, the animal, vegetable, and mineral resources of the country. Catholic missionaries first called attention to the coal-mines of Nova Scotia, the salt springs of New York, the oil springs of Pennsylvania, the copper of Lake Superior, to the ginseng so prized in China, introduced in Europe the Jesuit's bark (quinine), as they were the first in the North and West to make wine, plant European grains and fruit, and in the South introduced the sugar-cane, olive, and European grape, and the orange, a fruit which even Europe owed to missionaries.

Of professed works on different American States the Church can show a host from the pens of her missionary and other clergy. Brother Sagard's *History of Canada;* Charlevoix's *Histories of New France, St. Domingo, and Paraguay;* Du Tertre's *Antilles;* Clavigero's *Mexico and California;* Morfi's *Texas and New Mexico;* Venega's and Begert's *California;* Molina's *Chili;* Muratori's *Paraguay;* Faulkener's *Patagonia;* Dobrizhoffer's *Abipones;* and in our day, Ferland's *History of Canada,* and the *History and Biographical Works* of the Abbé Faillon; all works full of geographical and historical details, rendering them books of recognized value.

From what the Church has done for the geography, and with it for the history, antiquities, and ethnology of America, we can infer what she has done for these sciences throughout the world, for she can truly say: "Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris."

The Church is of all nations. The synagogue was but of one. The Church with its head at Rome speaks *Urbi et Orbi*—to the city and to the world; and her utterances are listened to by the faithful under every sky and in every land. Geography is but a description of her field of labor. The sects are limited to isolated parts. None can like the Church number whole nations and thousands in every nation. They are but local, while she is universal; and, placing on the walls of the palace where her Sovereign Pontiff lives in all simplicity, the map of the whole world, she but places there the various countries from whose episcopal sees the bishops will come at the call of the successor of St. Peter, to sit in such Œcumenical Councils as she only can assemble.

If the Popes have rendered such service to geographical science, directly and indirectly, by inspiring her sons to study and perfect it, by collecting, preserving, by publishing and encouraging, they have but mapped out the field of their own mighty labors, the extent of the care devolved on the high priest of Christendom. Whether in prosperity or in adversity, reigning in splendor or a prisoner, with the rulers of Europe respecting or gainsaying him, the Pope is still the only being on earth whose realm is coextensive with the surface of the globe; who can look on the map of the whole world and feel that he has in every part hearts devoted to him.

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THE PAST AND THE PRESENT INDISSOLUBLY UNITED IN RELIGION.

GENTILISM, OR RELIGION PREVIOUS TO CHRISTIANITY, AND THE INSEPARABLE CONNECTION OF ITS TRUE STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE WITH THE EXISTING WORK OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Gentilism: Religion previous to Christianity. By the Rev. Aug. J. Thébaud, S. J. New York. D. & J. Sadlier & Co.

IF the great Apostle of the nations of the earth could be supposed to be permitted to revisit the scene of his labors, on purpose to continue his former apostolic ministry among the nations, his exclamation on surveying the vast North American Continent would surely be: *A great door is open to me and there are many gainsayers* (1 Cor. xvi. 9). It is not, we may rest perfectly assured, without a most intimate connection with the destinies of the Christian religion that the Almighty Ruler of the earth, which He has created and peopled with living souls, to whom He has revealed a destiny beyond this present life, is causing such multitudes of these souls to break up their homes in the Old World of Europe in order to transfer themselves to the New World, there to begin life afresh by seeking a new domicile and a new citizenship. Not a sparrow falls to the ground, says Jesus Christ, without your Heavenly Father (Matt. x. 29). How much more then must the growth of an entire new world arising out of the spoils of the old Christian populations of Europe be looked upon as a special marvel due to the direct action of the providence of God. Here, we must unquestionably say, is the finger of God. Of a truth, here is the work of God, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

But God is never to be understood to do anything in vain and without a set and deliberate purpose. All His works, says the Psalmist, are done in wisdom (Ps. ciii. 24); and His apostle at the council in Jerusalem declares "known unto God from the beginning are all His works" (Acts xv. 18). Yet although the works of God are unquestionably well known to Himself, to us it must always be becoming to exclaim, "Quam investigabiles viæ ejus!" All undue presumption then being disclaimed, as if we could in any sense pretend to be privileged interpreters of the counsels of God, two points, nevertheless, present themselves, as meriting in a very high degree the careful study of all who desire to discover the Christian reasons for the marvellous phenomenon that is daily being carried forward to its accomplishment, in the building up of

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a new world out of the ruins and *débris* of the formerly Christian nations of old Europe.

Simultaneously with this daily growth and formation of the New World, we cannot fail to notice that the civil governments of the European nations are beginning to give continually stronger proofs of their settled and deliberate design formally to constitute their political society in complete atheism. This atheism, indeed, appears to be a simple political necessity of the modern civil state, for the reason that the modern statesmen hold a complete unity within their particular territory to be the political "summum bonum," which must be realized no matter at what cost. Not that we are to be so simple as to believe that this unity is sought for by them merely for unity's sake. Unity within their own territory is sought for only as a means to an end; and this end is the complete and entire subordination of the individual citizen to the ends and aims, whatever these may be, of the civil state. To the statesman of the modern school, the citizen first begins to arrive at the true summit of his citizenship when he has surrendered himself into the hands of the statesman, as a being, without a will, without a mind, without a conscience, and without a religion. If the citizen is to be allowed to have a will of his own, whenever it happens that the modern state seeks its natural end, which is aggrandizement by conquest, the individual citizen would be able to object to quitting his employments in order to join the ranks of the army and shoulder a musket; he would also be able to refuse to pauperize himself and his family to supply the sinews of war for a conquest in which he has neither interest nor sympathy. Again, if the citizen is to be allowed to have a mind, he may make a very dangerous use of it in criticizing the acts of the state. Still less can it be tolerated that he should have a conscience, for in this case he may be so intolerably perverse as to say, "Here is a law that I cannot possibly obey, because it contradicts the plainly revealed will and law of God." And lastly, least of all can it be endured that he should have a religion, for then he would be in danger of having a desire to give himself over to the Roman Catholic Church, in which case the statesman's indispensable "summum bonum" of perfect unity within the national territory becomes most criminally trampled under foot.

Since, then, the modern statesman requires as the perfection of the "status" of civil citizenship under his rule, that the individual citizen of the state should acknowledge himself, in practice at least, not a man at all, but a simple thing or chattel of the state—that is to say, a being without will, without mind, without conscience, and without religion, what is more obvious than the inexorable necessity, which from the nature of the case is incumbent upon all

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statesmen who hold these ideas of what the civil state ought to be, of bending their every effort to constitute political society on the basis of the plain and undisguised denial of the existence of God, who is the Supreme Ruler and Judge of all men? Without an openly avowed basis of pure atheism the state as constituted by modern statesman cannot hope to exist, at least not to exist without serious disturbance. It is set up against God and independently of Him, and consequently it must necessarily have God for its adversary.

It would seem that the Divine providence of the Supreme Ruler of the earth, who never fails to watch over the world that He has made, and respecting whom His apostle delivers the very significant warning, "Do not be deceived; God is not mocked" (Gal. vi. 7), in order to baffle and frustrate the designs of the statesmen who are bent upon constituting their political society on a basis of simple and pure atheism, is forming a new world on a new continent, and inspiring the population of the countries where this atheism is in progress, with a kind of instinct that leads them to break up their homes in the Old World, and fly to the freedom and welcome that awaits them in the New World. It is naturally not without a struggle that the final resolve to quit the old homes of what once was Christian Europe is made. But the conviction that to have to sink down into the condition of a mere thing of the state, and to have to become a mere being, without a will, without a mind, without a conscience, and without a religion, is far too great a price to pay for a home in an old country, when there is a home to be gained in another land across the seas, where the dignity of man is recognized, is certain in the end to become the stronger and to prevail. In simple truth "God is not mocked," and it is thus that the New World daily profits by the means which God takes to baffle the designs of the new class of *robusti venatores contra Dominum*, the infidel statesmen of the old European nations, who are using the powers of the state intrusted to them against the God from whom they have received them. In a like manner also it would seem that God is also providing for the safety and well-being of His Church. He is dividing it into two companies, on the pattern of Jacob's caution and wariness when he was preparing for the encounter with his brother Esau. Being greatly afraid on hearing that Esau was coming with four hundred men to meet him, Jacob divided his people into two companies, saying, "If Esau should come and strike one company, the other which remains will be saved" (Gen. xxxii. 8). Side by side with the Old World of Europe, Christian now no longer, except in the memories of the past, and in the still great multitude of the Christian people who cover its soil, there stands the New World, Christian in its

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name and all the more certainly Christian in its hopes for the future, for the very reason that it has continually before its eyes the wreck, the misery, and the ruin of the Old World, from which it may take a timely warning, and may daily learn from all it sees there not to follow on in the same path.

The New World, however, this second company of Jacob's household, continues, as we have said, to receive an almost daily afflux of those to whom the mercy of God opens a way of escape from the continually increasing decay of the Christian cause and the consequent proportionate growth of state-thraldom in old Europe. While, therefore, on the one hand, the wisdom and the mercy of God manifest themselves in providing the means of escape, there is a corresponding danger on the other hand from which the New World, whither the escape takes place, will do well to guard itself. God would never have given over His Christian people of the Old World into the hands of the atheist statesmen, who are become their oppressors, had the Christian people themselves, by their own shortcomings and transgressions, not placed themselves in the grasp and under the power of their oppressors. It is in human nature to accommodate itself to that in the midst of which it finds itself. There is a continual process of acclimatization going on in the world of the spiritual as well as of the physical man. And as there is even yet such a weird charm in the feeling of home and in the old Christian traditions of Europe, who can wonder if its populations are necessarily strongly predisposed to bear with a very great deal, indeed, from their new masters, and to a wonderful extent to shut their eyes to the real growth of the atheist and infidel power under whose grasp they are, nevertheless, slowly and surely falling.

The danger then is, lest this deplorable characteristic of the Catholicity of old Europe, which, under the influence of numerous quite intelligible motives, is perpetually saying to itself peace when there is no peace, no, not even the shadow of a possibility of any peace, should spread and extend itself in the New World. Were this to be the case the really great Christian hopes for the future, which are the good gift of God to the New World, might come to suffer equally from a cause which is now on its way utterly and totally to ruin all that yet remains intact of the Christian prospects of the Old World.

What this fascination is in the Old World, and what its effect upon its victims really is, is scarcely to be understood by those in the Old World who, with their own consent, have suffered themselves to become its willing and, to all appearance, perfectly satisfied adherents. It may, however, be unmistakably understood by those who, to their own most fortunate and auspicious warning,

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have the opportunity put in their way to look on and study its workings from a distance. It is with extreme difficulty, as I have said, that the working of the fascination can be understood by those whose lot is cast in the midst of it. Nevertheless, that it is not impossible to live in the midst of it, and notwithstanding to be fully and keenly alive to the ruinous way in which it works, I may cite the following passage from an extremely remarkable letter publicly addressed by a priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster to one of the London Catholic weekly journals, whose circulation is quite quadruple that of any other, signed by his name and address, and bearing the date April 29th of the current year. The letter is all the more remarkable as a piece of evidence, because the writer is extremely well known for his zeal and his literary attainments, and among the persons to whom his words apply, with the single exception of their surrender to the fascination in question, which the writer combats, are many names of those who are widely known as being foremost in the active advancement of every good work, and who in every other respect merit nothing but universal gratitude and affection. If space permitted the whole letter to be quoted it would well repay perusal, but I must be content with the following extract as sufficient for my purpose:

"The citadel of Christian education has been already taken, in establishing the de-
"cisive principle, that elementary education should be nothing more than what a secu-
"lar state could take in hand. But the representatives (laymen) of the Catholic body
"have never cared to protest anything openly to the contrary. The Catholics of the
"country are those whose interests are more concerned than those of any other body,
"but instead of being foremost in the defence of them they are only singular in their
"apathetic neglect, acting only as if they had nothing to do with it. The house of
"Christian education is nearly burnt down to the ground; the Catholic leaders take no
"more notice of it than if it was a change taking place among the Buddhists in Thibet.
"There has actually been no indication that they are aware of the existence of any de-
"struction except in their being willing to send in representative people to see that it
"goes on uninterruptedly."

The writer concludes his letter with the following sentence:

"If after this any sanguine Catholic should venture to indulge a hope that the Catholic
"Union is going to promote the cause of Christian education by any effort of speech
"within their power, in the way of pledge or warning or encouragement, he might as
"well disabuse himself of such an idea."

Words of this kind, dispassionately uttered by one perfectly able to weigh their value, and fully cognizant of the reason of conscience which impels him to utter them, conclusively point to the existence of a fascination and a spell, which links the Catholics of the Old World to an antichristian principle, without their appearing to be able to penetrate the nature of the deception by which they are bound. And hence the wisdom and mercy of God especially

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shines forth in this very point, that in our century He has been pleased to divide His people between an old and a new world, so that if Esau is able to fall upon and to lead captive the one company, the other may be able to escape him.

These preliminary remarks have been indispensable to an adequate introduction of our subject, and to exhibit in its just light the true and real nature of the invaluable service which Father Aug. Thébaud has rendered to the cause of the Catholic religion by his recent volume, *Gentilism, or Religion previous to Christianity.* That such a work should have first seen the light in the New World, and have consequently been the product of Catholic thought in that part of Jacob's household, which by the special mercy of God is most removed from the reach of the modern Esau's influence, is quite as much a thing in the order of Divine providence, as it is according to a certain natural order of things, that its first reception in that part of the household which is more immediately under the spell should have been marked by something nearly approaching to a complete failure to perceive and appreciate the intimate relation of the argument with and its profound importance to the present well-being of the truths of the Catholic faith. These truths of the Catholic faith are of course one and the same for all times, ("Veritas Domini manet in æternum,") but the Old and the New World are, notwithstanding, very differently circumstanced with reference to them. The Catholics of the Old World have not as yet to any great extent opened their eyes to perceive the truth that the reign of Antichrist has come upon them. They are like men whose whole fortune has been for a long time embarked in a bank which they have supposed to be inaccessible to danger, but which has unexpectedly become broken; and they are not willing to believe that the bankruptcy has really taken place. Old Europe is still, in so many ways, full of its former Christian traditions that extremely few are willing to believe the terrible truth, that it has formally repudiated its former Christian self and formally inaugurated the reign of Antichrist in several of its various populations. The Catholics of old Europe are prevented from generally perceiving this, for the reason that for the present the reign of Antichrist is held in check by the still powerful multitudes of the Christian people who cover its soil, and who, stirred up and animated as they have now been for many years by the voice of the reigning Sovereign Pontiff, cannot as yet be induced fully to surrender themselves.

The Catholics of the Old World may be thus seen still to lean on their Christian traditions of the past, and it is consequently only with the greatest difficulty that, in a few instances, they are able to come to the startling and painful discovery that these traditions are

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now a name and nothing more. Happily for themselves, the Catholics of the New World are not easily able to be under any such similar illusions. I must undoubtedly say happily for themselves, for it is surely infinitely better to stand firm on the open plain, and to be aware of the necessity for throwing up earthworks by honest labor, in order to the needful entrenchment of the position chosen, than to lean upon defences which have no earthly existence except in the vain imaginations of those whose sole possible prospect for the future, is to find themselves cruelly undeceived the first moment the hour of the trial really comes. When the order of the Prussian government came for the closing of the large and important college of the Jesuit fathers at "Maria Laach," and for the expatriation of the fathers themselves, what avail were the ancient Christian traditions of once Catholic Germany, according to which it would seem to have been a simple impossibility that such an order could ever have been given, or if given could ever have been carried into execution. Yet given the order was, and ruthlessly has it been put into execution. The whole of the fathers who formed the inmates of Maria Laach have been scattered over the world:

> At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros;
> Pars Scythiam et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxem,
> Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.—(VIRG., *Ecl. I.*)

In precisely the same manner, as the reign of Antichrist continues to spread and extend itself to the remaining parts of Europe, of what greater avail will the ancient traditions be there also, as barrier after barrier keeps falling down before the growth of the antichristian power? It is quite otherwise in the New World. The Catholic Church there has scarcely any other choice than to know that her past traditions furnish her little or nothing to lean upon, and that she has to look, so to speak, to that alone which she can call into being around herself. The past, consequently, in the New World can give rise to but few delusive hopes and slender visionary expectations, and it can become the ground of comparatively few illusory prospects that remain to be cruelly dispelled. Spread out before the Catholic Church of the New World lies her work. "A great door," she may say with St. Paul, "is open to me," and there are many adversaries, but then there is at least the "open door," the fair field and no favor, the honest scope for work to be done, a comparative absence of false or vain illusions, in a word, the work of an Apostle in very much more of its truth and simplicity.

In this aspect of affairs, what is the true nature, we have to ask, of the invaluable service rendered by Father Thébaud? Let us pause fairly to take account how the case stands.

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The Catholic Church in the New World is in the condition of an Apostle who has to make his way by Apostolic preaching. But the preaching of an Apostle must always presuppose an existing foundation of belief in God in those to whom he comes to preach. The Apostle's message is one that in its nature is not to be addressed to scoffers and infidels, but solely to those who are already in possession of what we may be allowed to describe as a solid existing outfit of the knowledge of God as the true Ruler and Governor of the World and the rewarder of those who seek Him. The words of Christ Himself in which He announced His Gospel to all men are, "You believe in God; believe also in me" (John xiv. 1). And the reason of this becomes evident on a very little reflection. For in what do the glad tidings of the Gospel specially consist except in this, that God, having up to this time been known to rule over His world of men as an Invisible Power, has now entered into His world as a man, and has made Himself familiarly known by a life upon earth, all the chief particulars of which are perfectly recorded, due provision having been made for carrying the knowledge of them over the earth. But then the knowledge of this Gospel, that is, in other words, of these glad tidings that the hitherto Sovereign but Invisible God has become a man, of necessity presupposes the previous knowledge of His prior existence as the Invisible Ruler and Sovereign of the world of men. If there be no such Sovereign Ruler of the world, it is plain there can be no Gospel bearing the glad tidings of His having become a man. The Gospel, therefore, from the very character of the message which it has to deliver, cannot possibly, in the nature of things, be the first revelation of the existence and attributes of the One Creator, Lord and Sovereign of the universe, the knowledge of whom it must necessarily presuppose in all the various hearers to whom it has to be preached.

This truth we see exemplified in the most striking manner in the Acts of the Apostles. The first man from the Gentile world who is brought to the knowledge of the Gospel, is already "a religious man, fearing God with all his house, giving many alms to the people, and continually making his prayer to God" (Acts x. 2). St. Luke, it is to be observed, does not think it necessary, in giving this description of Cornelius, to enter into any particulars to account for the fact of a centurion in the Roman army being such a religious man. Notwithstanding this, were we to follow what the ordinary current of our ideas would prompt us to think, we should have pronounced Cornelius almost necessarily to have been a pagan, and we should have been disposed to assume, almost as a matter of course, that he could, by no possibility, have had any access in paganism to the knowledge of God, and his worship of Him

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in his family, which St. Luke certainly describes him as possessing.

The really correct inference, consequently, from the manner in which St. Luke describes Cornelius, must undoubtedly be that though we could not suppose every centurion in the Roman army to be necessarily quite the same as Cornelius, still there was nothing in any way unusually strange or extraordinary in a centurion of the army being such a man as St. Luke describes Cornelius. In a word, there would be nothing more uncommon, according to the tenor of St. Luke's words, in finding a centurion like Cornelius, than it would be to discover now that any particular commissioned officer of the British army, or of that of the United States, was a Roman Catholic. Even if the standard of religion attained to by Cornelius was to some extent exceptionally high, nevertheless what we have to observe is that it was within the reach of the religion of the Roman Empire, which we call paganism, to produce men of the stamp of Cornelius. Such, unquestionably, was the centurion of whom our Lord bore witness "that He had not found such faith as his, no, not in Israel." When we proceed to study with a little minute attention the missionary experience of St. Paul, if we do not generally meet with quite as advanced a type as that of Cornelius as common in the Gentile world, we certainly seldom fail to observe that St. Paul comes across a large and numerous class among the Gentiles, who are called "colentes." These "colentes" are all persons, men and women, who acknowledge and worship One God, and everywhere show a disposition to fraternize with the Hebrews in their synagogues. For example, St. Paul when he is invited to speak to those who have flocked to the Hebrew synagogue in Antioch on the Sabbath day, begins his address: "Ye men of Israel," and then adds, "and *you who fear God*,—listen." Such was the result of his words, that on the following Sabbath nearly the whole city came to hear the Word of God. The final effect of St. Paul's words here was, that all the Gentile people who heard them greatly rejoiced and glorified the Word of the Lord. Yet the whole of St. Paul's discourse is built upon and presupposes the knowledge of God, the recognized and undoubted Lord and Ruler of all men upon the earth, as already in the minds of all his hearers. What St. Paul declares is, not that God exists, for about this no one has the least doubt, but that He has manifested Himself upon earth as a man, and that this man is the Jesus of Nazareth who was put to death under the warrant of Pontius Pilate, outside the city of Jerusalem on the cross, who rose again on the third day, and in whose name henceforward remission of sins and an election to eternal life is everywhere proclaimed. Precisely the same is the case at Athens. There the Apostle is moved in spirit from wit-

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nessing the city wholly given up to idolatry. He therefore disputes with such vehemence, on the Christian truths, to the Jews and the "*colentes*" in the forum, that the city at length is moved, and he is brought before the Court of the Areopagus, who assemble to call upon him publicly to give an account of his doctrine. Before this assembly again it has to be observed that St. Paul is able to assume the existence of God, as a perfectly known truth, about which no one will venture to raise a question. He declares boldly: "God who made the world and all things that are in it, seeing that He is the Lord of the earth and the heaven, does not require temples made with hands in order to have a dwelling-place" (Acts xvii. 24). Not a dissentient voice is raised against the Apostle on this truth. It is only when he advances forward to other truths proper to the Christian revelation, and which are new, viz., the future judgment and the resurrection from the dead, that some then begin to manifest their derision, and others to say, "We will hear thee again on this matter at another time."

A principle that appears thus manifestly characterizing the preaching of an apostle, must of course be one also that possesses its recognized place in the general body of Catholic theology. Undoubtedly this is the case, and were it strictly necessary to our purpose that the assertion should be proved, it would be nothing more than a work of ordinary labor to select and produce the necessary attestations. However, as it may be quite easily seen that this would entail a very unsuitable digression which our limits absolutely refuse to admit, we may, in this respect, take a useful hint from a certain pertinent domestic maxim which our readers may have chanced to hear, and which says, "Light your fire at both ends, and let the middle take care of itself." If we then are satisfied with a citation from one of the earliest and also one of the latest authorities on the subject, we may possibly, without overburdening our space, add a little further pleasing illustration to our subject, at the same time that we shall be rendering to it all the justice of which it can be supposed to stand in need.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian, and a contemporary with Constantine the Great, is one of the first of the Christian writers who has distinctly taken the line of a mild expostulation with the adherents of the Gentile superstitions; and the main drift of his important treatise, *De Præparatione Evangelica* (in fifteen books), is to prove to the educated Heathens that the Christians have the wisest and best reasons for renouncing the deception handed down from their fathers (τῆς πατρωπαραδότου πλάνης), and embracing the Christian doctrines. His line of proof consists in collecting from the various nations their testimony to the being and attributes of the One God. Then he goes to the Hebrew Scriptures, and collects from them the

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testimony of the world before the flood as expressed by the Patriarch Henoch, the similar testimony of Noe, that of the family of Heber from which the descendants of Abraham have received the name of Hebrews, then the testimony of Job and Melchisedech, after which there follows an examination of the various schools of Greek philosophy and their tenets, from all which taken together he draws his conclusion that nothing can be more agreeable to wise and prudent reasoning than that this act of faith in God, which is the universal voice of all men, and in which all nations concur, should be followed by the further act, "et in me credite." According to Eusebius, Henoch before the flood, is the true archetypal man of the human family, because he confessed, "that not only had God by His power as Creator set everything in beautiful order in His world, but also, that like a master He ruled over the universe as if over some great city, and that He was at one and the same time both Steward and Master of the house, being both Lord and King and God."[1]

Thus we perceive the early recognition that the principle we are illustrating obtained in the Catholic theology, and how, from the first, the universal belief of mankind, witnessed as well before as after their division into nations, remains for all ages the basis on which the Gospel message claims to be received.

Perfectly in accordance with the above conclusion of Eusebius is the next testimony we shall quote from a living theologian of our own century, Dr. J. H. Newman. "These opinions," writes Dr. Newman (a variety of the current popular superficial ideas have just been enumerated), "characterize a civilized age; and if I say I will not argue about Christianity with men who hold them, I do so, not as claiming any right to be peremptory or impatient with any one, but because it is plainly absurd to attempt to prove a second proposition to those who do not admit the first." (*Grammar of Assent.* By the Rev. J. H. Newman, page 411, edition 1870.)

The antichristian cause then of our day that sets itself up against this universal voice and tradition of the human family, which thus loudly proclaims the Sovereignty of God over the world which He has created, and which seeks to create human society upon its rejection and denial, rests upon two main props. These are the statesmen of the school of Prince Bismarck, and the men of science,—science, that is, so called by themselves. These statesmen, as we have said, place themselves in direct war against the universal creed of the human family, that God is the Sovereign over men. Their ostensible reason for this is that they may

[1] Τοῦ σύμπαντος κυριεύειν, οἰκονομεῖν τε καὶ οἰκοδεσποτεῖν οἰκοῦ καὶ κύριον ὄντα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Θεόν. (Præp. Evan., vii. 307.)

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be able to establish a complete unity of jurisdiction over their subjects upon the particular territory, national or imperial, whichever it may be, that they claim. They see, of course, very clearly, what indeed is scarcely less than self-evident, that if the One God whom the whole human family confesses to be Sovereign over men, is to have His worship on their territory, this worship must infallibly give rise to a brotherhood between their subjects and the subjects of the next territory. Now, inasmuch as it is in the mind of the statesmen to conquer the next territory the moment they think themselves able to make the attempt with success, in the meantime it is scarcely less than a matter of life and death with the statesmen to keep up the notion that their own subjects should faithfully regard themselves as the born enemies of the subjects of the next territory. No question but that in the eyes of Prince Bismarck, as of every other similar statesman of his school, every German is a "*thing*," whom it is all-important to keep and preserve in a proper disposition and state of mind to be ready to shoot down a Frenchman whenever he is called upon to do so. And should it be the will of God to inflict upon France the scourge of placing the French under a statesman, the counterpart of Prince Bismarck, every Frenchman, in the eyes of such a statesman, would then be nothing more than a corresponding "*thing*," existing for the sole purpose of being in readiness to shoot down a German when called upon to do so. In this way Satan, the enemy of both God and man, goes to his work of providing for the permanent and standing infliction of the scourge of war between nation and nation, people and people.

Thus statesmen are in direct antagonism with the God of heaven in respect of their impious principle of building their irreligious power on a settled system of promoting and keeping up the hostility and hatred of race against race, and of nation against nation. God would have His people become citizens of the kingdom of heaven without reference to their nationality; but these statesmen now claim them for themselves as *things*, who must be ready blindly to obey all their behests, and who must hasten to become beings, without will, without mind, without conscience, and without religion, as if their natural perfection consisted in this.

Statesmen, again, are in direct antagonism with the God of heaven on the question of education. "I am the God," says the Holy Scripture, "that teaches man knowledge" (Ps. xciii. 10). That may be very well, say these statesmen, but we are the State, which teaches man knowledge, and education *must* and *shall* be ours and subject to us alone. Again, they are in antagonism with the God of heaven on the question of unity. God, says the Holy Scripture, is He that maketh men, *unius moris in domo* (Ps. lxvii. 6), and the

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God of the Christian people sets his sign before the eyes of men in the great Christian unity of the nations of the earth, under the Roman crosier of St. Peter, and the symbol of the all-conquering Cross; while the statesmen of Prince Bismarck's school set before their subjects the unity of their empire as a menace to the peace and happiness of the rest of the world, and study how they can, by their iniquitous laws, eject and eradicate from their territory the great Christian union which is the work of God, to substitute their own forced and compulsory union in its place.

But an inquirer may here stop to ask: If the God of heaven is thus supreme, as you say, how do you explain the fact of His permitting those who, as you describe them, are so directly His adversaries to prevail and to have the upper hand? "Patiens redditor Altissimus," says the book of Ecclesiasticus (Eccles. v. 4). As all flesh *must* appear before the Divine tribunal, Omnipotence is under no necessity to be precipitate. The Divine government permits the world of men to be a matter of contention between His own servants and the servants of Satan. "The Lord," says Solomon, "hath made all things forHimself, even the impious man for the evil day" (Prov. xvi. 4). Hence St. Augustine says of Nero, that he reached the extreme summit of the lust for domination, having never had an equal for licentiousness and cruelty. For the power to rule is not given to such, except by the will of the Most High God, when He judges that the affairs of men deserve to be placed under such masters. "Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter perversitatem populi" (Job xxxiv. 30). (*City of God*, Book v. § 19.)

The second prop of the antichristian cause are the men of science, science, that is, so called by themselves. Whatever be the secret spring of the various errors of these men, which it must forever remain out of our power to ascertain, one thing at least is perfectly clear, that they all, each in his way, play most opportunely into the hands of the general atheism on which the statesmen of Prince Bismarck's school are seeking to build their power, and on the presumed victory of which over the universal belief of mankind in the being and sovereignty of God, they mainly rely for being able to establish the complete unity of their several empires, and by means of this to gratify, like Nero, their thirst for domination.

It is against these men of science, falsely so called, that Father Thébaud appears in the arena, to refute their theories and to vindicate, with very great learning and patience, the universality of the sacred traditions that proclaim the existence of the One Sovereign Creator and Ruler of this visible world.

The service that Father Thébaud's work renders to the cause of the Catholic religion is literally beyond calculation. Not only is

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his particular argument most valuable, but he has also struck a vein of investigation, the full and perfect riches of which, as we may confidently expect, have still to be discovered.

However, it now becomes time to turn to the contents of his book, for hitherto we have been almost exclusively occupied in showing the many weighty reasons we have for recognizing in him so special a champion of the Catholic cause.

Father Thébaud points out in his preface that the efforts of those whose aim has been to place science in antagonism to revelation have been reduced to naught, as regards the attempt to prove from the historic records of India, Egypt, Greece, and other ancient nations, that man must claim an antiquity of hundreds of thousands of years. The precise dates which modern critics have been able to assign to the real origin of all nations entirely defeats their end, in consequence of which they have been obliged to take an entirely new direction. Hence the celebrated theory of "evolution." The desirable fruit of this theory is, of course, the immense time, wholly inconsistent with revelation, during which man must have existed in a state of unconsciousness and of progressive advance to consciousness before he arrived at the state in which he is found now.

On this Father Thébaud observes in his preface as follows:

"This, of course, supposes that the whole system of 'evolution' has been proved without fear of contradiction. This will scarcely be maintained even by the most fervent 'scientists.' And what is more we will venture to assert that such a demonstration never will be forthcoming. But we will not insist on this. Our purport is very different. We say, we assert that if things had taken place as the evolutionists assure us they have, the first records of mankind would be those of rude people just emerging from barbarism. In point of art and culture, in point of ideas and language, chiefly in point of religion, we should find in their social state the most rude elements of a '*childish*' and '*growing*' soul. We should be able to trace the steps by which, from the first notions of a coarse religious system, they would have arrived at the point of '*inventing God and all His attributes.*' This would have been in the sense of the evolutionists a mere subjective theory perfectly independent of any objective divine essence, and having nothing in common with the certain belief that the reason of man can know God and demonstrate to himself His existence. They assert it has been so, and that historical man began everywhere by being a barbarian. Here we join issue with them, and one of the great purports of this volume will be to establish solidly the fact, that man appeared first in the state of civilization, possessed of noble ideas as to his own origin from the Creator, the one supreme God ruling the universe, etc. We intend to prove historically that man invented none of the great religious and moral truths by the process mentioned above, but that these came to him from heaven. We will endeavor to show the first men everywhere monotheists, generally pure in their morals, dignified in their bearing, cultivated in their intellect. Should this be well and firmly established, the whole of the monstrous system of evolution falls to the ground. Still more will this be the case if it be proved that the supposed 'continuous progress,' which is the mainstay of their theory, is a dream, a nonentity; that, on the contrary, man everywhere progressed in the wrong direction, going from monotheism to pantheism, from this to idolatry, and from this last to 'individualism' in religion; and that this seems to be the law which has governed mankind until a divine Redeemer came to bring back man to truth, and to found at last a true and strict religious society, not confined to one nation like Judaism, but universal." (Preface, p. 10.)

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Father Thébaud is fully aware of the vital importance of his subject, and would not have this in any way overlooked:

"Gentilism," to quote his words, "in fact has remained until our days in a state of hopeless confusion, and the author of *Gentile and Jew* has not in the least rendered the subject clearer. We have not the presumption to lay claim to more erudition than is contained in the above-mentioned work, nor even to as much. But we complain that the reader rises from its perusal not one whit more enlightened on the subject of the origin and growth of the whole delusion than when he commenced it. Now we think that something can be said on a subject at once so instructive and so interesting. And it is time to say it. For this we will call to our help what we know of antiquity, and by its aid alone endeavor to explain the enigma of the origin of error. On our way we may investigate some celebrated myths on which we think a flood of light has been thrown by late investigations. The greater number of them, however, are quite without any such illumination, and thus we leave them in their obscurity.

"The valuable discoveries lately made in the antiquities of India, Bactriana, Egypt, and Greece render possible such a short work as we undertake. It would have been little more than theoretical some fifty years ago. By these discoveries the range of Gentilism has been greatly extended. Formerly scarcely anything was understood by the word but what came to us from Greece and Rome. Now the whole Gentile world, and chiefly the central part of it, Hindostan and Egypt, has to be included, and as in this study each part helps the whole, the actual knowledge we have of India and Central Asia throws a flood of light on the mythology of Egypt and Greece. Many things indeed which could not be known to the Greeks of the age of Pericles, which were perfectly unknown to the Romans, which were scarcely and dimly seen fifty years ago, are now clear and palpable, and the sure derivation of truth and error from the east and north towards the west and south must now be considered a fact above possible contradiction." (Preface, p. 12.)

Then, after some remarks of a similar purport, he adds:

"A last remark of consequence, in conclusion, is that the subject, most important and interesting as it is in itself, possesses besides this advantage, that it is the natural prelude to considerations of a far higher import. In studying the religious aspect of the world during several thousand years of Gentilism, we are naturally attracted by the grand spectacle offered to our view, when at the end, the decomposition of all previous religious principles took place to make room for another pouring out of divine effulgence, this time to last forever. . . .

"Gentilism becomes thus the natural introduction to the new, complete, final revelation which followed it. Religion, invested henceforth with the permanent characters of universality, perpetuity, holiness, takes from henceforward the guidance of the world, never to lose its hold, in spite of all obstacles and of millions of enemies. . . . . Be ours then the modest task of describing the times which preceded Christianity. There was no church then; at least no universal church claiming the love and homage of all mankind. It was only the conflict of unorganized truth with all the passions of man and all the fury of hell. The result was unavoidable. Truth could not stand. Error and vice were destined to conquer. Not so now, thank God! The world has now the Church to contend against, and the Church is stronger than the world." (Preface, p. 15.)

The one great truth then that Father Thébaud contends for is that the human creation came from the hands of God, and that the Divine care over the world of man has left ample evidence of itself, which may still be gathered up and collected.

The following passage gives us an insight into the author's esti-

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mate of the care which God took of His creation, that man should not be without His knowledge:

"The reader, we trust, is now prepared to understand the real Catholicity established at first amongst mankind, and which took a directly religious aspect by the dogmatic truths and the exterior rites of worship, which most certainly a primitive revelation alone could grant liberally and equally to all the children of Adam. We call this Patriarchal Catholicity; and the uniformity of religious traditions among men in primitive ages, a well-established fact, proves it beyond question. . . . .

"The nations on parting from each other carried evidently to their new homes the treasure confided to man at the first unveiling of God Himself to our humanity, and we shall be able to trace many points of the direction this 'treasure' took. The dogmas of the unity of the Godhead, preserved at least in the personality of One Supreme among the gods; of the exalted state of primeval man during the golden age; of his fall, the cause of all his misfortunes; of the immortality of the soul even after the fall; of the hope left at the bottom of Pandora's box; of the necessity of expiations for sin; of sacrifices consequently, chiefly the sacrifice of pure and innocent victims; of a possible expiation of sinful man by the austerity of penance, except perhaps in the case of some few great inexpiable crimes; of the communication of guilt passing from father to son, kept till our days in the legislation of China, but in antiquity universal among all nations;—these truths stand out clear and precise in the infancy of all races, and previously to the idolatry by which they were gradually clouded, though kept for a long time under the veil of types or myths." (Page 31.)

This primeval religion, according to Father Thébaud,

"derived its truths from a primitive revelation, which may be said to have formed in their complexity a system of belief and a code of morality all-sufficient for the guidance of mankind, and the germs of this primitive revelation have been found scattered, yet preserved, in the traditions of all nations. Should this not be admitted, the universality of these traditions is inexplicable." (Page 33.)

Father Thébaud calls this original divine revelation "*the treasure*," and promises to trace the direction which it took among the nations. But there came a cause which brought about a gradual weakening of this "treasure." This cause was the division of the people of the earth into nations speaking different languages.

"It is clear," he says, "that a merely human religion cannot overcome such an obstacle as this (viz., nationality) to unity; hence all false religions are national, and, with such a constant and powerful cause of divergence (as this nationality), what was first common among men becomes gradually weakened and finally must disappear."

Then he adds that it is the purpose of his book to establish in detail how the effect of this nationality has been to cause the common traditions to grow more and more dim, vague, and uncertain, until they became veiled and obliterated by successive additions and perversions of error (page 49).

We may judge of the sovereign importance of Father Thébaud's investigations to the present work of the Catholic Church from the very word, "TREASURE," by which he describes the original gift of God to His creation. The Catholic Church is at open issue with the whole world of modern unbelief on this very point. The world of unbelief not only refuses all assent to the doctrine that God was

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the author and giver of the treasure, but treats the very treasure itself with open and undisguised contempt as not being in any sense of the word a treasure at all. Father Thébaud defines the main outlines and marks of the "treasure," and traces its progress in Hindostan, then in Central Asia and Africa, next in Pelasgic Greece; after this in the early writings of Greece, Homer, Hesiod, and other early poets, then in the Hellenic philosophy, and lastly in the Greek and Latin literature. Modern unbelief simply looks on, smiles, and treats it all as a mere degree in the progressive mental consciousness, a stage in the process of the general evolution. "Terram desiderabilem pro nihilo habuerunt" (Ps. cv. 24).

But to bring our rapid review of this work of Father Thébaud's to a conclusion. There are two principal lasting impressions which it must leave so firmly stamped upon the mind, that no power can obliterate them.

(I.) The first is the inexpressible value to the actual missionary work of the Catholic Church at the present hour of the general truth, of which Father Thébaud's investigations are directed to furnish the historical evidence, viz., that God gave, in the beginning, to His human creation a full and complete revelation for their guidance.

(II.) That the vein of investigation which Father Thébaud has struck, and in which he has proved himself so distinguished a laborer, is one in which there lie concealed many equally great riches to reward the research that may be pursued in the same persevering and Christian spirit.

There is not a Catholic priest engaged in the work of his ministry in any town, large or small, who does not stand in daily need of having his mind stored with the knowledge to be found in the pages of Father Thébaud's work. Where is there the town, large or small, where there are not numbers of men who run away with the notion that modern science has completely and irrevocably done away with the ancient biblical traditions about the world and its early history; and how is any Catholic, particularly a priest, in a condition to confront such men, except he has studied in Father Thébaud's school, and has learned to understand that the Catholic Church has to contend for the truth of these sacred traditions as "pro aris et focis." To her these traditions are the apple of the eye. "Nova et vetera" is the divinely given motto of the Catholic religion, the *nova* Christ has brought to us, the *vetera* have come down to us through this sacred tradition. The *vetera* are prior in order of time, the *nova* in order of dignity. Our faith as Catholics is not different from that of the city of God, which confessed and worshipped God before the flood, but is an expansion of that which preceded. Noe in the Ark, Job, and many of the nobler spirits in the Gentile world who have spoken of God and

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have confessed Him, are, in their degree, spokesmen of our faith equally with Moses, and the kings and prophets of Israel. It concerns us, therefore, to defend and claim for our own all the true traditions of God among the nations; and whoever the man of science, falsely so called, may be who attempts to deny or discredit these in whatever way, he is, even though he fails to be aware of it himself, a partner in the war against the Christian cause; and even if he is an unconscious confederate, still he is a confederate, and, what is even still worse, a blind instrument in the hands of the conspiracy of the infidel statesmen against the just rights and liberties of the Christian people who are subjected to their rule.

The knowledge supplied in the pages of Father Thébaud's book is the more indispensable to every educated Catholic, and, of course, more than ever to the priest, for the reason that the ordinary unbeliever of our times is seldom very much more than a man who readily contents himself with the belief that there are other men in existence, possessed of great scientific repute, who victoriously maintain the particular scientific propositions which justify his unbelief. Let any one of this class come in contact with a fairly intelligent Catholic who has made a careful study of Father Thébaud's work, and, if he does not depart from the conversation converted, he must at least depart from it with his pride humbled, his assurance abashed, and his ignorance exposed. This in any one solitary case is no mean victory for the cause of religion, and when we remember what St. Paul says "of the speakers of vain things, who subvert whole houses and whose mouths must be stopped" (Tit. i. 11), the practical importance of the service which Father Thébaud has rendered, in placing within general reach his compact and incisive method of proceeding to stop the mouth of the modern infidel speaker of vain things, with whose presence extremely few places of public resort can escape being infested, will not be very easily overestimated.

The second lasting impression to be derived from Father Thébaud's work, namely, the extraordinary richness of the new vein of investigation—his diligence and success in the working of which we have been unable to commend in a manner equal to its deserts—leads to the few brief remarks with which we must conclude, taking the opportunity to announce that, at no distant date, in a future number of the REVIEW, we hope to present its readers with a tangible proof that this alleged richness of the subject of "Gentilism" is something very much more than a mere flower of reviewer's rhetoric, rather a very genuine and solid reality intimately affecting the future work of the Church on one of the sovereignly important branches of its daily labor, viz., the early formation and direction of the mind and intelligence of its educated classes.

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We cannot escape from the necessity of being painfully aware of the generally lamentable inadequacy of the attempts on the Christian side, to point out to an honest inquirer the hand of God visibly guiding the destinies of the nations during the long checkered reign of this "Gentilism," the latter years of which were marked by so deplorable an alienation of the nations from the truths of the original revelation. Father Thébaud speaks of his own work as being of "*so vast and exalted a nature as to inspire with fear the heart of any one who should make the bold attempt.*" Hence he wisely and prudently prescribes to himself limits within which to occupy him with the work of investigating the progress of the great "Divine Treasure" over the earth.

It is not part of his subject to investigate and reply to objections that may be raised against the actual course itself of the Divine government; and yet it must be manifest that the more evident the truth of the acts of the Divine government become, through the historical confirmation which they receive from such works as that of Father Thébaud, the more questions must necessarily arise as to the why and the wherefore these acts became part of the Divine government.

God Almighty is never to be supposed to be angry with the created intelligence for desiring to know the why and the wherefore of the Divine acts, so long as the desire to know is under the proper sense of the duty which the creature owes to the Creator. The sin and offence of the infidel consists in his impious and daring denial that there is anything to know or any room for knowledge. Father Thébaud's subject supplies us with a case in point. The whole nature of his investigation is affected by the confusion of languages which took place at the Tower of Babel.

The truth of this event he fully confirms, and inflicts a most just reprobation on the ignorance as well as on the insolent impiety which has spoken of it as the "first of the Arabian tales," but it is obvious that a perfectly legitimate question may here be asked. If God Almighty foresaw all the evils which Father Thébaud rightly traces to the division of mankind into languages, and to the consequent isolation of the various tribal and national families of men from one another, whereby false religions multiplied (all national religions, except the peculiar national religion of the Jews, incline to become false), what adequate and becoming motive can be assigned, why, with all these inevitable evils in view, God Almighty still decreed the division into languages?

Father Thébaud is not to be subject to the least accusation for omitting to start and reply to an important question of this kind. We here also merely make a passing mention of it, as exemplifying the truth for which we are contending, namely, that the vein which

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Father Thébaud's work has struck is inexpressibly rich, and we may hope that it will please God to spare him, to continue long to labor in it and make new discoveries of its riches.

As for the promise we ourselves have made, it will not be necessary to say more here than that the paper we have announced will fully enter into the above-mentioned subject, and will undertake to lay open a further branch of the subject of Gentilism, namely, the reasons why God decreed to inflict upon men the division into various languages, and in what way He has since been pleased to make an especial choice of the city of Rome to remedy the evils flowing from the division of Babel, by restoring to men the unity which they lost through the city of Babel, and by giving to Rome the mission to be the guardian and preserver among the nations of the truths of the original revelation, to the stability of which the separation into languages proved so extremely disastrous.

A PLAN FOR THE PROPOSED CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

Discourses upon the Scope and Nature of University Education. By John Henry Newman, D.D. Dublin, 1852.

The Office and Work of Universities. By John Henry Newman, D.D. London, 1856.

IN the previous article incidental mention has been made of what the University should be, and of the work that it is intended to accomplish. It has been also declared that the college system of our country is not only defective, were its present nominal requirements carried out, but that those requirements are most frequently in practice ignored. As a result of this latter abuse we have admitted that, for a time and in the beginning, the University will be obliged to modify, to tone down, largely her legitimate requirements touching the admission of candidates for matriculation, and this, for the very evident reason that unless she did so it would be simply impossible to find students. But we have expressed ourselves very ill indeed, if the impression has been left on any mind that the entire culpability in the matter rests with the colleges. They certainly deserve and must accept a large share of the blame; but the evil lay at all times much deeper, viz., in the preparatory schools and academies, which are but of late beginning to take proper shape and to bear fruit among Catholics, and, among non-

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Catholics, are allowed to grow up and die out, to do the work undertaken or omit it at their own sweet will, which may be said to be almost entirely in the hands of private and irresponsible boarding-house keepers, under the name of principals. These swarm throughout the country; and while some of them, doubtless, are fair enough schools, they are so, despite the system of their establishment and maintenance, a system than which nothing can be more pernicious. Most of them, however, are wretchedly bad; nor would it be possible to denounce them too strongly. No guarantee of educational fitness being required on the part of those who start them, and diligent and persistent advertising serving to make a speedy reputation, men of no educational parts take up the boarding-school business just as they would any mercantile speculation, and for the very self-same ends for which they might open a *house-renting agency* or an *intelligence office*. These men are mostly those who have failed in other trades and pursuits, and naturally education in such schools is made entirely subordinate to other, and to the manager, more valuable, considerations. We all know what "*home comforts*," what "*salubrious localities*," and what "*moderate charges*" they all set forth in their prospectuses. The principal is, it may be, neither teacher nor scholar. Assistants and tutors are chosen without any other recommendation for capacity or examination of acquirements than a knowledge of the low rates at which they are willing to give their services. Very many of them are woefully incompetent teachers, possessing but the most rudimentary knowledge of the subjects they pretend to teach. It is a system which would not be tolerated for a week in any country of Continental Europe, and yet it is our only one. It has done, and is doing, an incalculable harm—an injury not to be gauged merely by loss of money to the parents and of time to the unfortunate boys submitted to it, but is, in the case of the latter, irremediable throughout life. A late writer in the *Westminster Review* remarks very forcibly on this subject, that "*the evils caused by bad baking or bad cobbling can be easily remedied; the evils of a bad education are often irremediable and destructive to body and soul.*" We say nothing as to "free trade" in other respects, but, as applied to education, it is a most wretched and mischievous absurdity. But while this statement of the condition of things in the schools preparatory to our colleges shows that the evils of which we complain did not originate with the latter institutions, it by no means excuses the colleges which, feeble as they were, were yet the highest educational authority in the land. They might, by outspoken denunciation and active repressive measures, have abolished, or largely checked the abuse; but they failed to make any utterance on the subject, and supinely accepted all comers, knowing full well that

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want of preparation had absolutely incapacitated large numbers of their students from ever accomplishing even the most merely nominal educational course, yet shoved them on from class to class, and, if they stayed the allotted time and paid the regulation bills, capped the climax and stultified themselves by giving the poor wretches diplomas, and dubbing them B. A.'s before a gaping crowd some fine commencement day. By such inertness and supineness, on the part of our colleges, this abuse has been permitted to grow into a gigantic evil, which they are utterly unable to cope with, and which lays very serious obstacles in the way of establishing the only effectual agency for its repression, viz., the University, the claims of which we now urge. It is useless to insist, that some of the colleges carry on preparatory departments within themselves. They do, in some instances, make the attempt; but all who know anything on the subject, know how that operates. A college must be what it is, and nothing else; and it is invariably either all *preparatory school*, all *collegiate department*, or else, and most frequently, "*de utroque melius siletur.*"

We regret being compelled to digress so far from the direct line of argument and explication, which was laid down in a former article,[1] and which we now resume. But the subject is a very wide one; new vistas open up with every step in advance, and where a numerous class become possessed of a vested interest in the maintenance of a false, vicious or corrupt system, we are sorry to acknowledge that pure reason is of little avail in removing prejudice. The personal interests of a class, banded together by the tie of special advantages accruing from the maintenance of a certain system, will, it seems, always instigate to the retention of the system, how undeniably wrong soever said system may be. It was this, viz., the numbers pecuniarily interested in its maintenance, that gave persistent vitality to slavery; it is this that prevents the sweeping into the ocean of oblivion of state-Church establishments and standing armies, of the fanfaronade of diplomacy, and the absurdities of aristocracy and class privileges. So, too, what with professors and teachers, trustees and alumni of the seven hundred colleges of our land—towns, the value of whose real estate might be diminished by pricking the bubble of their "*institutions*" repute, in a literary point of view, to say nothing of the so-called academies, etc., which must, in case of the establishment of a University, either soon collapse, or take an entirely different educational tack—we perceive that we shall have a host of opponents. But the moving cause with all these people is so obvious, and the arguments hitherto advanced so pithless, that we shall not at present pursue them.

[1] *Shall we have a University?* American Catholic Quarterly Review, April, 1876.

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We now reach a point in the investigation where there is a strong possibility, nay, a very reasonable probability of wide divergencies of opinion, on the part of those who favor the establishment of the University. Every one of the next three points,—*i. e.*, the general plan of the establishment, the number, duties, mode of election and retirement of professors, and the initial examination, duties, discipline, and classification of students,—is liable to be regarded by different minds from diverse standpoints; and as a result, the views taken and conclusions arrived at will be materially discrepant. We can only give our own notions on the subject for what they are worth, hoping that in the collision of ideas the best and soundest plans may be reached.

Now, the proposed University will be an institution intended to last for ages (destined, we fully trust, to fulfil the intent of its founders); and it follows thence that many regulations and enactments (which cannot now be foreseen or fully provided for, owing to our ignorance of the special circumstances that may arise, even a generation hence) will become necessary, and provision will in the beginning have to be made for such changes or modifications, not inconsistent with the spirit of the institution and the purposes of its founders and benefactors; yet there are certain regulations that must necessarily be made at the outset, *permanent*, and though *modifiable*, yet not *reversible*. Such are the charter under which its operations shall be conducted; who shall be its first corporators, *i. e.*, how, by whom, and with what view, they are to be selected; how their succession shall be perpetuated; what shall be their duties and responsibility for the performance thereof; what provision shall be made for amending the charter; and above all, how the original endowment and subsequently accruing benefactions may be invested; how the property of the establishment may be so secured, that in case of insurrection or civil war it may have the greatest likelihood of immunity from jeopardy of seizure, confiscation, or any other diversion from the ends for which it was intended to be employed. The mode of effecting the last-mentioned desideratum will be mainly a matter for the consideration of those who shall frame the first charter—an instrument which should embody all the above points, cover as much ground as practicable, and leave as little legislation as may be possible to be done by the corporators subsequently; in other words, care should be exercised in the framing of the charter, that all future corporators should understand themselves to be conservators and overseers of an institution operating in accordance with fixed principles and stated regulations, not absolute owners of an establishment running at their whim and with a legislation varying according to the changing disposition of their members. In this paper we design simply

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to make *obiter* suggestions of what would seem to us needed on some of the points mentioned. To sketch out a full charter and code of laws for such an institution as we propose would require, not a couple of articles in a review, but a considerable volume. We hope, however, that the initiation of the subject may elicit other and larger views in the interest of the proposed institution. For, whether this establishment proceed now, or ten, or twenty years hence, it must and will finally be carried into effect; and every suggestion, every line written on the subject, will tend to develop either assent or contradiction, and in either case to stimulate thought on the subject. This is the more necessary, as both the idea and the mode of carrying it into effect are new to our people of the United States; nor is it rationally to be expected that a people, so sensitive to adverse criticism as we have always shown ourselves, should at the first presentation cheerfully chime in with an idea or plan such as this. European in origin and practice, the necessity for adopting it is based upon the admission that our mode of education in the higher branches in the United States has been hitherto very false, fatally defective; and that, in the matter of mental culture of the superior grade, we may yet learn a great deal from the universities of the Old World. A great deal will have been accomplished, the time and labor of writing will have been well expended, if we can convince the community, or any considerable portion of it, through the faults of the present or the advantages of the proposed system, that the time has come for establishing a *Catholic National University* in the United States. Should we even fail of entire success in convincing them, it will still be a move in the right direction to have set the Catholic mind to work on the subject.

The corporators should be at least eighteen, and should, in the first instance, be selected by the archbishops of the country. It might be desirable to divide the members, so that a certain proportion should be clergymen, another similar proportion made up equally of members of the medical and legal professions, and the remainder of Catholic laymen, whether scientific, literary or engaged in business pursuits. But all should be men of education and of as high culture as the country affords, irreproachable of life, entirely competent to comprehend thoroughly the vastness of the work, the oversight of which is intrusted to them, and sensible of the importance of all their acts as corporators of the institution. While it would be far better that they should be both able and willing themselves to perform the duty of "*examining board*" of candidates for professorships of all grades, of students applying for admission at the beginning of each year, and that they should be present at all the stated examinations during the session of the

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University; yet if they should deem it more desirable, or feasible, they might delegate that duty to a board of competent men, either temporarily or permanently, as should seem best. In all cases they should appoint the professors of all grades. The professors should appoint yearly one from among their own number as rector, and should have also the appointment of all the subordinate officers of the house. Any officer, once appointed, is only to be dismissed by the corporators.

How the corporators should be perpetuated is, we confess, a matter of considerable difficulty to our mind. One thing alone is clear, that they should not be a self-perpetuating body nor have any voice in the selection of a new corporator in place of one who may have resigned, been dismissed, or become incapacitated. All experience shows us that public bodies possessing this power of continuing their own existence, either degenerate in the long run into a ring, or become a mere incubus upon the establishments over which they preside. With all such bodies that we have ever been acquainted with, the final result was either *Young Americanism* (by which we mean too great a readiness to remove the old landmarks), *old fogyism* (or a stupid and senseless clinging to every ancient prejudice and custom), or *utter mediocrity and inertness* (*i. e.*, the condition of being "*neither fish nor flesh*," and of doing absolutely nothing but what is forced upon them). We see at present no better plan than that the archbishops should fill all vacancies occurring among the corporators, making the selection, of course, in accordance with the class or section to which the outgoing member belonged. The corporators should, in all cases, be paid by a fixed rate for travelling expenses, and all time *necessarily* spent in attendance on behalf of the University. They should make all laws necessary for the management and control of the University, should publish them immediately on their enactment, and it should be competent for them, at any time, to call in the body of professors or any single class of them as an advisory body. The professors so called in should have the right to vote on the question in regard to which they were called.

The first duty of the corporators after appointment would be, of course, the formation of a proper charter and procuring its passage. The next and most important, the securing of the initial endowment. For whether the University should establish itself where there has heretofore been no institution of learning, or ally with itself some one or other of the existing colleges, in either case property must be purchased and paid for. There would be no certainty, rather a very great unlikelihood, that the receipts from fees would, for several years to come, pay the professors; and we are of those who have never yet been convinced that a debt, whether public, corporational,

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or private, is a blessing; but we believe it to be, on the contrary, an incubus, and more or less of a blight on every enterprise that struggles along under it. We do not see how the institution could be fairly floated into deep water and set in running order with less than $500,000, of which $100,000 should go for land and the necessary buildings, and $50,000 for furniture, apparatus (chemical and physical), library, etc., the remaining $350,000 being securely invested, as a permanent fund, for professors' salaries, repairs and enlargement of buildings, increase of library and chemical, astronomical, and philosophical apparatus. We take for granted that, from the beginning, the fees paid by students would cover the housekeeping expenses of the whole community, all of whom, except the married professors, should live in the institution and board in common. Now the interest on the sum invested would be $21,000 annually, which with whatever surplus there might remain from fees, after paying all household expenses, would be the amount left for paying corporators' expenses, professors' and officers' salaries, and the other extra expenditures. It is very plain that for some few years the salaries would have to be comparatively small; nor, to say truth, should we consider this a great hardship, since, with our notion of what a Catholic university should be, the prominent idea in the mind of the professor or other officer likely to do credit to the institution, should be, not the amount of salary to be pocketed but the opportunity of doing most good; not how much shall I get per annum, but how many shall I be able to influence, and how great an effect shall I be able to exert upon them, morally and mentally, for their good temporally and the eternal advantage of us both? Nor will the professor, unable to take that view of the case, ever be likely to assist materially in the building of the great moral and religious edifice that this institution is yet destined to prove; on which account we shall bear with tolerable equanimity the lack of any collaborators whose zeal in the good work would be just in proportion to the pecuniary results realized. Whatever might be the attendance and however large the endowments might in future become, the salaries of the professors should never exceed a fixed sum (to be established by the corporators); all fees beyond that amount, and all income, from whatever source (save such as may have been specifically donated or devised for a given purpose) going to the general objects of the institution in a given ratio, or certain fixed percentage of the whole, toward each necessary object.

The report of the commission appointed by the British government a few years since to inquire into the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge, developed the astounding fact that the gross revenues of both establishments in 1871 amounted to £754,405, and, as a

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very large portion of this is derived from landed property (the estimated quantity of acres belonging to the two institutions being over 320,000), this income is capable of indefinite increase, and has, in fact, enormously increased of late years. Yet in a nation of more than 20,000,000 inhabitants, the students in residence at these two ancient universities rarely amount, nowadays, to more than four thousand, a proportion of the population absurdly small in comparison with the amount of means expended. Now that there must be something wrong here, is evident. We have already admitted the influence and power of those institutions in establishing and maintaining the political supremacy of England, and the fact that they still mould and direct, even though they no longer lead public opinion. It would take up too much space, and divert us too far from our present subject, to show the various causes that have contributed to shear these institutions of so much of their former all-controlling intellectual influence; while yet, *by little more than the university form of instruction*, they still wield so much power in educating men to uprightness and honor, to self-respect, and in exercising a humanizing effect upon the morals of the age. To give our conclusions will suffice without the proofs on which they are based, and in our opinion these reasons are the palsying influence of the connection between Church and State, the absurd system of fellowships, the enormous salaries and emoluments paid professors and other officials, the numerous sinecures, the disgraceful partiality in the appointment of professors, and what Dr. Newman calls "the heathen code of ethics inculcated." If, then, laboring under all these blighting influences, these institutions have been confessedly so effective socially, so potent politically, and so energetic morally and mentally, why should not we, establishing our University under the benign influence of true religion, untrammelled by any governmental alliance, and inculcating the morals of the Church, avoid the other abuses and wrongs into which they have fallen, and thus soon be able to point proudly to a body of young men fully as well trained mentally, incomparably their superiors morally, and able to put forth a far more abiding influence, in both regards, upon an age that badly needs true control—a generation too sympathetic with fraud and dishonesty?

It will, therefore, be the bounden duty of the corporators to take order in the beginning that no endowment may become overgrown, to provide against sinecures, to see that nothing of a nature at all similar to the present system of English fellowships shall ever creep in, and to put such stringent safeguards about the professorial appointments that fraud, partiality, family influence, and favoritism (if it were possible) may never be able even to be suspected, much less actually to exist in connection therewith. Let the age of sine-

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cure and incompetency cease; let sinecurists step down, and paid workers step in. We do not want our students chiefly talked about in connection with a boat race, or our professors to be only known to the public by a jangle over their appointment to a notoriously lucrative office. In fine, it would be equally difficult to specify all the prescriptive and precautionary enactments to be made by the corporators as it is impossible to exaggerate the importance to success of their taking a broad view of the situation, and framing both their charter and code of enactments in accordance therewith. To do this, they must not only themselves be men of the highest literary culture, but familiar with the systems of university education prevailing in the different countries of Europe, free from prejudice, able to discern the merely showy and specious from the genuine and valuable, and determined to be guided in the adoption of studies and regulations not by what is popular and taking, but by the dictates of sound judgment as to the influence of the studies, and experience as to the nature and results of the enactments. A body of men so selected, carefully examining the ground and giving us the results of their deliberate thought on the different systems of the higher education, will be able to accomplish a great deal toward removing that "*dead weight of public indifference*" which has enabled the wretched College system and the still more deplorable irresponsible horde of Bedouin preparatory schools, so long to block up the way to an educational reform, the necessity for which cannot be too frequently reiterated, nor too pointedly presented to the minds of our countrymen.

Next in order comes the question as to the number of professorships, their grades, the studies to be taught, the mode of imparting instruction, etc., etc. The subject is multifarious; to touch its parts singly is out of question in our limited space; but a few suggestions can do no harm, and we know no better mode of getting at the right on this matter than by expressing such views as we may entertain, since we shall be likely thereby to bring upon the arena men competent to discuss the subject and who feel an interest in it. The salient points are the only ones that we shall touch. Now, a University should have from its inception four Faculties, viz., of *Theology*, of *Law*, of *Medicine*, and of *Literature* or *Academic Studies*.

The Theological Faculty should consist of five professors, viz., of Dogmatic Theology, of Moral Theology, of Ecclesiastical History and Liturgy, of Hebrew and Oriental Literature, and of Canon Law.

The Legal Faculty should be made up of three professors, viz., of Common and Statute Law, of Civil and International Law, and of Admiralty Law and Pleadings.

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The Medical Faculty should comprise four professors, viz., of Surgery and Medical Jurisprudence, of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, of Obstetrics, and of Anatomy and Physiology.

The Academic Faculty proper should be composed of fifteen professors, viz.:

1. Latin.
2. Greek.
3. Hebrew and Sanskrit.
4. Anglo-Saxon and English Literature.
5. Philology and Ethnography.
6. Algebra, Surveying, Mensuration, and Geometry, etc.
7. Applied Mathematics and Astronomy.
8. Integral and Differential Calculus, and Intermediate Mathematics.
9. Logic, and History, Ancient and Modern.
10. Natural Philosophy.
11. Chemistry.
12. French.
13. German.
14. Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Political Economy.
15. Geology, Mineralogy, and Botany.

In addition to which provision should be made for instruction in Spanish, Italian, the Scandinavian and Slavonic tongues, as soon as practicable.

It will thus be seen that we propose the establishment of the University with fifteen academic professors and five theological. This is on the hypothesis that it may be found desirable to leave the Faculties of Law and Medicine in abeyance or unprovided for until the other portions of the system shall have begun to produce their expected fruits. For we think it altogether likely, considering the fatal facility with which students enter those two professions at present, that, with rare exceptions, our University alone would furnish students sufficiently imbued with a love of learning for its own sake, and sufficiently convinced of the necessity of thorough literary and scientific knowledge in those professions, to withstand the temptation presented to them by the present facile and venal legal and medical schools of our country. Indeed, that temptation is to the ignorant, or, what is still worse, to the partially educated, the mentally half-formed, well-nigh irresistible. We think it then highly desirable to make the beginning of the University with the fifteen professorships above mentioned, leaving law and medicine to be provided for at a more convenient season; but it must be borne well in mind that that season should be as soon as there is a reasonable certainty of obtaining a fair class of well-prepared students in either or both.

It will be said that the subjects above mentioned in the academic course are, with very few exceptions, those which are taught in our colleges, and that, in some of the latter institutions, are taught subjects not mentioned in the above lists. There is an immense difference between *teaching* and *teaching*. The same terms stand in different places for very different objects. How many different kinds of birds are known by the name of *Quail?* what divers and

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non-correlated species of fish by the name of *Bass* in various sections of the English-speaking world? English composition is proclaimed in the prospectus as taught in every academy throughout the length and breadth of the land, and it looks well as a word, graces and sets off a catalogue to advantage. But it looks a great deal better on the master's catalogue than it does on the boy's paper. There is not a college of the 700 in this country that does not profess to teach Latin, and not merely that, but nine of every ten catalogues flaunt it at you under the form and style of "*Latin Language and Literature and Roman Antiquities.*" If there be anything which they learn thoroughly, it should be this language, for the students are supposed to have, at least, begun it in the preparatory school, and to have passed, if you believe the catalogue, some sort of examination in it before entering college, where they should have been regularly reciting in it for four years. Ask the young *soi-disant* B.A.'s themselves, not whether they could hold a half hour's conversation with Tullius or Pomponius, for perhaps this might by some be considered too much to expect; but ask them (and we suppose that they are the best students from the best colleges that we have), ask them whether they can read and enjoy Tacitus, Persius, Cicero, or Tibullus, as they read and enjoy Macaulay, Dryden, Brougham, or Thomson. They have *not* learned the language, and they will not say so. They have dabbled in it, but as to learning it in the same sense in which one learns English or any language that he wishes to *know*, there is not one in ten thousand of them that has done it, and the ten thousandth man most likely did the work without material assistance from his "alma mater infidelis." Yet, unless a person does learn a language at the very least so as to read it with perfect facility, what becomes of the utility of the study as a means of elevating the *taste?* Still the partisans of the college system insist on the *culture of taste* that is gained by the students in attaining that wretchedly insufficient acquaintance with classics, which we see them have, and which will not be denied. We answer that the taste is not cultivated by *studying* the classics but by *mastering* them, by acquiring such a familiarity with these works as will enable us to appreciate their excellencies, and this familiarity, or anything in the remotest degree resembling it, our graduates have not attained. All that has been hinted about Latin holds still more largely true of Greek. The same graduate who can pick his staggering way through select bits of *easy* authors in Latin, can no more take the idea of Aristophanes, than he can read and understand the *Mécanique Celeste*, and Newton's *Principia* done into English would be easy and entertaining reading to him compared with Longinus. Faugh! Let us away with this sham, quietly nourished and fostered as it has been

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so long by our colleges, which send forth annual shoals of such young men with diplomas in their hands. The fraud cries aloud for a remedy. The atmosphere is tainted with the noisomeness of blatant ignorance! *It is much better with other branches of study*, we are told. Of course it is; and *that*, you father, you guardian, engaged at home in business, and paying semi-annual bills for the last four years, will find out very readily by starting your graduated son or ward to open a new set of books in lieu of your chief bookkeeper. Or you may have bought a small farm which you would like to have surveyed. Furnish the Bachelor with theodolite, chain, and metes, and let him survey it for you. Tell him the rate of exchange on London, the coin value of the pieces you give him, and dispatch him to procure the value in a draft on England. Set him to measure and take account of the number of perches of rough stone that those teams at your door shall deliver you in the day; or the number of feet of pine boards, plank and scantling, that have been furnished already for your new house. Elicit his views on the number of tiles necessary for house, back building, and kitchen roof, giving him dimensions and pitch, slate and pencil. You will find that (unless he learned it somewhere else than at school or college) he cannot open a stock account, your land will remain unsurveyed, the broker, so disposed, will cheat him to his face, the drivers will laugh at your measurer, and he will throw up the tile question in disgust. Has he then learned anything, and if so, what? The thing that he is most likely to have acquired to the greatest perfection is exactly that for which he has least reason to thank his professors, *i. e.*, facility and confidence in public extemporaneous speaking, and it may be, a readiness in committing his ideas to paper, both faculties but little fostered by the college authorities, and principally obtained or largely improved in the debating societies.

The intention of our university is entirely different, and its results will either be more valuable, practically as well as theoretically, or else the idea were better never broached. But what should prevent us from accomplishing in this country, in education, what is constantly done, and well done in the Prussian and other universities of the Continent? It is very easy, and just as false as it is easy, to cry "*Utopian*," and thereby attempt to stigmatize by an epithet,—but it is only those who have too imperfect a knowledge of the question and the facts connected with it to secure our confidence in their judgment on the subject, who will attempt to treat it in this way. The majority, however, who oppose the establishment of the university system seem perfectly conscious that the present mode pursued in the higher education is thoroughly false and indefensible, but being for the most part linked in, more or less immediately,

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with one or other of the colleges, they seem secretly to hope that things will last as they are *during their time*, and so all considerations of public and future good are merged in the selfish considerations of the present. *Sound* learning and *religious* education are what we want—what, with God's blessing, we mean to have for *this* generation, if it may be—if not, then for the *next*. Our students are just as apt, to say the least, as those of any country in the world. With the same facilities, we believe they will prove even brighter. In no other civilized country has it been found necessary to do away with three-fourths of the acquirements which a university system demands for a degree, and there is no good reason why it should be done in this country. But this is just what we are doing, viz., imparting to students a mere smattering of very ill-digested knowledge, and bestowing thereafter pretentious literary degrees with names of college presidents, professors, and trustees attached. There are but two horns to the dilemma. Either that president and those professors *know* what an education should be, and is, in a literary point of view, everywhere but with us, and owing to them and their like, and then we would not like to characterize their conduct; or else they do *not* know what is meant by an education, and then why do they profess to conduct the highest literary institutions known to our land? This question is a public one; we claim the right to speak freely, and it is with no disposition merely to declaim that we state the facts as they are known to many—may and should be known by all. It would, in any case, be our duty to unmask this pretentious sham, but more especially does it become so when the sham loudly protests that it will not be repressed, that it is *a tolerably good thing, that it will do well enough, that it is impossible to improve it*, that the plan of all ages (and of this, in all other countries), is a *Utopian scheme*. Under such circumstances we must not allow falsehood or ignorance (it must be one or the other that uses the above language), to carry the day, and neither shall, if we can prevent it, stand in the way of a new Catholic and national departure in the cause of higher education in this country. *What man has done, man can do again.* Men do acquire complete literary culture elsewhere, and we fail to do so here. The opportunity, facilities, and stimulus are all that is lacking to us, and we put it to a rational community that we should either procure those means and appliances for our students, or retire vanquished from the higher educational field, but in no case should we retain our present system of delusion and imposture.

There is one feature of the German universities that we should very much like to see introduced into our proposed institution, and that is the division of professors into *Ordinarii*, *Extraordinarii*, and *Privatim Docentes*. Of these, the Professores Ordinarii should rank

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highest, should select the rector from their own body, should be the sole members of the *Senatus Academicus*, should hold for life, unless resigning, dismissed for grave cause, or retired as hereafter to be provided, in which last case a moderate pension should be provided for the *Professor emeritus*. Professors *extraordinarii* might be appointed as assistants to such ordinary professors as, from the size of their classes, the nature and variety of studies pursued under their oversight, or from other reasons, might, in the judgment of the corporators, stand in need of such auxiliaries. In those branches of study which may be considered desirable of acquisition but which are not inherently essential to a sound education, we suggest that the professors be appointed under the title of *extraordinarii*. These gentlemen should be appointed in the same manner as the *ordinarii*, at a less salary, say by one-third, and should reside in the establishment. Such of them as aid the ordinary professors should have the use of lecture-rooms, apparatus, etc., in such manner as not to interfere with the ordinary lectures, and they should be subject to dismissal or retirement like the *ordinarii*, but in the latter case are not to be entitled to pension. The *Privatim docentes* should be able men of other institutions, or alumni of the University itself, who, having satisfactorily passed such examination on the subjects they propose to teach as the authorities may direct, should obtain license to teach, each his specific subject, to such students as may choose to resort to his lectures, and they should receive no pay from the institution, but simply such fees as may be established by the corporators and voluntarily paid by the students who may attend their course. Such license as *Privatim docens* would, of course, include the use of class-rooms and appliances, which use must be such as to interfere in no respect with their regular occupation by the regular professor. As a rule, subject, of course, to exceptions, the Professor Extraordinarius *assistens* should be considered as first in the line of promotion to the rank of Professor Ordinarius, and the Privatim docens to the rank of Professor Extraordinarius. It will be perceived at a glance how these three differently graded classes of instructors will stimulate each other, spur on the students, and advance the objects of the institution. We have the testimony of Matthew Arnold to the beneficial effects thereof, in his late work, entitled *The Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*.

"It is evident how the neighborhood of a rising young *Privat-docent* must keep a *Professor*, ordinary or extraordinary, from getting sleepy or lazy. If he does so, his lecture-room is deserted. The *Privat-docent*, again, has the standard of eminent men before his eyes, and everything stimulates him to come up to it."

The advantages to the student are equally evident. Whatever

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spurs on the several professors must, of necessity, inure to the benefit of the student, and there will be hardly any subject on which each student will not have the opportunity of hearing prelections from persons who have made it their special study. We quote from an article in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1875, entitled "Education in Prussia and England."

"To show the completeness to which the lecture system is carried: in a synopsis of the lectures delivered at the University of Berlin, in a winter session, we find no less than one hundred and seventy-five different courses of lectures announced *in the Faculty of Philosophy alone*, including such subjects as Meteorology, Latin Palæography, and Indian Philosophy. In the Faculty of Law there were sixty-two courses, treating every branch of it, from the philosophy of law and psychology of crime down to that of common process. The great ambition of the *Privat-docent* is to reach the professorial chair, which is indeed, in Germany, the culminating point of educational success. And nearly all professors do rise through this Privat-docent stage. As the French soldier is said to carry in his knapsack a marshal's baton, so every able and energetic young lecturer in a German university may be said to carry about with him the professorial chalk."

To our view this portion of the German system is a most valuable one. It is not, however, as Mr. Arnold seems to imagine, peculiar to Prussia, since it exists, more or less modified, in the "Circolanti" of the Italian, the "Repetidores" of the Spanish, and the "Instructeurs" of the French course. Since, then, it is good in theory, since common sense recommends it, and it has worked excellently in the most thorough, advanced educational establishments of the world, why should we not introduce it here? Even though it were peculiar to Prussia, *fas est et ab hoste doceri!* All of us have seen the professor, whose appointment dates some ten or fifteen years back, who, perhaps, in the first flush of satisfaction on his appointment, wrote out the notes for a year's course of lectures, which he has yearly droned out unchanged ever since; and all of us know—some, unfortunately, by sad personal experience—what is the effect upon his students!

Just as no one should be admitted to license as *Privatim docens* without a searching examination upon the branch in which he proposes to instruct, so should no one be appointed professor, whether *ordinary* or *extraordinary*, without actually passing a rigid examination in the faculty or science for which he proposes himself as a candidate. For this purpose, as well as for the examination of *privatim docentes* and *matriculandi* (unless the corporators themselves undertake it), a special annual board should be appointed and paid by the corporators. No man should be at any time, or

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for any reason, appointed a professor in this institution of ours on account of mere reputation as a scholar—a credit, in our country, often gotten up by a very Barnum-like process and very questionable means—which, when once started, is never examined or tested, the falsity of which few are in a condition to detect, and the retention of which needs no effort, since, once given vogue in the popular notion, it increases like the rolling snowball or the "Fama" of Virgil. These examinations should be announced beforehand, and opportunity afforded for all to attend them who may feel an interest in a matter of such importance to the entire community. Experience daily shows us that the reputation of learning is even more fallacious than estimated or reputed wealth, and that either or both can be, and they very frequently are, false and even fraudulent. It is, therefore, of the utmost consequence that great care should be exercised in the selection of this board, and that its members should do their duty without fear or favor.

A professor, once appointed, should retain his position so long as he might desire *and his usefulness last.* Now, his usefulness might cease *without his fault*, or in sundry ways that need not be described, which suggest themselves readily and require no summary here. In the first case mentioned the professor might be honorably retired; in any of the others there would be no alternative for the corporators but to dismiss him. Any ordinary professor, having served twenty years, might be retired on a pension sufficient for his decent support, and the same pension might, by special vote of the corporators, be granted a professor honorably retired for disability, even though he had not served the allotted time. Should it be evident that a professor fails to interest and advance his class, that reasonable progress is not made by otherwise good classes under his instruction, or that he does not keep himself abreast of his subject, it should always be competent for the corporators to remove him, with or without pension, as they may see fit; but a vote for removal, under these circumstances, must be carried by five-sixths of the corporators voting in the affirmative. A Professor Extraordinary or a Privatim Docens may be dismissed for the same reasons and under the same circumstances as a Professor Ordinary, but neither is in any case entitled to be pensioned. Other legislation would, doubtless, be necessary in many special circumstances and exigencies that would arise; but these are the prominent points now suggesting themselves, which would require to be, as it seems to us, specially provided for in such way and manner that abuse might not arise in the new institution. Any abuse is, in its nature, like the "letting in of waters," destructive of the objects aimed at, capable of being pleaded as precedent, and impossible of arrest in its course.

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As it is above all things important for the professors to know exactly what material they have to work upon, there must be an examination for entrance, which shall assure them not merely that no incapable student is in attendance upon their lectures, but that every one so admitted has fully attained a certain standard of acquirement in the different branches deemed necessary to be reached previous to matriculation at the University. Thus each professor will know to what grade of attainment and meridian of capacity he shall adapt his higher teaching; and without such standard of attainment—which all must necessarily have reached—the instruction of the most energetic and able professor would be in a great degree, and to large numbers of his class, a mere futility. In Germany this is accomplished by the *Abiturienten-examen*, which every young man leaving the *gymnasium* for the university is obliged to pass. Now, in the *prima* or highest gymnasial class there are taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Religion, Psychology, Mathematics, Physics (*Natural Philosophy and Chemistry*), History, and Music. All these are compulsory studies, the greatest attention being paid to the teaching of the classic tongues. English is generally studied, and there is an evident and growing tendency toward making it one of the obligatory studies. The style of examination is such as to test thoroughly the general knowledge of the candidate, and, as it covers the whole ground of school instruction, from *sexta* throughout, it is nearly impossible to prepare for it by a recourse to that system of "*cramming*" which has been at the English universities, as nearly as may be, reduced to a system. We quote, in proof of the value of this examination, and the standard of acquirement necessary to pass it, the following from the *Westminster Review*, July, 1875, Art. "Education in Prussia and England:"

"One of the most valuable features in these Abiturienten examinations consists in the writing of essays *extempore*, one in *German* and one in *Latin*. As an examination, it is in every way of *as high* a standard as the Oxford or Cambridge B.A. pass degree, or the Scotch University M.A., and in some respects *of a considerably higher* standard than either."

Yet the continental boys who pass this examination, do so for the purpose of entering the university, where, after a few years, and with diligent study, they hope to deserve and be admitted to a degree. The English students (*Englishmen themselves being judges*) have their degrees on considerably less information than the German student requires for matriculation at his university, and we, in this country, inflict our boys on a long-suffering community as Bachelors of Arts, forsooth! with a grade of acquirement that would not pass them from *tertia* to *secunda* in English

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public schools, or at all suffice for entrance into *tertia* in a Prussian gymnasium.

Now, we cannot expect that in the outset our students will be prepared for any such examination as the above. It would be absurd to expect it, when we reflect that there has been heretofore no place in the entire United States where such instruction could be acquired, no college where it was imparted. In consequence of this fact, and for some years yet to come, *i. e.*, until the system which we now propose to inaugurate bears fruit and leavens the community, it will be necessary for us to content ourselves with a much lower grade and far less extent of knowledge on the part of our *matriculandi* than we could desire. We must take them as they are, not as we would like to have them or as they ought to be. What standard ought to be insisted on, we can very properly leave to the judgment of the board of examiners. But the constant aim should be to approximate until we finally reach the high standard which the Germans have set us, and, until we shall have done so, it should be clearly published in advance what the requirements of each year will be, so that, knowing absolutely what are the indispensable literary qualifications, as few incompetents as possible may shame themselves and take up the time of the "board" in a hopeless attempt. Until (a thing that may happen in time) a college diploma shall cease to be simply a receipted bill for four years' board at such an establishment, it can be taken for granted as no proof of any literary acquirements whatever. Whatever be the amount and grade of literary information fixed by the corporators or board of examiners, it should be clearly understood that no one shall, by any possibility, pass, and thereby become entitled to matriculation, unless he be thoroughly informed on all the subjects to the extent set forth in the schedule. We suggest for the first year:

1. Extempore translation into Latin of twenty-five lines of English prose fortuitously dictated, said Latin to be without grammatical blunder. Scansion and prosodiacal rules for two lines, each, Hexameter and Pentameter; four verses Asclepiadic; one stanza Sapphic; one Strophe Glyconic. Translate into English one chapter Tacitus and twenty lines Juvenal. Four questions in Roman history. Four questions on Roman antiquities.
2. Extempore translation of ten lines of Latin prose (dictated by the examiners) into Greek, without blunder in grammar. Scansion and rules for two lines each Hexameter and Pentameter. Describe the different kinds of Greek Iambic verse. Turn into Latin one section Thucydides; one section Herodotus. Into English, fifteen lines Hesiod. Four questions on Greek history. Four questions on Greek antiquities.
3. Two problems in Surds; two in equations of 2d degree. Explain theory of summation of series. Explain theory of Binomial Theorem. Demonstrate six propositions from Euclid, one problem in plane and one in spherical trigonometry.[1]

[1] Although the junior professor of mathematics has these subjects in charge (as by the list of professorships previously given), yet the intention is, that his mode of hand-

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4. Twelve questions in modern history. Proximate dates to be always given.
5. English essay, of not less than two and a half pages foolscap, on some subject there assigned, but pertaining to natural theology.

A fair response to these questions, written in presence of the examiners, under their oversight, and without access to books or other assistance, should entitle the candidate to be admitted to matriculation. It is not contended that all these questions must be *fully* answered, or that the responses must be *without mistake*, but that, affixing proportionate numerical values to each question, the board shall value, in conscience, each answer accordingly; and should the sum total of values attached to the answers not amount to three-fourths or four-fifths the sum total of the entire original values attached to the questions, the student presenting said papers cannot be admitted. We should yet, of course, not be equal to the universities of Europe in material; still a very great step in advance would have been made; and the knowledge that the standard of admission has been set high, will, in a few years, cause the colleges to advance proportionately their requirements for admission, and for advance from class to class proportionately. By devoting themselves thus to the cause of education more diligently than most of them have hitherto done, a time may come, we hope soon, when their final examination might be accepted as good *prima facie* evidence of ability and acquirement sufficient to enter the University.

Every academic student should be obliged to attend lectures in *at least* three of the schools, to be selected on his matriculation for the first year, and on signing the laws of the University for each subsequent year. He should pay an annual fee of twenty-five dollars for instruction in each school, and a matriculation fee of ten dollars on entrance. The board should be plain, abundant, and substantial, with no distinction in quality of food for any class or set of persons whatever. All should live together; all study together. One refectory, one dormitory, one lavatory, one study-room should serve all students until increase of numbers might make two, three, or even four of each necessary. Professors alone should have private rooms, and they but one each. To our view these regulations in regard to living seem to be a matter of great importance; but there are many who contend that it is a matter of indifference where the students live, provided only they attend lectures regularly, are ready to answer when called upon, and pass thoroughly their examinations. Foreseeing then, as we do, a prob-

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ling the various primary mathematical branches shall be made more thorough and exhaustive than that adopted in the school and college text-books, and that, by his lecturing, the student, who has heretofore but skimmed the surface, shall thoroughly appropriate the *rationale* of these studies which he fancied himself to have completed.

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able difficulty in carrying out such regulations, especially when the number of students shall have largely increased, we do not insist on them further than to express our conviction that there is a necessity for entire uniformity in the matter, and that either all students should live within the University, or else none but the divinity students (who, for obvious reasons, must be excepted), should be permitted to do so. It must be admitted, too, that the suggestion of those who do not favor the method of *convictus* almost amounts to argument, when they state that with the preparation necessary to pass the initial examination, there will be none of our students of so immature years or brain as to need the constant superintendence of a prefect; and it is not proposed that there should be lodged in the hands of the *Senatus Academicus* any other punitive powers than those of suspension and expulsion. Suspension will be incurred by the student and inflicted by the *Senatus* for habitual tardiness, persistent want of preparation, or repeated violation of known rule, and dismissal for immoral conduct or whensoever, *by unanimous vote*, the Senatus shall indicate their belief that the influence and example of the student are injurious to the University. A second suspension shall be equivalent to expulsion, and no student once expelled shall, under any circumstances, be readmitted.

The mode of instruction should be entirely by lecture, and each professor should deliver *at least* eight lectures weekly, while every student should be obliged to take clear and full notes of every regular university lecture which he attends, and should be ready at any time when called upon by his professor to hand them in for examination. Each professor should devote fifteen or twenty minutes before beginning his lecture to the examination of students casually called upon the subject-matter of the last prelection. In languages there should be in addition two recitations weekly without lecture. Text-books might be recommended on such subjects as absolutely require them, but they should be sparingly used under all circumstances; never (save in the case of the classical authors employed in learning the languages, ancient or modern) brought into the lecture-room, and all care taken that the institution be not made an instrument, either in the hands of booksellers or text-book manufacturers, for their personal gain. Formal religious instruction should be given to all at least twice weekly, in the form of catechetical instruction, while compliance with the commands of the Church should be obligatory.

From the beginning to the end of each session every professor of every grade should mark according to a fixed scale (to be laid down in the code) every shortcoming that he may observe of the students belonging to his special school; marking *conduct, prepara-*

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tion, diligence, condition of note-book, etc., each under its own heading. These should be reported weekly to the rector, who, when the demerits of the student shall have reached in the aggregate a certain specific number, shall call the attention of the *Senatus* to the case at its next meeting, when the *Senatus* shall act in the matter. A regular meeting of the *Senatus* shall take place weekly, and it may be convened whenever the rector shall deem it necessary.

No student should be allowed to pass from a lower to a higher class without having passed the examination at the termination of the former; and failure to pass such examination must always necessitate remaining in the same class (in that study) for another year.

The language in which instruction shall be imparted, in the schools of Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Hebrew and Oriental Literature, shall always be Latin; nor shall any student while in attendance on these classes be allowed to ask or answer a question in any other tongue. Latin shall also be the language of the class of Logic. In Moral Philosophy one lecture weekly shall be delivered in Latin, and the professor of Latin shall deliver his weekly lecture on Roman Antiquities in Latin. The professor of Greek, in addition to dictating in Latin all his themes for translation into Greek, shall hold one lecture weekly in the Latin language on Grecian Antiquities. The highest classes in French and German shall receive instruction through the medium of those two languages respectively.

No degree shall be conferred in the three superior faculties of theology, law, or medicine, except that of doctor of these respective faculties. In the academic studies there shall be two degrees. Those who study and pass a final examination upon all the branches pursued under the professors, ordinary and extraordinary, to be entitled *Doctors of Philology*, while those who pass on all the other studies, omitting Hebrew, Sanskrit, Italian, and *either* French or German, but *not* both, shall be entitled *Doctors of Science*. No honorary degree, and no degree "*ex speciali gratia*," shall under any circumstances be conferred, nor shall a student be allowed to enter for any of the three superior faculties until he shall have completed a full course in the academic department.

A certificate of attendance on a full course of lectures, on any subject taught in the University, from any teacher of that subject, licensed or otherwise authorized by the University authorities to teach that branch, during any session of the institution, shall, at the close of said session, entitle the student to present himself as candidate at the regular examination on that branch.

Such are a few of the ideas that have seemed to us proper at least to be thought of in connection with this great and noble undertaking, for the accomplishment of which we are not alone in

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thinking that the time has fully come. We do not wish to say all that might be urged about the *inscientia quæ quasi ubique in his regionibus grassatur.* To say any more than we have already said might needlessly offend; and our object is to unite all Catholics of the United States, with a view of carrying into effect the pious aspirations expressed by the Bishops of the second Plenary Council of Baltimore, and approved by our Holy Father, the Pope, by founding a Catholic University, which scholars have long felt and all may know to be much needed; a work, the successful carrying out of which will reflect upon the Catholics of this age almost as much credit as does the foundation of this republic upon our farseeing ancestors of a century ago; the successful inauguration of which will (if anything can) prove to our Protestant friends that, so far from eschewing education, we are the genuine fosterers thereof, not in its lowest merely, but also in its highest aspects; and which, unless it be done, and that speedily, we shall find with every year more difficult of performance, until finally genuine and thorough learning will have died out of the land, and we shall have become a nation of sciolists, mistaking words for ideas, rant for reason, and verbosity for logic. We see what other nations have done and are daily performing what we are striving to accomplish, and we know no good reason why our people—we will not say with equal, but with superior natural ability—should not become just as thorough in the scientific, literary, or professional career, as any other nationality whatever. A beginning must be made. Now is the time to make it. We shall never begin younger as a nation! As Catholics again, we appeal to you, not merely because our people want for the champions of their faith and for themselves the best literary preparation to meet the foes of our holy religion, but because in acquiring it we want our young men so girt around with the influences of the Church that there may be no danger, lest, in searching after knowledge, they may be mired in the slough of infidelity, as has heretofore too often happened, in great part owing to the lack of the moral and religious safeguards, which, by this Catholic University, will be afforded them during their whole course of study. Our fervent desire is, that we may yet see it go on in its noble mission, proceeding from strength to strength, conquering and to conquer, until many shall raise their voices in thankfulness to it as having been the means in God's hand of showing them "*the way, the truth, and the life!*"

It is true that the work to be accomplished is of vast proportions; but it being admitted on all hands that a readjustment of the machinery of our higher education must be necessary at some time, and believing, as we do, with many others that it is now high time to set about the work, we should be inexcusable did we not,

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at least, make this effort to bring the subject before the Catholic public. An opportunity must primarily be afforded of stating and discussing every point connected with the proposed step, from its inception down to the minutest statute by which professors are to be guided and students to be ruled. For it is on the completeness of our higher instruction that our general civilization depends not merely for its progress, but, what is of still higher importance, for its permanence. We are not, in this country, deficient in general and diffused culture, but we lack concentrated and profound knowledge. There are few subjects of which those who represent literature and science amongst us do not know *a little*. There are unfortunately still fewer, in which that knowledge is so extensive or thorough as to be at all valuable; and no satisfactory provision has yet been made for the fostering of the higher literary and intellectual life. This is what is now proposed, and it is obvious that the establishment of a thoroughly organized system of academic culture must be the first step in attaining that result. Now, the experience of all past ages and the suffrages of the learned of our own day, all point to the university system of education as the only thorough plan for the complete and harmonious development of the human faculties, and for this reason we advocate its establishment among us.

Furthermore, it has been, in all ages, the peculiar mission of the Church to direct and control education; neither can she delegate that duty to other hands. If this were so in ages of faith and in countries entirely and exclusively Catholic, how much more important is it that the mental discipline of her children shall be directed by her in these days and in countries like our own, cankered by infidelity and diseased with heresy? Our institution must then, before all other requirements, be Catholic to the core. Sooner, if there be no other choice, let literature decay, let science perish, let mere intellectual culture disappear from the world, than that one iota of the faith should be diminished, or a single pious practice fall into neglect among men. Now, we look with confidence to the proposed institution as a bulwark to the Catholics of the day and to their children of unborn generations, against both heresy and infidelity, to repress which will be the prime mission of the institution. The intellectual education which it will impart, highly important though it be, is only valuable in so far as it promotes the interests of the Church by panoplying her children against the shafts of her foes, and furnishing them with weapons against those who deny either God's Church, or Him who established her on earth. How all-important then, is it not, that the subject be approached, examined, and discussed in a calm, sedate, and unprejudiced manner; *prayerfully*, that light from on high may be vouchsafed us in

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its investigation; *carefully*, that no mistake may be made; and, finally, with an eye single to God's glory and the advancement of His kingdom among mankind?

At the establishment that we have in view the students do not come together to boat, box, practice base-ball, or in any way to cultivate mere muscularity. Their object will be to make themselves thoroughly Christian men, and, at the same time, to procure the most complete mental education, scientific, academic, and secular, that the ablest and best trained Christian minds, with the most ample subsidiary means, and under the most favorable circumstances, can possibly impart to them. Neither must we leave out of view that culture, unperceived at the time but equally important with class instruction and even more lasting in its influences, to the potency of the effects of which Father Newman thus testifies (*Idea of a University*, p. 148):

"Let it be clearly understood, I repeat it, that I am not taking into account moral or religious considerations. I am but saying that that youthful community will constitute a whole, it will embody a specific idea, it will represent a doctrine, it will administer a code of conduct, and it will furnish principles of thought and action. It will give birth to a living teaching which, in course of time, will take the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition or a *genius loci*, as it is sometimes called, which haunts the home where it has been born, and which imbues and forms, more or less and one by one, every individual who is successively brought under its shadow. Thus it is that, independent of direct instruction on the part of superiors, there is a sort of *self-education in the academical institutions of Protestant England, a characteristic tone of thought, a recognized standard of judgment* formed in them, which is developed in the individual who is submitted to it and becomes a twofold source of strength to him both from the distinct stamp it impresses on his mind, and from the bond of union which it creates between him and others, *effects which are shared by the authorities* of the place, for they themselves have been educated in it, and are, at all times, exposed to the influence of its ethical atmosphere. *Here then is a real teaching whatever be its standards or principles, true or false.* It at least tends toward a cultivation of the intellect; it at least recognizes that knowledge is something more than a mere passive reception of scraps and details; it is a something and it does a something which will never issue from the most strenuous exertions of a set of teachers with no mutual sympathies and no intercommunion; of a set of examiners with no opinions which they dare express, and of no common principles, who are teaching or questioning a set of youths who do not know them and who do not know each other, on a large number of subjects, different in

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kind and connected by no wide philosophy, three times a week, or three times a year, or once in three years, in chill lecture-rooms or on a pompous anniversary."

Certainly we do not overrate the importance of the subject in saying that no proposal has, in this century, been laid before American Catholics, the consideration of which is of more consequence and a just decision on which is fraught with results of such magnitude to the Church of these States and to the Faithful as a body. We have, therefore, brought forward the project, and, rather that there might be some definite proposal in favor of or against which to direct future argument, than from any entire conviction on our own part, have made some suggestions which to us seem, at first blush, proper, desirable, and reasonable, but which may strike other minds as lacking in one or all of these qualities. There are Catholics in abundance, both clerical and lay, who thoroughly understand the subject, from the defects of the present to the requirements of the proposed system; and it is from such men that we should like to hear pronounced opinions, whether favorable or unfavorable to the individual views and suggestions embodied in these articles, is a matter of no consequence whatever. What is important, however, is that the subject be fully discussed, and every point thoroughly tested at the bar of the Catholic public opinion of the United States. Thus, and thus only shall we be able to go on (should it be the decision to found a university), understanding from the first what we aim at, where we are in the accomplishment, and what is needed for completion as well as what is to be expected from success. Should, on the other hand, the decision be adverse to our view, we shall be the more ready to acquiesce in the conviction that the Almighty will have furnished to others light not vouchsafed to ourselves.

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THE NINE DAYS' QUEEN.

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Lives of the Tudor Princesses. By Agnes Strickland. London, 1866.
Lives of the Queens of England. By Agnes Strickland. London, 1868.
The Men and Women of the English Reformation. By S. H. Burke. New York, 1871.

THE most superficial student of history can hardly fail to observe that the *heroic* vanishes from royalty, especially female royalty, with the Catholic faith. The great qualities of the Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet queens of England, for instance, have never been reproduced in their Protestant successors. I speak not of the sainted queens—Protestants have disclaimed sanctity from the beginning. "How dare you mention such persons in my presence?" asked the godly Edward VI., in a rage, when an Anglican prelate, from old habit, swore "by the saints," before his youthful majesty. Heroic sanctity has never been achieved, or even deemed possible, outside of the one fold whereof Christ is the Shepherd. I speak merely of high courage, extraordinary filial, conjugal, or maternal devotedness, intense patriotism, great penance wherever great faults were to be expiated, and lavish charities to the orphan, the student, the plague-stricken, and the stranger.

There is one lady, however, who at first sight seems to be an exception to all this. She wore a crown for nine days, and the people called her the "Epiphany Queen," and "The Nine Days' Wonder." Although Jane Grey, or, more properly, Jane Dudley, has never awakened in the public mind at large either interest or enthusiasm, yet there is no character in history more completely taken on faith by the few who have written her praises. Her very faults are canonized. Mrs. Sandford[1] told our grandmothers that Jane would not have been so amiable had she been less submissive (*i. e.*, in the matter of usurping her sovereign's throne). "Her graces," said she, "like gems whose brilliancy is increased by an opaque setting, gathered strength in her adversity." Miss Strickland[2] has exhausted the language of eulogy in describing one whom she affirms to be "the most noble character of the royal Tudor lineage, endowed with every attribute that is lovely in domestic life, while her piety, learning, courage, and virtue qualified her to give lustre to a crown.

[1] Life of Lady Jane Grey, in English Female Worthies, vol. I. London: 1833.
[2] Lives of the Tudor Princesses. By Agnes Strickland. London: 1866. Also, Lives of the Queens of England, by the same.

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"Early wise," "sweet and saintly," "peerless," "heavenly-minded," "angelic," "lovely," "innocent," "candid," "divine," are but a few of the flattering epithets which this celebrated biographer showers upon her youthful heroine. Catholic writers, too, have been fascinated by the qualities with which some have invested her, no less than by her tragic fate. The *Dublin Review*[1] testifies that she "left a loved and honored memory to the world—the memory of a victim, almost a martyr." A popular essayist and novelist of our day affirms that Jane Grey was incomparably more noble than the two beheaded queens of France, Mary Stuart and Marie Antoinette. "She suffered to the full as deeply as either"—a great mistake—"and yet," he asks, with evident surprise, "what place has she in men's feelings and interests compared with theirs?"[2]

The poets have come to the aid of the essayists, biographers, and historians. The poet laureate of England makes poetic license verge on the impossible in his eloquent description of the saint of his drama:

> "Seventeen—and knew eight languages—in music
> Peerless—her needle perfect, and her learning
> Beyond the churchmen; yet so meek, so modest,
> So wife-like, humble to the trivial boy,
> Mismatched with her for policy!"[3]

And there are few more beautiful passages in English poetry than that which Sir Aubrey de Vere puts into the mouth of Jane, in the parting interview which he imagines between the Duchess of Suffolk and her child, the length of which precludes its insertion here.[4]

Strange it is that the contemporaries of this unfortunate lady were unable to perceive, or unwilling to acknowledge, the existence of these marvellous qualities which have dazzled her modern panegyrists. Her early patroness, Catharine Parr; her sometimes fellow-student, Edward VI.; her royal cousins, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; her sisters, Lady Catharine and Lady Mary Grey, all good scholars and ready writers, failed so utterly to be struck with the wonderful, if not miraculous, gifts and graces with which the nineteenth century has invested their hapless relative, that no allusion is made to her erudition or her sanctity in their letters, memoirs, or journals. I cannot find any evidence that she was loved or revered by a single contemporary, even of her own or her husband's family. If I am wrong, some one will have the goodness to enlighten me, but I really find little to support Jane's fame as a

[1] October No., 1875.

[2] Justin McCarthy, in Modern Leaders, article on the Empress Eugenie. New York: 1872. Shelden & Co.

[3] Queen Mary. A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson. London: 1875.

[4] Ascham's Schoolmaster.

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scholar, save the rather interested testimony of Roger Ascham, while her title to sanctity has been manufactured by no less a personage than the veracious martyrologist, Fox.[1] Indeed, if Jane's contemporaries were of the same opinion as her admirers of to-day, she would certainly have figured as a Protestant saint—a distinction to which she was fully as well entitled as her handsome, deceitful relative, King Charles, "the Martyr," sole incumbent of the Protestant calendar.

Even the boy-king, Edward VI., whose wife Jane was brought up to be, was perfectly insensible to her charms, and indignantly spurned the idea of marrying a subject,[2] saying he would have a foreign princess, "well stuffed and jewelled." He was actually engaged to the Princess Elizabeth of France, for some months previous to his premature death.

Mary Tudor was one of the most thorough and elegant scholars that ever graced a throne. In point of years she might have been Jane's mother. Much intercourse took place between the cousins, and Mary, both as princess and as queen, showed great and constant kindness to the cadet branches of her family. Yet so far as I can discover, there is no evidence that this learned princess ever perceived in her cousin the uncommon intellectual endowments and saint-like virtues, the mere recital of which charms posterity. That Mary was not insensible to extraordinary ability is proved by the fact that, even amid the stormy scenes of her early maiden reign, she found time to examine and correct the Latin exercises of another cousin, related to her in exactly the same degree as Jane, the boy-prodigy Darnley, who is allowed to have entirely surpassed the far-famed progress of his cousins, Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and Lady Jane Grey.[3]

By their deeds, rather than by the speeches and sentiments attributed to them by partisan writers, ought the men and women of history to rise or sink in our estimation; and the more virtue they can be proved to possess, the more pleasing the task of the biographer. But truth ought to be the first ingredient of history; nor can a good cause be really advanced by falsehood. An excellent authority affirms that for the last three centuries history has been little else than a conspiracy against truth. The lies of history during that

[1] Fox's Book of Martyrs.

[2] Edward Sixth's Journal. This prince was himself the son of a private gentlewoman, the detestable Jane Seymour, which connection gave the youthful majesty of England very near relations named Smith, one of his mother's sisters having chosen a husband of that homely name. Another of that queen's sisters was married to one Cromwell, grandson to a blacksmith at Putney. The haughty young Tudor had already more kin of low degree than he cared to acknowledge.

[3] Life of Lady Margaret Douglas, who, through her son Darnley, husband of Mary Stuart, is ancestress of almost every royal house in Europe.

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period have been chiefly in the interest of Protestantism, and with what results? 'Protestantism was never less respectable than it is to-day; its brightest minds, its purest hearts, have sought and continue to seek rest in the maternal bosom of the Unchangeable Church. We will endeavor to give in these pages all that remains of an acknowledged Protestant heroine when fact is separated from rhetoric, the sober, historical truth,—so far as it can be discerned at this distant period,—of a youthful lady of demi-royal descent, who would probably have left no "footprints in the sands of time," during Queen Mary's[1] reign, had she not usurped a throne, and, as a consequence of her temerity, mounted a scaffold.

The grandmother of Lady Jane Grey is celebrated in contemporary chronicles as the fairest princess in Europe. Born towards the close of the fifteenth century, Mary Tudor, youngest surviving child of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, was, at the age of ten, affianced to the Archduke Charles of Austria, afterwards the renowned Charles V. At sixteen she married the mature widower, Louis XII., King of France, who, dying in less than three months, left her a not very disconsolate widow. Charles Brandon, a favorite of her brother, Henry VIII., was dispatched to France for the purpose of escorting the princess to England; but was previously obliged to take a solemn oath before the king and the all-powerful Wolsey, that "he would not abuse his trust by any particular manifestation of partiality towards the young queen consigned to his guardianship."

Oaths, vows, or promises were never deemed very sacred by that handsome miscreant. Undeterred by the fact that two or three living ladies[2] claimed him as a husband, he broke his oath at the earliest opportunity; the marriage ceremony was performed over himself and the royal widow of six weeks, in Paris, February 12th, 1515. As Brandon had been domesticated in her father's family from infancy, and is said to have been the first object of her girlish devotion, the princess could not have been ignorant of his matrimonial entanglements. And even if she were, her virtuous sister-in-law took care to send a special messenger to Paris to warn her that the captivating Suffolk was not free to contract matrimony anew. Indeed, a recent writer[3] has severely censured the Spanish queen for endeavoring to prevent this iniquitous connection. But this person, so far from being able to write history, is incapable of

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[1] Had Jane lived to the next reign, she would certainly have been persecuted by Queen Elizabeth, as her sisters Catharine and Mary were.

[2] He deserted his first wife, a daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, and married her cousin, Lady Mortimer. The Church compelled him to return to his lawful wife. His third venture was the heiress of Lord Lisle, by whom he had his title, Viscount Lisle.

[3] W. H. Dixon, in History of Two Queens.

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giving a truthful description of a famous city[1] which he travelled thousands of miles to see and examine.

The mother of Lady Jane Grey was Frances, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary Tudor. For the reasons already given, it was often argued that the crown could not descend through this lady. Her sister, Lady Eleanor[2] Brandon, however, was universally allowed to be of legitimate birth; the claimants on her father's hand probably died before she was born, although it was not till 1529, that Cardinal Wolsey had the marriage of the princess with Suffolk confirmed.

Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was the father of Jane. Grey repudiated his wife, Catharine Fitzalan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, to form a more lofty alliance with a niece of Henry VIII., a crime which the deserted wife's kindred avenged when Grey's daughter usurped the throne. Grey was not royally descended, as his pensioner Ulmer,[3] a German Reformer, erroneously states. As soon as monastic spoils began to be scattered among the greedy courtiers of Henry VIII., Dorset became, as Ulmer writes, "the thunderbolt and terror of the Papists, their fierce and terrible adversary."[4]

This Grey was about as wicked as his slender ability would permit; a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject. It is said that the churchmen of those times were reluctant politicians; the king being obliged to seek their services owing to the ignorance, incapacity, and drunkenness of the nobles; and Suffolk and Dorset, grandfather and father of Jane, are particularized among such nobles as being "almost illiterate."[5] They are not, therefore, invested even with the interest that often attaches to clever rogues. There is no evidence that Frances Brandon surpassed her worthless mate in intellectual endowments, education, or moral rectitude; or rather there is abundant evidence that she did not. Judging by the letters which remain, the Queen-Duchess herself had far more intellect than her immediate descendants. Some of the best of these are addressed to her redoubtable brother, Henry VIII.:

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[1] Americans who have come across this gentleman's description of Salt Lake City will credit him with a rather lively imagination. Mr. McCarthy remained almost as long in that capital as Mr. Dixon, but could see nothing of the beauties out of which the latter made the larger part of a volume. "Oh, Hepworth Dixon," he exclaims, after a careful survey of the morally and physically filthy capital of Mormondom, "how could you write so about its theatre? Or was the beautiful temple of the drama which *you* saw here deliberately taken down, and did they raise in its place the big, gaunt, ugly, dirty, dismal structure which *I* saw, and in which I and my companions made part of a dreary dozen or two of audience, and blinked in the dim, depressing light of mediæval oil lamps?"—*Mr. McCarthy on Brigham Young, in Galaxy.*

[2] See Life of Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Eleanor Brandon, who claimed precedence of the sisters of Lady Jane Grey, as being of legitimate descent.

[3] Zurich Letters. [4] Ibid.

[5] Burke's Men and Women of the English Reformation, vol. i.

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"My most dearest and right entirely beloved lord and brother," and subscribed, "Your loving *swster*, Mary, Queen of France."

This princess is that "Mary bright of hue" whom Sir Thomas More represents the dying Elizabeth of York praying God to make "virtuous, wise, and fortunate." This prayer was not granted, though we may well hope that the follies of her early years were expiated by the sorrows and sufferings amid which she closed her short and troubled life. Queen Elizabeth of York has been highly eulogized by almost all historians for her graces and virtues. Her biographers style her "Elizabeth the Good." But if this royal lady were to be judged by her children who reached maturity—Margaret, Queen of Scotland, a woman of scandalous life, Henry VIII., and Mary, the Queen-Duchess, her character as a mother would scarcely stand very high.

It is not from parents such as we have described that saints or scholars usually spring. The Lady Jane Grey did not certainly *inherit* the virtues and abilities with which her eulogists invest her. We shall see that she was little more fortunate in her friends, companions, and tutors, who were, for the most part, mere sycophants of the party in power for the moment, apostates, church-robbers, and friars of infamous life, who gloried in their shame, and whose greatest boast was that they had made vows to the Most High and violated them.

It is not perhaps the most gracious task in the world to take down from its pedestal a popular idol; and such a few of our contemporaries have sought to make the Lady Jane Grey. Her memory as a Protestant saint and martyr is endeared to the Protestant mind—though she was rather a Calvinist than a Protestant—and her tragic fate has shrouded her with a lurid glare which some have mistaken for the aureola of sanctity.

The history of Lady Jane Grey has several points of resemblance with that of her cousin, Arabella Stuart, who married a descendant of Jane's sister, Lady Catharine Grey. Both—one through Mary Tudor, one through Margaret Tudor—were great-granddaughters of Henry VII., and their demi-royal descent caused their ruin. The elder Disraeli[1] might have said of Jane what he says of Arabella: "She is said to have been beautiful, and not to have been beautiful; her very portrait, ambiguous as her life, is neither the one nor the other."

No chronicler has deemed it worth while to give the date of Jane's birth,[2] so far as we have been able to discover. Her pictures

[1] Curiosities of Literature, vol. iii.

[2] Lingard mentions Jane as sixteen and as seventeen, in the last year of her life. Hist. England, vol. vii. Fuller says she was eighteen. Holy State, p. 311. Miss Strickland says she was born in October, 1537, and later on, that she was exactly fourteen in May, 1551!

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would lead to the belief that she was born several years earlier than the period usually assigned. Her age at the time of her usurpation of the throne, July, 1553, is variously given as sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen. In a letter from Ulmer to Bullinger, dated April, 1550, Jane is stated to be about fourteen years of age. If this be correct, she must have been born in 1536; and there is every reason to believe that this is correct, as Ulmer was domesticated with her father at Bradgate, and might easily have heard from Jane herself or from her parents, her exact age. She could scarcely have been born earlier, as her parents were married in March, 1533, and Jane's birth was preceded by those of a brother and sister who died in infancy. It may well be that Jane was born about the time of the disgrace of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn,[1] and the exaltation of her vile rival; and that as her parents were peculiarly given to deserting the setting and worshipping the rising sun, they called their infant *Jane*, to compliment the triumphant beauty whose star was then in the ascendant.

Bradgate, in Leicestershire, is universally allowed to have been the place of Jane's birth. Fuller thus describes it: "This fair, large, and beautiful palace was erected in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., by Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset. It is built principally of red brick, of a square form, with a turret at each corner." Bradgate must indeed have been one of the fairest homes in England. Its ruins may be traced to-day, in a rural spot of exquisite beauty, five miles from the town of Leicester. A tower still stands which local tradition points out as the birthplace of the nine-days' Queen.

The early days of Jane are involved in the completest obscurity. Who baptized her? Who held her at the font? What were the first religious impressions she received? Did she ever make her first communion? Was she ever confirmed? At what period was she transferred from the nurse to the governess? Had she ever a governess? At what time did Aylmer become her tutor? These particulars elude all our research. We know, however, that she to have been about two years younger than her more celebrated was not long alone in her nursery. Lady Catharine Grey is said sister; while the youngest child of Henry Grey and Frances Brandon, Lady Mary Grey, was not born till 1545, when her sister was about nine years old.

[1] Anne Boleyn was beheaded a little after noon, May 19th, 1536; the royal widower of a few hours married Jane Seymour on the morning of the 20th. The reformers vied with each other in doing honor to the successor of their murdered patroness. In the dedication of Coverdale's Bible, the names *Henry* and *Anne* were introduced, but as Anne was beheaded between the printing and the publication, J for *Jane* was printed over the letters which composed the name Anne, and the wife-killer associated with the new object of his caprice, on the fly-leaves of the Bible.

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The first glimpse history gives us of the "divine Jane" is in 1546, when we find her installed into some office about the person of Henry VIII.'s last Queen, Catharine Parr. She had, therefore, all the advantages likely to accrue from being frequently in the presence of her royal grand-uncle, when that degraded monarch was at his very worst; which certainly was after his marriage with his Protestant queen. The fact that Catharine Parr accepted the sixth reversion of the bloody hand of Henry VIII. a short time after the death of her second husband, his lawful wife, Anne of Cleves, being yet alive, is sufficiently eloquent of her character. The first part of one of Luther's descriptions[1] of the first Anglican Pope was never more true than at this period. He was sunk so low, that his sister-in-law, who subsequently stood in the same relation to Catharine, says truly "that no lady that stood on her honor would venture on him." When he proposed for Christina, Duchess of Milan, that princess informed him, with infinite scorn, that if she had two heads she would place one at the disposal of his majesty.

It has been stated that Jane was much in the company of Catharine Parr. This lady had become a disciple of the "new learning" during her second widowhood, and was intimate with most of the reformers, who were accustomed to meet at her house. There is little doubt that her conversion to the "godliness" of the age was due to her love for Sir Thomas Seymour, one of the leaders of the anti-Catholic party, and subsequently her fourth husband. Perhaps, too, Jane's Protestantism was partially confirmed by her love of the handsome Edward Seymour, whom she frequently met at court,[2] and to whom, with the consent of her parents, she was contracted at an early age. I think it certain that neither Henry VIII. nor his son ever thought of her as the future queen-consort. Henry's latter years were spent in carrying fire and sword into Scotland, to seize the person of its infant queen, Mary Stuart, for the bride of his heir-apparent. This scheme was given up only when Mary was contracted to the dauphin; after which Edward was betrothed to that prince's sister, Elizabeth of France.

We know not the date of Jane's residence at court, nor the length of time it continued; but we have some idea of the kind of persons whom she met there; and we know that her house at Bradgate was the rendezvous of the most infamous men that ever disgraced Christianity. No doubt she oscillated between the court and Bradgate. Her father constituted himself a sort of protector-general to a set of vile wretches, who, having appalled their own people by their crimes, came to hapless England to reform the Church:

[1] "Luther called Henry VIII. 'the grossest of all pigs,' which he probably was, and 'of all asses,' which he certainly was not."—*My Clerical Friends*—MARSHALL.

[2] He was usually in attendance on Prince Edward, his cousin-german.

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"With every crime they stocked the nation,
To fit it for a reformation."[1]

Of these divines and their English compeers, the acute Bishop Doyle[2] says: "If these men have reconstructed the Church on the foundations of the prophets and apostles, the Manichean system must be true, and the evil principle has prevailed over the good." "They were," says Dr. Littledale, a Protestant clergyman of our day, "utterly unredeemed villains."[3]

The first Christians sold their lands and gave the money to the Apostles for the poor; the "reformed" English—especially Jane's relatives—stole the goods of the poor to enrich themselves, and created that terrible evil unknown in the Ages of Faith, and with which no power but the Church has ever been able successfully to grapple—*pauperism*—that word so hideous in the mouth of a Christian. Jane's grandfather, Brandon,[4] was infamous even among the courtiers of Henry VIII., as the suppressor of thirty monasteries. Her mother, with a rapacity truly worthy of a niece of Henry VIII., contrived to become mistress of almost all the Carthusian property in and about London. The first Christians had but one heart and one soul; no two of the reformers, English or foreign, agreed on a single doctrine.

Historians have spoken of Henry's queen as Catholic or as Protestant. The truth is, his queens and his courtiers were of the religion, or phase of religion, which the new pope dictated. Not one of them, after the saintly Catharine of Aragon, ever dared to oppose his will. If they had done so, they might have prepared for martyrdom; and the spirit of martyrdom in his wives died with his Spanish queen. It is, however, certain that, with the exception of Catharine Parr, who died delirious, all the women whom the royal pope married sought to be reconciled to the Catholic Church when death approached. Henry, indeed, kept the title[5] he had won in his young and glorious days, but, as in the case of Queen Victoria,[6] his successor as "Head of the Church," it might be asked: Of *what* faith was he "Defender?" Jane knew well that he tied Catholics and Protestants to the same stake. Poor Charlotte Bronté, in her strictures on Julia Kavanagh's *Women of Christianity*, says that "Protestantism is a quieter creed than Romanism—it does not set up its good women for saints, canonize their names, and proclaim their good works." I am afraid the quietness of Protestantism in this

[1] Ward's Cantos.
[2] Life of Dr. Doyle, Fitzpatrick.
[3] Lecture on "The Characters of the First English Reformers."
[4] He died while Catharine Parr was queen, leaving two sons of his last wife.
[5] Defender of the Faith.
[6] The question was recently put, in Parliament: "Of *what* faith is Queen Victoria defender?"

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respect is akin to the quietness of death; and its creed, being as uncertain to-day as in the days of the first Anglican pope, Miss Bronté, though eldest daughter of one parson, and first wife of another, did not undertake to explain.

The Lady Jane Grey could not have been long at court without learning that her patroness, Queen Catharine Parr, was ambitious to add the higher crown of authorship to her matrimonial diadem. The work by which this lady sought admission among royal authors contains several passages worthy of the picturesque right hand of Cranmer:

"Thanks be given to the Lord that He hath now sent us such a godly and learned king, in these latter days, to reign over us, that, with the force of God's word, hath taken away the veils and mists of error, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's word. . . . . Our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh. I mean by this Moses King Henry VIII., my most sovereign favorable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses's conquest over Pharaoh (and I mean by this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome), who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel."

The woman who could apply such gross flattery to Henry VIII., "the impersonation of evil," as that monarch is aptly styled by Mackintosh,[1] was a fitting nursing-mother for the "miserable apostasy"[2] known in history as the Reformation.

The youthful Jane knew perfectly well the vicious and cruel character of the crowned wretch whom her patroness thus flattered. She knew that he had murdered his late queen, "a very little girl,"[3] of sixteen or seventeen; and still more recently butchered his aged relative, Margaret Plantagenet, who, with the lion-like spirit of her dauntless race, refused to lay her aged head on the traitor's block, and bade his minions "take it as they could."[4] Jane was

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[1] English Hist., vol. ii. [2] Baring Gould. [3] *Parvissima puella.* Hilles.

[4] Prescott rather innocently observes, in his Charles V., vol. iii., with reference to the Marian persecutions: "The English being *remarkable for the mildness of their public executions* (!), beheld, with astonishment and horror, venerable persons condemned to endure torments to which their laws did not subject even the most atrocious criminals." The fact is, there was not one *illegal* execution in Mary's reign. Parliament made the laws, and the queen allowed them to take effect. That is *her* share in the persecutions that disgraced her reign. But, verily, no style of killing could be a novelty after the days of the royal Bluebeard. The Countess of Salisbury was hacked to pieces, Anne Askew and many others were racked and burned; several were boiled to death at Smithfield. See *Gray Friars' Chronicle*, printed for the Camden Society, 1852. Father Middlemore's flesh was torn off with red-hot pincers, the heartless persecutors searching

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old enough to remember these, and a hundred other instances of his demoniac cruelty. How it must have blunted her sense of justice to hear such a monster flattered. As to her moral training, she was certainly worse off at the court of such a woman than she would have been with her unprincipled parents.

The interest which Catharine Parr took in the young Jane Grey must be considered in connection with the darling project of that queen, who desired to perpetuate her influence over the future monarch of England by providing him with a wife in the person of his cousin. If Jane possessed a tithe of the qualities and fascinations with which posterity has endowed her, she ought to have won the heart of the princely boy. But, poor girl, scarcely one of those who knew her, loved her; and yet her still more unfortunate contemporaries, Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart, had qualities to evoke in those about them the most passionate attachment.

When Catharine Parr was in serious danger of being added to the list of Henry's conjugal victims, 1546, we find Jane in attendance on her person. Jane must have learned on this perillous occasion how deeply the queen was attached to the Reformed doctrines, when that frightened mother of the Reformation saved her head by disclaiming all theological knowledge but that of which the royal wife-killer was the exponent. When Catharine visited her terrible master on the evening of the day which had almost proved fatal to her, Lady Jane Grey[1] is mentioned as carrying the lights before her mistress, a ceremony during which etiquette required that the candle-bearer should walk backwards, facing the queen.

Catharine and her ladies had been borrowing books of an unfortunate lady who had recently left her husband, to preach some new gospel. When Anne Askew was condemned to death, the queen

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for his heart, which the martyr told them was "in Heaven, where his treasure was." "The executioner," says Pole, "suspended the embraces of that fell tyrant, Death, and thus prolonged the sufferings of his victims." The common punishment for treason—and every one knows how easily treason was committed under Henry VIII.—was so horrible that nothing more dreadful could be devised. Some forty years later than the period of which we write, Queen Elizabeth was so exasperated by the Babington conspiracy (1586) for the rescue of the Queen of Scots, that she ordered her Council to invent "some new device" to punish its perpetrators. But Burleigh informed Her Majesty "that the punishment prescribed by the letter of the law was to the full as terrible as anything new that could be devised, if the *executioner took care to protract the extremity of their pains* in the sight of the multitude."—*Letters of Burleigh to Hatton.* LINGARD. Does Prescott write in ignorance or in malice? As to venerable persons, the English mob never saw any more venerable than More, Fisher, and the Carthusian monks, whose prior, F. Haughton, was hanged till half dead, disembowelled while yet alive, his heart cast into the fire, his trunk divided into four pieces, and when half roasted sent to the four most important cities in the kingdom! O, Prescott, shame!

[1] Speed's Chronicle.

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and her party were terror-stricken lest the poor fanatic might mention them as her disciples. But with a nobility of soul which deserved a better fate, Anne guarded their secret even on the rack. Henry was terribly incensed against this young woman, who did not protest exactly in his way, for "having brought prohibited books into his palace and imbued his queen," and his nieces, whom he unceremoniously calls "Suffolk's daughters," with her doctrine. This passage would seem to show that Jane's mother and aunt, Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor Brandon, the Marchioness of Dorset, and the Countess of Cumberland, were at court at this time, and that both were disciples of the hapless lady who became the scapegoat for the royal party.

Anne Askew was burned alive. There is no evidence that her royal friend interceded for her, or indeed for any other "martyr." In the very midst of her sombre honeymoon, a period at which she must have had some influence, three Sacramentarians were roasted alive at Smithfield. Indeed the worst of Henry's bad acts were perpetrated during the queenship of Catharine Parr. Meanwhile, it is probable that Jane oscillated between the court and the residence of her parents. With all the changes and distractions of a court life, and frequent travelling hither and thither, Jane's opportunities of acquiring learning were not by any means propitious. The awful death of her redoubtable great-uncle, Henry VIII., in January, 1547, wrought a great change in her position and prospects. Whether Jane was at court or with her parents at this period, we have no means of ascertaining. It is certain that Catharine Parr was not present when Henry's appalling death-scene was enacted; and it is just possible that Jane attended her in her retirement; in which case that youthful lady must have been edified to see that the royal widow engaged herself to contract her fourth marriage, and probably contracted it, while the colossal remains of the first Anglican pope were still above ground.

The will of Henry VIII.,[1] the provisions of which were said to be known only to his council and his queen, placed Jane[2] immediately after his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, in the royal succession, entirely passing over the posterity of his weak and vicious eldest sister, Margaret Tudor. Hence, there was a distant prospect that Jane might be a queen-regnant, if not a queen-consort.

The death of Henry VIII. was "very evil." He continued his

[1] "Considerable doubt was entertained of the authenticity of the will attributed to Henry VIII. Under Mary it was pronounced spurious by the privy council; by Elizabeth it was never suffered to be mentioned."—LINGARD.

[2] "The heirs *masles* of the Lady Frances," and failing these, of the Lady Eleanor, "but," says honest old Spelman, "the name of Brandon was clean put out in the second generation," hence the crown was to revert to female heirs.

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tyrannies to the very last.[1] Harpsfield and Saunders mention that the dying monarch evinced an ardent desire to be reconciled with the Church, which he had so barbarously persecuted. But Henry had slaughtered, or driven far from him, every ecclesiastic who would have dared to tell him the truth. The murderer of More, and Fisher, and Forest, and Abell—the wretch who had made the blood of God's saints flow like water—deserved to hear the truth no more. His gigantic corpse remained above ground from January 28th till late in February. On its way to Windsor, it was laid for the night among the broken walls of Linn, the prison of the young queen whom he had murdered exactly five years before, and then were the awful words of Friar Peyto verified, who had compared him to Achab, and told him to his face from Greenwich pulpit, "that the dogs would in like manner lick his blood." Blood oozed from the body and saturated the pavement of the dismantled church, and when the plumbers came to solder the royal coffin, they found a dog beneath it, which lapped up the blood of the relentless tyrant.[2]

Save the mother that bore him and the wife who glorified his early days of kingship, no woman ever loved Henry VIII., except his daughter Mary. The boy-king severely censured her for the filial grief with which she bitterly bewailed his woful end. The crown consoling him for the loss of such a father, he commanded his subjects to dry their tears—a command which they could not obey for a very obvious reason. In his capacity of Head of the Church, the pope of nine summers informed the public in general, that "a prince who led so holy a life, and governed his people with such justice as Henry VIII.," was sure of going straight to heaven; and was, in fact, now enjoying eternal happiness.[3] The troublesome and tedious ceremonies of canonization were entirely dispensed with.

Henry left two widows, his Lutheran queen, Anne of Cleves, who was living in retirement at Richmond, and ultimately became a fervent Catholic; and his Protestant queen, who had already provided herself with a mate, no other than Thomas Seymour, the vilest profligate of a most licentious court. Strype informs us, that she rather courted him, than he her;[4] and in one of her letters she tells him that she would have married him after the death of his second spouse, had not the king stepped between them. It will be remembered that it was during her second widowhood, of two or three months at most, that she adopted the views of the

[1] "Surrey of the deathless lay," was his last victim, and the tyrant's death alone prevented the execution of the father of the poet, the aged Duke of Norfolk, and of Catharine Parr herself.

[2] Burnet, The Sloan Collection, etc.

[3] MSS. Harl.

[4] Ecclesiastical Memorials.

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Reformers, and it can scarcely be doubted that Seymour's handsome face and dashing figure were the agreeable medium through which this change was wrought in the religious sentiments of this gay widow, who was anything but a "widow indeed."

Lady Jane Grey seems to have been with her parents during the courtship and clandestine marriage of her late mistress, for we find that as soon as the marriage was made public, namely, about three months after the burial of the late king, Sir Thomas Seymour[1] offered to purchase the wardship of Jane from her parents, he and his wife being determined to marry her, if possible, to the young king, and thus perpetuate their influence over their sovereign. The parents of Jane readily acceded to this proposal. The guardianship of their daughter was transferred, "for a consideration," from them to Seymour, and Jane was again domesticated with Catharine Parr.

Seymour had a double object[2] in wedding the frolicsome widow of his late master. 1. The acquisition of the wealth which this prudent lady had accumulated while queen, and of the dowers which she enjoyed as widow of two wealthy lords and a king. 2. To gain more easy access to Catharine's step-son, the new king, and win him over to his purposes. The chief of these purposes was to thwart his brother, the Protector, who had just helped himself to the royal title of Duke of Somerset, and who was eager to marry his daughter, Lady Jane Seymour, to the young king. The bold move of the bridegroom, in obtaining possession of the person of Lady Jane Grey, and purchasing the right to marry her to whom he would, checkmated Edward Seymour most provokingly, and fanned the flame of enmity already kindled between the ambitious brothers.

One circumstance rendered Catharine Parr's residence most unsuitable for the virtuous bringing up of a young woman. The princess Elizabeth was domesticated with her step-mother from the time of her father's death. Here, indeed, the child was the mother of the woman. How could Jane Grey escape contagion in such companionship? Elizabeth Tudor, in her fifteenth year, was what she had not ceased to be in her seventieth year, a bold, bad woman. So far as can be ascertained, Seymour was the first, and certainly not the least infamous, of Elizabeth's lovers. The fact that he was brother to one of her father's wives, and husband of another—that he was brother to the woman for whose sake her mother had been sent to the block—did not in the least deter Elizabeth. The fact

[1] Deposition of Jane's father, the Marquis of Dorset, Tytler's Reigns of Edward and Mary.

[2] Pictorial History of England, a voluminous compilation by Craik and Macfarlane, vol. ii., book v.

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that Elizabeth was an orphan, a daughter of his late king, and sent to his wife for protection, did not deter Seymour. Mary endeavored to draw her sister from the ill-regulated household of Catharine Parr, by offering her a home with herself, on the ostensible plea that the queen-dowager had outraged their father's memory by her hasty, indecorous marriage; but there is little doubt that the daughter of Catharine of Aragon knew exactly how matters stood, and endeavored to save the reputation of the daughter of Anne Boleyn by withdrawing her from temptation. But Elizabeth preferred the freedom of her present home.

These disgraceful amours utterly ruined the character of Elizabeth, and rendered miserable the life of Seymour's wife, who was finally compelled to send the princess from her house, a few months before her death, which occurred in September, 1548. Elizabeth is the only unmarried princess of England whose conduct was investigated by the royal council, and who was compelled to write a "Confession" of her misdeeds while yet a mere girl. It would seem that intercourse between the vicious pair was not quite broken up by separation. "It is probable," says Miss Strickland, "that the alarming change in Catharine"—after the birth of her only child—"was caused by the whispers in her lying-in chamber relating to her husband's passion for her step-daughter, and his intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess, in case of her own decease."[1] Nobody seems to have dreamt of removing the youthful Jane Grey from the contamination of such surroundings. Her parents thought more of the money the sale of her wardship brought them than of the morality of their child, then at the tender age of twelve. Surely, Seymour's house was a model house; it was filled with English and foreign reformers, who held divine service therein two or three times a day. "Seymour,"[2] says Latimer, "gets him out of the way when the daily prayer begins, like a mole digging in the earth." Verily he was not so much of a hypocrite as those who attended the daily prayer and led such vicious lives.

Poor Catharine was happier even in the lifetime of Henry VIII. She was not then tormented by jealousy, and she could resort to her literary labors, such as they were. "She spent her own leisure hours in compiling into the form of prayer the inspirations of a diseased brain."[3] Never had an ill-used wife greater need of prayer. Lady Jane Grey remained in her household to the end. Having given birth to a daughter, the queen died delirious eight days later. The Lady Jane officiated as chief mourner at her funeral. Sir Thomas brought her to Hanworth after his wife's funeral, and such was the favorable impression she made on the

[1] Life of Catharine Parr.
[2] Latimer's Sermons, first edition.
[3] Audin's Life of Henry VIII.

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heartless widower, that he deliberated which he would select for his next wife, the Princess Elizabeth, or the Lady Jane Grey.

It would be strange indeed if the youthful Jane acquired either virtue or learning in so poor a school as the ill-regulated household of Catharine Parr. Neither could daily intercourse with Seymour, Elizabeth, and the immoral apostates on whom Seymour's wife lavished her friendship, have been at all beneficial to so young a lady. If Jane were "truthful and conscientious,"[1] she could have had but little real respect for her much-married patroness,[2] whose duplicity she knew to be perfect. She was aware, too, that it was not the virtuous indignation of the Christian matron, but the jealousy of the neglected wife, that the scandalous behavior of her wicked husband and her shameless step-child awoke in the breast of this unfortunate lady.

Seymour desired at first to send Jane home to her parents, but he speedily changed his mind and wrote a second letter to her father, in which he evinces the greatest anxiety to keep her. Elizabeth was now perfectly willing to marry this bold, bad man, if the consent of the council could be obtained. To act without this would invalidate her title to the crown. That Jane did not very strongly reprobate the heartless conduct of this worthy pair to her late patroness, may be inferred from the fact that she continued on excellent terms with both.

The answer of Jane's father to Seymour is a remarkable production. "It bears,"[3] says Miss Strickland, "no token of the imbecility of mind, under which his partisans have been driven to shield the reproach of his vices." But it not unfrequently happens that persons who are imbecile as to honor, uprightness, truth, and virtue, are wonderfully quicksighted and clear-headed when there is question of making money.

After many thanks and flatteries, Dorset goes on:

"Considering the state of my daughter and her tender years, wherein she shall hardly rule herself without a guide, lest she should, for want of a bridle, take too much head, and conceive such an opinion of herself, that all such good behavior as she heretofore hath learned by the queen's and your most wholesome instructions should either altogether be quenched in her, or, at least, much diminished, I shall in most hearty wise require your lordship to commit her to the guidance of her mother, by whom, for the fear and duty she oweth her, she shall be more easily framed

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[1] Strickland.

[2] While Catharine Parr was queen she used to attend Mass with the king in the morning and hold Protestant worship privately, her own chaplains officiating at both. Jane must have often shared as well as witnessed her deceit, as she was sometimes in attendance on her person.

[3] Tudor Princesses.

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and ruled towards virtue, which I wish above all things to be plentiful in her."[1]

Here follow allusions to the necessity of putting Jane under the "eye and oversight of her mother" and "the addressing of her mind to humility, soberness, and obedience," which would seem to show that she was not exempt from the faults and foibles of other girls. Jane was now in her thirteenth year. If she had borne anything of the repute of a saint her father would not have written in this strain. His object was not, however, to get his daughter home and place her under his wife's tutelage, but to drive a better pecuniary bargain. His wife, actuated by the same base motives, joined in her husband's request, and Jane was returned to her parents. But it was no part of their policy to keep her. Their letters to Seymour bear the date of September 19th, and we find them in London, four days later, negotiating for the sale of their child. They received £500, the first instalment of her whole purchase-money, £2000, an enormous sum for the time. By the following letter, still extant, Jane acknowledges the Lord-Admiral Seymour, as her guardian:

"To the Right Honorable and my singular good lord, the Lord-Admiral, give these.

"My duty to your lordship, in most humble wise remembered, with no less thanks for the gentle letters which I received from you. Thinking myself so much bound to your lordship for your great goodness towards me from time to time, that I cannot by any means be able to recompense the least part thereof, I purposed to write a few rude lines unto your lordship, rather as a token to show how much worthier I think your lordship's goodness than to give worthy thanks for the same; and these, my letters, shall be to testify unto you that, like as you have become towards me a loving and kind father, so I shall be always most ready to obey your godly monitions and good instructions, as becometh one upon whom you have heaped so many benefits. And thus, fearing I should trouble your lordship too much, I most humbly take my leave of your good lordship.

"Your humble servant during my life,

"JANE GRAYE."

Indorsed: "My Lady Jane, the 1st of Oct., 1548."

It would have puzzled Jane Grey to explain in what consisted the goodness of Lord Seymour which she lauds so highly; and the "Adonis of the Court" bestowing "godly monitions and good instructions" on his young ward, places that gentleman in rather

[1] State Papers, in Tytler. Hayne's Burleigh Papers.

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a new light. The letter was evidently written at the dictation of her parents, who were not oblivious of the fact that Seymour, by the terms of their late contract, still owed them £1500 for the wardship of their daughter.

Lord Seymour came at once to Bradgate for the Lady Jane. He would take no receipt for her purchase-money, saying merrily, "The Lady Jane herself is in pledge for it." "And," says Miss Strickland, "for the vile consideration of a few hundred pounds, the parents of Lady Jane Grey saw their sweet child carried away from them by one of the greatest profligates of a profligate court, after having declared, under their autographs, which exist to this day, that he had no one in his establishment by whom her education was likely to be properly finished."[1]

Jane continued with Seymour, residing now at one, now at another, of his magnificent seats. In the winter he brought her to his town residence, Seymour Place, where she came under the influence of the notorious Bucer, from whom she imbibed the Calvinistic views she seems to have retained through life. The fact that Jane was allowed to have any intercourse with this wretched creature, would indicate that Seymour was not very choice as to the persons whom he allowed to approach her. But that such a man was her religious monitor is preposterous. Four times had he stood up at the altar of Hymen; and as he had an extensive domestic establishment to maintain, he tried to live on princes and princely families. He may be considered a patron saint of Mormonism, as his name is signed, with the names of Luther and Melanchthon, to the "Church Dispensation,"[2] whereby the licentious Philip of Hesse was permitted to confer the name and style of *wife* on two women at the same time. It was the public boast of this clerical miscreant that he had taken oaths and vows to the Most High, and violated them.

It was reported about this time that the lord-admiral meant to marry his ward. "When Thomas Parry[3] was conferring with Lord Seymour regarding his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, he proposed going to see her." Parry "had no commission to say her Grace would welcome him." "It is no matter now," said the widower, "for there has been a talk of late; forsooth, they say now I shall marry the Lady Jane." There was no hope now of marrying her to the young king; but the Protector was as little satisfied that she should marry his brother. He applied to the Marquis and Marchioness of Dorset, demanding that their promise of espousing Jane to his eldest son should be ratified; but this worthy pair had not as yet received the whole of her purchase-money.

[1] Tudor Princesses. Hayne's State Papers.

[2] See the whole document in Bossuet's Variations.

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Speaking of his ward to Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Seymour said: "There will be much ado soon for my Lady Jane, Dorset's daughter; for the Lord Protector and his duchess mean to do all they can to obtain her for their heir, young Hertford. However, they will not succeed, for her father has given her up wholly to me, upon certain covenants between us."

Death frustrated all the ambitious projects which had been so long ripening in the plotting brain of Thomas Seymour. Arrested on "thirty charges," he claimed to be confronted with his accusers. But this act of justice was denied him, and the bill for his attainder passed both Houses, almost without opposition. The warrant for the illegal execution of this unfortunate man was signed by his brother, Edward Seymour, the Lord Protector; by his sister's son, King Edward VI., and by his friend and spiritual adviser, Cranmer. Latimer, who was a party to all the intrigues of Seymour, described his execution as an act of justice, averring that he had led a sensual, dissolute, irreligious life, and that God had clean forsaken him. "He was a covetous man, an horrible, covetous man; he was an ambitious man; I wish there were no more in England; he was a seditious man; I would he had left no more behind him. He died irksomely, dangerously, horribly."[1] One scarcely knows which to reprobate most, the unnatural brother, the cruel nephew, or the false friend, to whom a wicked, and perhaps not unrepentant sinner, appealed for consolation and assistance in his last awful need, and who should, as a friend, and, still more, as a minister of religion, have dropped the veil of charitable silence over the mangled remains of the murdered reprobate who had sought his ministrations.

Sir Thomas Seymour survived the consort whose death seemed to open so wide a field to his ambition about six months. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, March 20th, 1549. Among the charges brought against him were his precipitate marriage with Catharine Parr, his presumptuous courtship of the Lady Elizabeth, and his design to marry the king to Lady Jane Grey. Jane's father, Dorset, and Catharine Parr's brother, were the chief witnesses examined against him on the last-named point. Jane was with him at Seymour Place up to the moment of his arrest.

Jane was once more returned to her parents, who were by no means disposed to give her a hearty welcome, being extremely dissatisfied at the failure of their ambitious schemes. She was now in her fourteenth year. The king continued quite insensible to whatever charms of mind and body she possessed, and there is no evidence that her former *fiancé*, the son of the Protector, renewed

[1] Latimer's Sermon on the Bad Life of Sir Thomas Seymour, a most uncharitable, or rather unchristian, production.

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his suit. Her father had already offended that powerful magnate by refusing to have her contract with Hertford ratified, and had recently to undergo several severe examinations before the king's council, as to his motives in selling the wardship of his eldest daughter to the king's uncle.

Whatever learning or accomplishments Jane acquired were probably stored up at this period. I do not see how she could have devoted any regular time to study while at court with Queen Catharine, or while travelling with that lady and her fourth husband from one magnificent estate to another, from Chelsea to Hanworth, from Sudeley Castle to Seymour Place, in the slow and ceremonious mode in which great people moved about in those days.

One John Aylmer had been appointed by her father as domestic tutor to his children. This Aylmer is described by Becon[1] as "a young man, singularly well learned both in the Latin and Greek tongue." Aylmer was an immoral man and a hypocrite;[2] his friend Roger Ascham bore a similar reputation. No conscientious father or guardian would have allowed such men in their families; still less intrust young girls to their care. Poor Jane was singularly unfortunate in her friends, and in those under whose tutelage she fell. Aylmer was subsequently made a bishop by Elizabeth. He was the friend and companion of Fox, and the corrector of the work of that famous and infamous martyrologist; "upon which account," says a panegyrist of Jane, "we may read with greater confidence (?) Fox's minute and interesting account of her."

Ascham is our sole authority for the following anecdote, which, if true, is less creditable to Jane's filial affection than to her classical tastes. One day, having called at Bradgate, he found that all the family had gone out to amuse themselves in the park, except the Lady Jane, who was reading Plato in the original tongue. When Ascham asked her why she forbore to join in the merry pastimes of her family, she replied that all their sport was but a shadow of the pleasure she found in studying Plato. And, growing more confidential, she replied in answer to a second question: "Good Maister Roger, I will tell you a truth which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that God ever gave me is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it

[1] Becon was an English Reformer. It is impossible to say how often he changed his creed. The Jesuit Waterworth styles him the "Prince of Scurrility."—*Origin and Development of Anglicanism.* I quote the Reformers wherever they refer to Jane or her connections, but cannot vouch for the accuracy of their statements.

[2] Hatton's Letter-Bag; Archbishops of Canterbury.

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were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened—yea, presently, sometimes with *pinches*, *nips*, and *bobs*, and other ways, which I will not name for the honor I bear them—so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till the time comes when I must go to Maister Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, and with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever else I do but learning, is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking, unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me."[1]

Jane and "Maister Roger" must have been alone when this conference took place; she would not have dared to speak in so disrespectful a manner of her parents had she been attended as her rank required. One can hardly believe that a girl of fourteen would be allowed to confer alone with a man of Ascham's character or position. The young lady could use very strong language, too, although there is no evidence that swearing was among the accomplishments of her girlhood, as was the case with her sometime companion, the Lady Elizabeth.

It is well known that the Reformation was forced on England by foreign soldiers and foreign theologians. The latter class found a liberal patron in Jane's father. His house was their home. No matter how despicable these exiles were, morally and spiritually, the Marquis of Dorset allowed them to mingle freely with his wife and daughter. The material aid he bestowed on them, they repaid by the most fulsome flattery of himself and his family. In the letters of these men we trace some particulars of Jane. She added music to her more abstruse studies, and is blamed by them for devoting too much time to it. Her passion for dress seems to have given them much anxiety. Fond as Aylmer is said to have been of his pupil, and cordially as she is supposed to have reciprocated his affection, he was afraid to correct her on either point, which argues badly for the sweetness of her temper. He writes to Bullinger desiring *him* to admonish his pupil as to "what embellishment and adornment are becoming in a young woman professing

[1] *The Schoolmaster.* Ascham is said to have written this book at the request of Sir Richard Sackville, as an argument against cruelty towards scholars. His friend Aylmer was Bishop of London at the time. Whether Jane spoke so freely to Ascham of her parents, or whether Ascham spoke in this way *for her*, and for a purpose, must remain undecided. It is just possible that Ascham may have found Jane in *punishment*, and that her solitude on this occasion was not through love of Plato, but to expiate some of those faults for which her parents were accustomed to give her *pinches*, *nips*, and *bobs*, as she elegantly expresses herself.

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godliness. Moreover," he adds, "I wish you would prescribe to her the length of time she may properly devote to music, for in this respect the people of England err beyond measure, while all their exertions are made for the sake of ostentation." This *Zurich Letter* was not intended for the eyes of the Dorset family, and it cannot be considered at all complimentary to Jane.

The wonderful letters ascribed to this demi-royal lady I pass over; because if they be genuine, of which there is considerable doubt, it would be impossible to separate the productions of the pupil from the corrections of the master. Sir Harris Nicholas, who has investigated the matter most thoroughly, assures us that there is no ground whatever for most of the marvellous stories which have been narrated of Lady Jane. He doubts, and with reason, her extensive knowledge of Greek. A young lady who devoted so much time to dress, and to the study of music "for ostentation," could not spare much leisure for the classics.

The deaths of Jane's two uncles on the same day, of the plague, raised her father and mother to the rank of Duke and Duchess of Suffolk. A severe illness of the new duchess called Lady Jane to her sick-chamber at Richmond; but though apparently sick unto death, she recovered. One longs to know whether Jane roamed through the spacious apartments of this newly-acquired monastic property. If so she must have met a sight appalling to any one who possessed the slightest nobility of soul. When her father became owner of this supposed monastery he found, probably in one of the side chapels, the embalmed and unburied body of poor James IV. of Scotland, killed at Flodden Field. Instead of giving decent burial to the remains of this brave and unfortunate monarch, who was moreover his wife's uncle by marriage, the newly-made duke permitted the body to be thrown into an old lumber-room, among timber, lead, and other rubbish; in which state Stowe saw it, as he informs us in his *Survey of London.* Jane was old enough to feel rightly about the indignity put upon the fallen warrior. If she expressed her feelings it would probably have availed nothing, for her parents were thoroughly base and unprincipled.

From Jane's childhood, she had much intercourse with her royal cousin, the Princess Mary. Mary was exceedingly kind to the younger branches of the royal family. In her accounts are several entries of presents to "my cousin Jane," who paid many visits to her formidable kinswoman during the latter years of her life. Sometimes when the whole family of the Greys, consisting of father, mother, and three daughters, visited the princess, the Lady Jane remained with her after the departure of the rest. At the Christmas of 1551, festivities were kept up in Jane's family for nearly a month, during which the Greys hired players for the entertainment

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of their guests. Jane made all these "progresses" on horseback; and they must have left her scant leisure for Plato. In the spring of 1552, she suffered from severe illness.

On her recovery she began anew her correspondence with the Swiss Reformers, and sent a present of gloves and a ring to the lady who was styled by courtesy Madame Bullinger. In the summer of 1552 Jane visited her royal kinsman, Edward VI., but, though he received her kindly, he was as blind to her charms as ever. Later on she paid a visit to her cousin, the Princess Mary, who presented her with a rich dress. "What shall I do with it?" asked Jane of the lady who brought it. "Marry," replied the messenger, "wear it, to be sure." "Nay," returned the little hypocrite, "that would be a shame to follow the Lady Mary who leaveth God's word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth who followeth God's word."[1] Jane knew perfectly well what the Lady Elizabeth was; and the Princess Mary was, perhaps, the only woman of principle and uprightness with whom she was acquainted. But Mary was suffering grievous persecution for her faith at this period, and Jane, mean little creature that she was, found it perfectly safe to strike one who was already under a cloud.

Another incident gives one a still worse impression of the character of Jane. While she was on a visit to the Princess Mary, Lady Wharton, a Catholic, in passing before the chapel door, paused to make a genuflection before the Blessed Sacrament. Lady Jane, who knew very well why her Catholic companion bowed, asked "if the princess were in the chapel," and on receiving a negative reply, said, "Why, then, do you courtesy?" "I courtesy to Him that made me," was the natural reply of Lady Wharton. "Nay," retorted Lady Jane, "but did not the baker make Him?"

One of Jane's panegyrists—she has had no biographers—calls this a "lively sally." The wit of this "sally" is within the compass of the intellect of an ordinary child of six; the blasphemy is revolting, and argues an irreligious mind. The impoliteness of insulting Mary's religion in her own house is a poor proof of Jane's "extreme amiability."[2] If Jane, in her numerous visits to her connections, could deport herself in no better style than this, it is no longer surprising that, in her hour of need, she found herself friendless. She must have had a peculiar talent for making enemies.

These anecdotes are recorded to Jane's credit; but to appreciate rightly the audacity of that young woman, insulting in a most uncalled-for manner a royal kinswoman, double her age, and her hostess, we must not view the hapless Mary Tudor by the lurid glare of the Smithfield fires. At this period Mary was known only

[1] Aylmer.

[2] Burke's Men and Women of the Reformation, vol. ii.

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for her virtues. Amid the most extraordinary and heart-rending trials and temptations that ever beset a royal maiden, she had led a life of unswerving integrity, almost every day of which was marked by acts of kindness and beneficence. It is said that Mary, having heard these "precious anecdotes," never after loved her cousin Jane as before. Very likely; how could she love or respect a young woman who repaid her princely hospitality with gratuitous insults to the faith for which she had suffered, and was still suffering, bitter persecutions, and for which she would have deemed it an honor to shed her blood?[1]

The miserable reign of Edward VI. was now drawing to a close. Edward Seymour had followed his brother to the block, the first and last victim of an iniquitous law which he himself had made. Jane's father joined the dominant party, now headed by the clever, crafty, and unscrupulous Dudley, who like his predecessor helped himself to a dukedom, and is historically known as Northumberland. Jane's family removed to the neighborhood of the court. They lived partly at Sheen and partly at Gray's Inn, the former being contiguous to Lion House, the favorite country residence of the new duke. As the Seymours were in disgrace since the violent death of the Protector, it is not probable that young Hertford renewed his proposals for the hand of Jane; neither would her parents have bestowed her on the impoverished heir of a fallen house. She was now in her eighteenth year. It became expedient to dispose of her in marriage, and her parents' choice fell on Guilford Dudley, a youth of nineteen or twenty,[2] the only unmarried son of Northumberland.

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[1] The above story is related by Fox, Strype, and Speed. Aylmer, when he became one of Elizabeth's bishops, relates the former in his "*Harboran for Faithful True Subjects.*" He tells another precious story in the same. Speaking of the visit of Mary of Lorraine, Queen-Regent of Scotland, in November, 1551, during which Jane appeared at court, with her mother, in great splendor of attire, he insinuates that the beauty and rich apparel of the blooming dowager, and her train of Scotch and French ladies, wrought a complete revolution in the already too magnificent appointments of the English belles; and he adds that the Princess Elizabeth was the only lady about the court who was not carried away by this evil example. "So that all the ladies went with their hair frounced, curled, and double curled, except the Lady Elizabeth, who altered nothing, but kept her old shamefacedness." The truth is, the Queen-Regent having just lost her son, was attired from head to foot in the deepest mourning, as were also her ladies, their very faces muffled in black, according to the lugubrious etiquette of the French court at that period. And Elizabeth, not relishing the contingency that the ladies of the Grey family might take precedence of her on a state occasion, did not come near her brother's court during the stay of his distinguished guest.

[2] Guilford's elder brother, Robert, is said to have been born at the same day and hour as Queen Elizabeth, which Camden attributes to a mysterious conjunction of their planets. If this be correct, and if it be certain that Guilford was the youngest son of his parents, he could not have been twenty, as Miss Strickland states, when he was married to Jane, May, 1553. He is the founder in Christian countries of the heathen

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It is said that Jane positively refused to become the bride of this ill-mannered boy, and consented only when her father and mother beat her into a reluctant compliance. From the few particulars we have of her life, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that she possessed no firmness of character, and could be beaten or scolded into anything. She was not even free to marry young Dudley, being legally contracted to another; and if she had possessed a tithe of the virtue attributed to her, she would have suffered death rather than break her faith to the man to whom she had plighted it, and who actually *was* her husband according to the law of God, insomuch that Queen Mary subsequently treated her marriage with Guilford as a nullity.

On Whitsunday, 1553, Jane Grey became Lady Dudley. At the same time her sister Catharine was married to Lord Herbert, and her sister Mary solemnly betrothed to her kinsman, Lord Grey, of Wilton. Both lords deserted their ladies. These luckless marriages were celebrated with extraordinary pomp, much to the annoyance of the populace, who evidently thought such gorgeous nuptial festivities in very bad taste, it being known that their young king, who was related to almost all the contracting parties, was then in a dying condition. It is said that, ill as he was, he did not forget to order the master of his wardrobe to deliver a wedding present to the young bride, who did not object to it as on a former occasion, though it consisted of apparel far richer than that which the Lady Mary had given her out of her poverty. The dying monarch's gift was an ominous one. Cloth of gold and silver, jewels, rich tissues, all from the forfeited effects of Jane's murdered father-in-law, and her imprisoned mother-in-law, the late Duke, and the Duchess of Somerset. Among the manors and domains granted her was one equally ill-omened, Stanfield Hall, from the church tower of which swayed the blackened corpse of Kett, the Hospital Monk,[1] hung in chains, after being dipped in pitch to preserve it, and clothed in the monastic habit. This frightful memento of the ruin of a religious house, oscillating forever in the wind, must have been a weird spectacle for a youthful bride. We soon find Jane with her mother at Sheen, also a suppressed monastery.

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practice of calling people by surnames in preference to Christian names. I believe this custom is confined to English-speaking countries. Yet it was only because Northumberland could not mate his son Guilford with Lady Margaret Clifford that he selected for him a daughter of the aspiring house of Grey; the title to the royal succession being considered better than that of Jane Grey's mother and family, as her (Margaret's) mother, Lady Eleanor Brandon, was not born till after the deaths of the ladies whom Charles Brandon styled his spouses, previous to his lofty, but unlawful, alliance with Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

[1] The body of the brave monk, William Kett, dangled from the highest tower of his monastic church till the day of Queen Elizabeth's death, March 25th, 1603.

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The amiable lady[1] who has written so eloquently of the loveliness of Jane's character in domestic life, has not failed to inform us that she was at continual variance with the members of her own family. The case was not altered when marriage removed the young lady to the midst of a new family. The same authority[2] informs us, not noticing the inconsistency of her statements, that Jane "had a deep dislike to her husband's father and mother; she dreaded and distrusted the one, and abhorred the other;" feelings which a person eminent for "holiness," or "extreme amiability," certainly would not have entertained. Indeed, we have this under Jane's own hand, in a letter to Queen Mary:

"The Duchess of Northumberland promised me, at my nuptials with her son, that she would be contented if I remained at home with my mother. Soon after, my husband being present, she declared 'that it was publicly said there was no hope of the king's life' (and this was the first time I heard of the matter); and further observed to her husband, 'that I ought not to leave her house,' adding, 'that when it pleased God to call King Edward to His mercy, I ought to hold myself in readiness, as I might be required to go to the Tower, since His Majesty had made me his heir.' These words, told me offhand and without preparation, agitated my soul and for a time seemed to stupefy me. Yet they afterwards seemed to me exaggerated, and to mean little but boasting, and by no means of consequence sufficient to keep me from going to my mother." Jane evidently resisted the entreaties of her mother-in-law, for she proceeds: "The duchess was enraged against me, and said that 'it was my duty, at all events, to remain near my husband, from whom I should *not* go.' Not venturing to disobey her, I remained at her house four or five days;" a great concession, considering that these domestic altercations took place during the honeymoon. She carried out her own will as to leaving her mother-in-law, for we find her in Chelsea a little later, and dangerously ill.

Meanwhile the king, whose death was hourly expected, expired on the 6th of July, the anniversary of the judicial murder of the greatest layman of the age, Sir Thomas More. The royal boy, at the dictation of the plotters by whom he was surrounded, left the crown to Lady Jane Dudley, entirely passing over her mother, Frances Brandon, through whom Jane derived her royal descent from Henry VII. and Elizabeth, heiress of the brilliant house of York. Why the Lady Frances was thus set aside in favor of her daughter, no historian has adequately explained. The death of the king was concealed for four days, and on the 10th of July, Jane, having come by water to the Tower, was there publicly received

[1] Miss Strickland. [2] Ibid.

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as queen. At Lion House she had already received the homage of her parents, of the father and mother of her husband, and of several members of the council. Ridley, the usurping Bishop of London, harangued the populace at St. Paul's Cross on the illegitimacy of the sisters of the deceased king, and the blessings likely to result to the country from the prospective reign of Jane Dudley. But his bold and eloquent words evoked no enthusiastic response in the multitude. Their hearts were with the persecuted heiress of the crown, not with the triumphant Grey and Dudley factions.

Meanwhile, Mary Tudor, whose life had been heretofore so retiring, so gentle, so benevolent, now that she had a right to maintain, showed the lion-like spirit of her sturdy race. Her proceedings in this most critical conjuncture evince extraordinary courage and prudence. She fled towards Cambridgeshire with her retinue, and was sheltered by the hospitable Huddlestones during the first night of her perilous queenship. Her enemies were on her track. Early next morning, but not before she had assisted at Mass, Mary journeyed towards her house at Kenninghall, some say in the disguise of a market woman. On turning her steed to cast a last look on the hospitable roof that had sheltered her, the venerable pile burst into flames in her sight. Her enemies thought the fugitive heiress was within the walls. "Let it blaze away," said Mary, "I will build Huddleston, a better house." The present stately mansion, Sawston Hall, built at her expense, remains to prove how magnificently Queen Mary kept her promise, and how grateful she was to the friends of her adversity.

The measures taken by the new sovereign from this time until she displayed her royal standard from the towers of Framlingham Castle, are matters of general history. "Had Elizabeth been the heroine of this enterprise instead of Mary," says Miss Strickland, "it would have been lauded to the skies as one of the grandest efforts of female courage and ability the world had ever known. And so it was," the same lady generously adds, "whether it be praised or not."

All authorities, or nearly all, assert that Jane received the news of her elevation with anything but exultation. In the letter which she wrote to excuse her conduct to Queen Mary, she asserts the same, though she admits that she at once (having recovered from her very natural surprise), accepted the position, saying: "If to succeed be indeed my duty and my right, God will aid me to govern the realm to His glory." Jane threw all the blame on her mother-in-law, which was rather ungenerous, as that lady's husband had just had his head cut off at the time Jane wrote. Sharon Turner will not acquit her of all blame. "Jane Grey had descended," says he, "from her social probity to take a royalty which was another's

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inheritance, and although importunity had extorted her acquiescence, yet her first reluctance gave testimony even to herself, that she had not erred in ignorance of what was right; and no one but herself could know how much the temptation of the offered splendor had operated beyond the solicitation, to seduce her to accept what she ought to have continued to refuse."[1]

When it is remembered that Jane was educated to become a queen-consort, that she knew that by the will of Henry VIII., only Mary and Elizabeth, last surviving members of a short-lived family,[2] stood between her and the crown, it is very difficult to believe in the ignorance of the laws which she pleads when she endeavors to shirk responsibility of her doings as "Nine Days' Queen," on the shoulders of her aiders and abettors. I cannot see that Jane, judged by her actions, ever rises above the commonplace, though she sometimes falls below it. I say nothing here of her personal ingratitude towards Queen Mary. An honorable woman would lay her head on the block, rather than be guilty of that execrable vice.

The public occurrences of the *nine days*, are recorded in general history; the private life of Queen Jane was disturbed by the extravagance of her husband, who insisted on being crowned king. Jane soothed him by promising to make him king by act of Parliament, which it appears she had no notion of doing. She told two of her council next day, that she was willing to make her husband a duke, but not a king. Guilford however swore he would be no duke, but King of England. He was actually called *King Guilford* by his own faction, and in several foreign dispatches. It appears by her letter already referred to, that King Guilford "struck her, and swore at her on several occasions;" also that she was "*maltreated*" by his mother. This unfortunate young woman seems to have been utterly incapable of winning the respect or affection of those about her. Not one of her cabinet remained loyal to her, while her much maligned rival was followed by many thousands who served her cause at their own expense. To add to her difficulties, the King Guilford business was making her ridiculous. Part of her brief queenship was spent upon a sick-bed, poisoned, as she charitably suggests, by her unbeloved mother-in-law. In common justice it must be remembered, that the Dudleys and others about whom Jane speaks and writes with such unchristian bitterness,[3] have never had any opportunity of repeating *their* version of the story.

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[1] History of Edward and Mary.

[2] All the Tudors, except Elizabeth, died in their prime.

[3] In the succeeding reign, the enemies of Jane's brother-in-law, Robert Dudley, the most favored among the paramours of Elizabeth the Unclean, used to say that "he was son of a duke, brother of a *king* (Guilford), grandson of an esquire who was put to

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The following is the cautious and accurate Lingard's estimate of the Epiphany Queen:

"Jane has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents, addicted to the study of the Scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the Reformed preachers. . . . Modern writers have attributed to her much, of which she seems to be ignorant herself. The beautiful language which they put into her mouth, her forcible reasoning in favor of the claim of Mary, her philosophic contempt for the splendors of royalty, her refusal to accept a crown which was not her right, and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents, must be considered as the fictions of historians, who, in their zeal to exalt the character of their heroine, seem to have forgotten that she was only sixteen years of age."[1]

We could wish to make this article exhaustive, but the space at our disposal forbids, and we must pass over the better known incidents of the "nine days." What need to give in full the lengthy proclamation in which "Jane, by the grace of God, Queen," sets forth her titles and her claims? Was she not rather like her ancestress, Eleanor of Aquitaine, "queen by the wrath of God?" Mary put down the rebellion almost without a blow. Her illustrious grandmother, Isabella the Catholic, could not have adopted a more prompt, vigorous, and merciful policy. For her future disquiet, she forgave almost every one concerned in the late plot to effect her ruin. Even Jane's father, who had borne arms against her, Jane's mother, who had held up the train of her usurping daughter, Jane's Lord Chancellor, Goodrich,[2] who had sent her an insolent message during his brief tenure of office under Jane, all were pardoned. True, "Guilford Dudley and his wife" were tried, and pleaded guilty in the historic Guildhall, but it was understood that Jane would never have to pay the penalty of her treasons.

Charles V. advised his cousin to allow the law to take its course, but Mary replied, "that she could not find it in her heart to put her unfortunate cousin to death." The Queen whose clemency was so ill-requited added, that Jane had been but a puppet in the hands of Northumberland, and, knowing well that Jane had been compelled to marry a man with whom she never could be happy,

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death as an extortioner, great grandson of a carpenter; the carpenter was the only honest man in the family, and the only one who died in his bed." Despite her many promises of marriage to Leicester, it was said, and it proved true, that Elizabeth would never marry so mean a peer as Robin Dudley, noble only in two descents, and both of them stained with the block. This Dudley lived to have several wives, two of them simultaneously, whom he facetiously styled his Old and New Testaments. Guilford Dudley's family was infinitely beneath the family of Jane Grey.

[1] Lingard's History of England, vol. vi.

[2] Lives of English Chancellors, Campbell, vol. ii.

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took the earliest opportunity of asserting that she could not legally be Dudley's[1] wife, as she had been validly contracted to another. In fact, it was not possible that Mary could do more in favor of her rival than she did. Jane's prison was a palace; she was allowed to recreate in the queen's gardens; and even on Tower Hill her friends might have free access to her. The Harleian chronicler records that he dined in her company, in the rooms of the lieutenant, on which occasion she remarked, with good reason: "The queen's majesty is a merciful princess." Her remarks on her father-in-law were not so edifying. His head had fallen from the scaffold a week previously, "but," says Miss Strickland, "she had not yet forgiven him."

Jane's father, with his brothers, Lords Thomas and John Grey, were soon again in arms against the sovereign who had so recently pardoned them. Suffolk attempted to purchase his own pardon by betraying his friends and even his own brother. But he had put it out of the queen's power to pardon him now, and his daughter, who had been a sort of hostage for his loyalty, shared his ruin. Mary's councillors declared that revolt and insurrection would never cease while her rival lived, and Mary was persuaded to sign the death-warrant of "Guilford Dudley and his wife."

Feckenham procured a respite of three days. Guilford desired to see his wife, a wife who was to cost that aspiring youth his head; the queen consented, but Jane declined. I would like her better if she had gratified his last expressed wish, for it may be that he wanted to ask her pardon for "the blows and curses" with which he had afflicted her during the eight or nine weeks of their married life, previous to their imprisonment. But even misfortune awakened neither affection nor sympathy in this ill-matched pair, at least not in Jane.

Feckenham, "the amiable abbot,"[2] whose charity to the poor "allured the minds of his adversaries to benevolence,"[3] came to the Tower to console the last days of this unhappy woman. She accepted his ministrations, thanked him for his kindness and hu-

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[1] Guilford Dudley, with his brothers, John, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, was confined in the Beauchamp Tower, a military structure of the 12th century. They were allowed to take exercise on the leads, and, except in case of Guilford, their wives had access to them. Robert's wife was the celebrated Amy Robsart, whom Scott has immortalized in Kenilworth. In the prison-room occurs twice the name JANE, written, perhaps, by one of the Dudleys who suffered so much in her cause. It is said to be the only memorial of Lady Jane preserved in the Tower. As, however, Jane was not beloved by her husband or his family, it is just possible that the name JANE was inscribed by Guilford, in memory of his mother, whose name was Jane, and who passionately loved her tall, handsome, youngest son. The monument of this lady is still to be seen in Chelsea Church.

[2] Froude.

[3] Camden. Feckenham died in prison for his faith, in the reign of Elizabeth.

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manity, and even embraced the venerable divine[1] on the scaffold, but I deem it impossible to say in what phase of Protestantism she died. She had been made a widow about an hour before her death. Crucifix in hand, Feckenham stood by her side to the last. Jane wore a black cloth and velvet costume of great elegance. She addressed a few words to the spectators, saying that she most justly deserved the punishment she was about to receive, for allowing herself, although unwilling, to be the instrument of the ambition of others. She confessed that "when she knew the word of God she neglected it, and loved herself and the world," and thanked Him that He had given her a respite to repent. Having asked the prayers of the people, she suffered her two maids to remove her outer robe, while she herself tied a "fair handkerchief" before her eyes and besought the executioner to dispatch her quickly. She had just repeated the psalm, *Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy.* She now felt for the block, saying, "*Where is it? What shall I do?*" and, being guided to the spot, knelt down and cried out: "*Lord! into Thy hands I commend my spirit.*" She laid her head on the block, but the five minutes allowed for "royal mercy"—a period of horrible suspense—elapsed before the powerful headsman did the deed of blood. At one blow her head was severed from her body, about noon, February 12th, 1554. Guilford, whom she had married eight or nine months previously, was beheaded on Tower Hill; Jane, on account of her royal descent, suffered on the green[2] within the Tower. Both were buried in the church close by, between the mangled forms of Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard.

Thus perished, at the age of eighteen, the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, "through her own want of firmness in the first instance,"[3] and in the second place, as Stowe justly says, "for fear of further troubles and stir for her title." No human person can read her sad story without sympathy and regret. It is hard to think, even after three centuries, of the fair head of a girl of eighteen years rolling from the scaffold. I think Queen Mary regretted the political necessity more than the parents and sisters of the victim; though that princess was not one to feel *repentant* for doing what she deemed to be her duty. The weird stories of the bleeding form of Jane haunting the royal pillow of her successful rival have their source in some lively imagination. Mary was sorry for

[1] Bishop Godwin.

[2] The precise spot, nearly opposite the door of St. Peter's Chapel, is indicated by a large oval of dark flints. Here, too, Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard had been murdered. The instrument used at Jane's execution is shown. See Bayley's History of the Tower of London.

[3] Flanagan's History of the Church of England, vol. ii.

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will be found to be absolutely no room left for the operation of other causes! The reason is, that each of these masters of the philosophy of history is more than honest in assigning a specific influence to the Church, in order to wing his hostile shaft with a show of impartiality. The result is, that the aggregate effect of this politic generosity is wholly to preclude the concurrence of those natural factors which we all know played prominent parts in the progress of civilization.

These theories of civilization all gain in attractiveness and repute, in proportion as they wear the livery of heterodoxy. The degree of departure from Catholic truth, constitutes the measure of the ability which they severally display. Conspicuous among those engaged in the task of distorting facts to the prejudice of Catholicity, is M. Guizot. Too consummate an artist not to recognize that it is *from* the true purpose of misrepresentation to bestow unqualified censure upon that which he would attack, he adroitly and skilfully insinuates, here and there, among the encomiums which he pays the Church, masterly and delicate touches which, well worked up, develop, by a seemingly fair process, into the grand *denouement* which he has had ever in view, viz., that out of the needs and shortcomings of Catholicity, was normally evolved Protestantism. We desire here to draw attention to one of these preparations for the attainment of his brilliant climax.

He says:

"All this seemed greatly in favor of the Church, of its unity, and of its power. While, however, the popes of Rome sought to usurp the government of the world, while the monasteries enforced a better code of morals and a severer form of discipline, a few mighty, though solitary individuals, protested in favor of human reason, and asserted its claim to be heard, its right to be consulted, in the formation of man's opinions. The greater part of these philosophers forbore to attack commonly received opinions—I mean religious creeds; all they claimed for human reason was the right to be heard—all they declared was, that she had the right to try these truths by her own tests, and that it was not enough that they should be merely affirmed by authority. John Erigena, or John Scotus, as he is more frequently called, Roscelin, Abelard, and others, became the noble interpreters of individual reason, when it now began to claim its lawful inheritance. It was the teaching and writings of these giants of their days that first put in motion that desire for intellectual liberty, which kept pace with the reform of Gregory VII. and St. Bernard. If we examine the general character of this movement of mind, we shall find that it sought not a change of opinion, that it did not array itself against the received system of faith; but that it simply advocated the right of reason to work for itself—in short, the right of free inquiry. . . . . The importance of this first attempt after liberty, or this re-birth of the spirit of free inquiry, was not long in making itself felt. Though busied with its own reform, the Church soon took the alarm, and at once declared war against these new reformers, *whose methods gave it more reason to fear than their doctrines.*" Pp. 147–8.

Guizot here intimates that not only does the Church require our belief in her dogmas, but that, in outrageous violation of the freedom of thought, she prescribes the very operations of the mind in as-

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senting thereto, and in comprehending them; that she furnishes the very logic by which we are bound to harmonize them with the relations of the natural order; that she enjoins upon us the principles upon which rest their reciprocal dependence; that she reprobates the practice of using other methods, even though they should lead to orthodox results; and, in fine, that she authoritatively maps out all the highways, byways, lanes, and footpaths of the whole domain of thought, so as wholly to preclude all originality or progress in the natural order. He charges that it was the exercise of reason otherwise than in the approved grooves, and not merely the perversion of essential doctrines, which she feared. He contends that the Church discountenanced and feared any departure from the set canons of logic, however innocent of heresy or of schism such a course might be. To judge from Guizot's portrayal of the character of this intellectual movement, one would presume that a philosopher, in the middle ages—or, by implication now—dared not propound to himself a speculative problem, such as: Given certain established principles of the natural order, what is the conformity of the philosophic result with a certain dogma? but, that dogma, philosophic result, and mode of attaining that result were alike given by the Church, and to be followed by the faithful, under peril of temporal and eternal damnation.

In refutation of Guizot's skilfully preferred declaration, that Erigena, Roscelin, and Abelard "forbore to attack commonly received opinions—I mean religious creeds;" that they "sought not a change of opinion," and "did not array" themselves "against the received system of faith;" Balmes adduces evidence to the contrary, so conclusive that Guizot's knowledge of history can only be vindicated at the expense of his good faith. Balmes shows, beyond all possibility of question, that these individuals held and maintained doctrines which were in direct and unmistakable conflict with the most salient dogmas of the faith; and that it was for stolidly persisting in the dissemination of these errors, and for that alone, for which they were condemned. Erigena broached and maintained erroneous doctrines on the subject of the Eucharist, of predestination, and of grace. Roscelin called into question the sacred mystery of the Trinity. Abelard held and maintained the opinions of Arius on the Trinity; those of Nestorius on the Incarnation; and those of Pelagius on grace. "All this," says Balmes, "did not merely *tend* to a radical change of doctrine, but actually was one."

The *gravamen* of Guizot's charge is plainly expressed in the sentence wherein he says, their "methods gave her (the Church) more reason to fear than their doctrines." Now, the Church proscribes no method. Methods rise and fall in the Church, as elsewhere;

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spring into existence, coexist, attain to greater or less influence, and fall into desuetude. The history of the Catholic Church is a history of methods, and, in this *Review*, even, can be discerned the impress, respectively, of the scholastic, Platonic, and modern or so-called scientific method. The Platonic, the neo-Platonic, the scholastic, the "scientific," with all their countless shades and modifications, have ruled and swayed the intellects of the Church. The beauty of Catholic thought is, that having fixed principles of belief, it is able, upon any method, to attain to a scientific coherency impossible with those beaten about by the waves of thought which ever threaten submersion, when not regulated by some compass or rudder. It has been asserted that the belief in revelation, and in the authority of the Church, restricts and cramps the exercise of the intellect. With equal propriety could it be alleged that the use of the compass militates against the operation of the laws of the elements. Thought is not the less free because it is enlightened.

The Church requires the acceptance of the *credenda;* but it matters not to her whether the dogmas essential to salvation are received in gross, or whether they are marshalled in conformity with analytic, synthetic, "scientific," or other views of philosophy. True it is, she at times favors the pursuance of a special method; but she condemns none. Truth is one; and the very fact that a course constitutes a method, implies that it possesses some of the coherency and consistency of truth. If, then, the principles which give body and form to a method are examined and followed out, the result must be the confirmation of Catholic doctrine.

A variety of methods now obtain in the Church, and coexist with perfect harmony of belief. The motto of the Church is, "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas.*" One school comprises those who contend that our general ideas are furnished by the mind alone; that they are directly seen by the mind, and are acquired neither through the senses nor by reflection. The genius of this school is synthetic, and deeming itself endowed, *a priori*, with principles which underlie all knowledge, it regards as feasible the scientific explication of the nexus subsisting between the natural and the supernatural, and the formation of the two orders and their mutual relations into a synthetic whole. Those of another school declare that the natural intellect cannot acquire ideas independently of sensation. They contend that, as our modes of thought, criteria, and canons of logic, are the outcome of the natural order, they can acquaint us with the supernatural only in distinct and separate sections, and not to the extent necessary to enable us to embrace it within a synthesis, or to apprehend, scientifically, the nature of the nexus which binds the whole. They concede that the Creator's works form a complete and harmonious whole, and that the natu-

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ral has its complement or fulfilment in the supernatural. They contend, however, that it is impossible to gauge the relations of the two orders with anything like precision; and deny that the knowledge of the supernatural is susceptible of a continual and indefinite progress, corresponding with the advancement of our knowledge of philosophy.

Although these methods, as above given, are not in perfect harmony with the prevailing tone of philosophic thought in the Church, they are yet permissible. The Church has ever deemed it wise and just to refrain from any condemnation of a method, however much it may fail to chime in with the views of the major portion of her doctors. If, however, the method tolerated works out a result in conflict with any portion of her sacred deposit of truth, she visits with her censure the incongruous product; but leaves the rest of the method as much intact as is compatible with the truncation of its condemned corollary. This policy is impartially extended to the method for which she may display a preference. It is not the exercise of the intellect in a manner productive of heretical results which the Church visits with her censure. It is the promulgation of the resultant fallacy, with a view to disturb the convictions of the faithful, which constitutes the offence.

In pursuance of his answer to Guizot, Balmes says:

"Still the same confusion of ideas. I have said already, and must repeat here that the Church has condemned no method; it was not a *method*, but error, that the Church condemned, unless by a method be meant an assault upon the articles of faith, under pretence of breaking the fetters of authority, which is not merely a method, but an error of the very highest import. In reproving a pernicious doctrine, subversive of all faith, and denying the infallibility of the See of St. Peter in matters of doctrine, the Church did not put forth any new pretensions; her conduct has always been the same ever since the time of the apostles, and is the same still. The moment a doctrine is propagated that appears in the least degree dangerous, the Church examines, compares it with the sacred deposit of faith confided to her: if the doctrine is not inconsistent with divine truth, she allows it free circulation, for she is not ignorant that *God has given up the world to the controversies of men;* but if it is opposed to the faith, its condemnation is irremissible, without concern or regret. Were the Church to act otherwise, she would contradict herself, and cease to be what she is, the jealous depository of divine truth. If she allowed her infallible authority to be questioned, that moment she would forget one of her most sacred obligations, and would lose all claim on our belief; for, in betraying an indifference for truth, she would prove herself to be no longer a religion descended from Heaven, but a mere delusion."

The most telling commentary upon Guizot's charge is, that the method for the alleged suppression of which he arraigns the Church, is the very method which has been incorporated into her philosophy, and to which she has extended her greatest favors. Those "solitary, though mighty individuals," were not the inaugurators of this mode of thought. Erigena lived in the ninth century, wherein philosophy was a strange compound of Grecian eclecticism and

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Christian ideas, with Platonism acting the *rôle* of a co-ordinating principle. Erigena differed with his contemporaries in no respect, save in his heterodox conclusions. The succeeding century was the darkest period of ignorance, during the middle ages. In the eleventh century, in which Roscelin and Abelard flourished, this method of thought had sprung into existence, challenged the attention of the Doctors of the Church, and commanded the sympathies of hundreds of the faithful, long before Roscelin or Abelard made their entrance on the intellectual arena. The process of reasoning which it inculcated, had been imported from Spain into Catholic Europe, by the perusal of the writings of Averroes, Avicenna, and other Moorish philosophers, who had displayed a dialectical superiority over their Christian adversaries by reason of the consistency and beauty of their philosophy. In Roscelin and Abelard's time, however, the introduction of this mode of thought was not complete, but formed only an ingredient in a bizarre mixture of incongruous methods, which were eminently calculated to lead to erroneous results. This method, which Guizot so much lauds, was, and is, none other than the Aristotelian philosophy which, at the epoch in question, was fast attaining to the reputation in which the Church afterwards held it. It is, indeed, the identical method which, for nearly three centuries, has constituted the stock reproach to the Church. Starting with the Stagyrite, it found a congenial home with those consummate mathematicians, the Arabians. It was the efficient means by which the Moors were enabled to attain to such progress in the natural sciences. Among the Catholics, its reception was first hailed with pleasure by those engaged in physical investigations. St. Thomas Aquinas, himself brought up in the physical school under the direction of Albertus Magnus, demonstrated its almost infinite capabilities by using it for the elaboration of Catholic doctrine into a symmetrical whole. In the works of the Angelic Doctor it found its crowning result; and this very method to which Guizot would have us believe the Church was instinctively and irreconcilably averse, shared with the Holy Scriptures the honor of informing the conscience of the Council of Trent.

To this method is ascribable whatever of truth or value appears in the labors of Leibnitz, Descartes, Bacon, Locke, and the modern scientists. It is a fact which cannot be disguised, that whenever science departs from its true paths, the departure is in a direct ratio with the relinquishment of this method. Platonic ideas then crop out, and truth suffers in proportion.

History proves, beyond a reasonable doubt, that this philosophical method which has prevailed in the Church for nearly eight centuries, has conclusively established its applicability to every department of thought. The possession of a suitable method, how-

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ever, is not sufficient. A knowledge of the field to which it is to be applied is equally necessary. It must be admitted that here, in America, our acquaintance with the prevailing controversies is not commensurate with the efficiency of our method. It becomes incumbent on us to guard vigilantly against the springing up of a literature and mode of thought tinctured with modern infidelity. We are all aware how the small Catholic representation we have had in English-speaking countries, for the last three centuries, has suffered the dissemination of prejudices hostile to our religion. We are all sensible of the Augean task involved in the dissipation of that evil. Now, this taint, with which English and American literature has been sullied by Protestant misrepresentation, must not be allowed to repeat itself in another shape.

The numberless discoveries now being made in the natural sciences are opening up before us wide vistas of thought, in which those bent on tracing a want of harmony between science and religion, are allowed to disport themselves without control or hindrance, and to misinterpret every phenomenon into an argument in favor of infidelity. These men stand at the portals of science, and brand with their pernicious stamp every fact as it is developed. They even levy contributions upon the rich treasures of intellectual gold stored amid the tomes of the middle ages; and surreptitiously convert them into the current coin of the age, whilst affecting to hold them in supreme contempt. The evil is spreading here in America, silently and slowly, but most extensively. In Europe, the expression of disbelief is, in some degree, a measure of its extent. But in this country it is otherwise. The affected deference to religious prejudices, and absence of the spirit of proselytism—which are said to be characteristic of the movement—obtain here more fully. This only increases the danger. There is scarce an intellectual coterie in America in which it is not possible for a person conversant with the signs of the times, to discern the extent of the ravages of this deadly gangrene.

Now, this intellectual activity must not be allowed to pursue the false direction which it is taking. The antidote must be made to develop concurrently with the bane. To our mind, there exists an imperious necessity for the cultivation, in our seminaries, of the mathematical and physical sciences. There is no need, or occasion, for anything like a change in the method at present prevailing in the Church. That method is the daughter of the natural sciences, and nowhere has it found a more congenial field of action than amid questions akin to those which at present agitate society. Change it not; but extend its application to the complexion of the present time. Let it be recognized that the site of the battle-field has been shifted. Let it be remembered that the intellectual activity of the

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Church has ever manifested itself in the direction whence the attack came. This has been evident in every age; in the time of St. Thomas, when a spurious Aristotelianism was threatening the faithful; and especially at the epoch of the Reformation. The Society of Jesus then appeared on the scene, and combated the evil with the very means by which it was propagated. How far the methods adopted by the Jesuits point the moral indicated in this article, we prefer to let Balmes and Macaulay show.

Balmes says, p. 269:

"When we fix our attention on the institute of the Jesuits, on the time of its foundation, on the rapidity and greatness of its progress, we find the important truth which I have before pointed out more and more confirmed, viz., that the Catholic Church, with wonderful fruitfulness, always furnishes an idea worthy of her to meet all the necessities which arise. Protestantism opposed the Catholic doctrines with the pomp and parade of knowledge and learning; the *éclat* of human literature, the knowledge of languages, the taste for the models of antiquity, were all employed against religion with a constancy and ardor worthy of a better cause. Incredible efforts were made to destroy the pontifical authority. When they could not destroy it they attempted at least to weaken and discredit it. The evil spread with fearful rapidity. The mortal poison already circulated in the veins of a considerable portion of the European nations; the contagion began to be propagated even in countries which had remained faithful to the truth. To complete the misfortune, schism and heresy, traversing the seas, corrupted the faith of the simple neophytes of the New World. What was to be done in such a crisis? Could such great evils be remedied by ordinary means? Was it possible to make head against such great and imminent perils by employing common arms? Was it not proper to make some on purpose for such a struggle, to temper the cuirass and the shield, to fit them for this new kind of warfare, in order that the cause of truth might not appear in the new arena under fatal disadvantages? Who can doubt that the appearance of the Jesuits was the answer to these questions, that their institute was the solution of the problem?

"The spirit of the coming ages was essentially one of scientific and literary progress. The Jesuits were aware of this truth: they perfectly understood it.

"It was necessary to advance with rapidity and never to remain behind. This the new institute does; it takes the lead in all sciences; it allows none to anticipate it. Men study the Oriental languages; they produce great works on the Bible; they search the books of the ancient Fathers, the monuments of tradition and of ecclesiastical decisions; in the midst of this great activity the Jesuits are at their posts; many supereminent works issue from their colleges. The taste for dogmatical controversy is spread over all Europe; many schools preserve and love the scholastic discussions; immortal works of controversy come from the hands of the Jesuits, at the same time they yield to none in skill and penetration in the schools. The mathematics, astronomy, all the natural sciences, make great progress; learned societies are formed in the capitals of Europe to cultivate and encourage them; in these societies the Jesuits figure in the first rank."

Macaulay says, ch. vi.:

"When the Jesuits came to the rescue of the papacy they found it in extreme peril; but from that moment the tide of battle turned. Protestantism, which had, during the whole generation, carried all before it, was stopped in its progress, and rapidly beaten back from the foot of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic. Before the order had existed a hundred years, it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished; none had extended its operations over so vast a space; yet

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in none had there ever been such perfect unity of feeling and action. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or of active life, in which Jesuits were not to be found. They guided the counsels of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motions of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, Alcaic odes, editions of the fathers, madrigals, catechisms, and lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed entirely into their hands, and was conducted by them with conspicuous ability."

In England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, the education of the clergy is fast being regulated with a view to the correction of the crying evil of the day. The necessity becomes the greater here in America, when we recognize the fact that the "Tractarian movement" has not as yet spent itself, but is only in abeyance, awaiting the issue of the conflict between Catholicity and infidelity. There are hundreds who are fully convinced that Protestantism is a failure, both logically and practically, but who shrink from communion with the fold, in fear lest when they resolve one doubt, they shall be confronted with another respecting the creation and moral government of the universe. In this state of hesitancy, one so situated is subjected to influences which insensibly create a bias hostile to religion. Unless he chances to meet with one of those few priests whose intercourse with the current of European thought has led him to the study of these problems, he will probably go away with his doubts undispelled. Not that the priest has not at hand, in the form of principle, the needed remedy, but because the person in doubt requires a specific application of the principle to his own intellectual difficulties. It is true that the errors of "modern thought" are not new. They are, at bottom, nothing more than a revamping of old materialistic heresies under new forms and with a changed terminology, often and long ago exploded; but the necessity of refuting these errors under their new forms and in their relation to the science of the day is not, on this account, the less urgent. What will a consideration of the heresies of the Monophysites, the Eutychians, or the Arians, avail a person confused by the specious doctrines of "modern scientists?" Can he counteract the malaria which everywhere surrounds him, and of whose baneful influence he is only vaguely conscious, by listening to a masterly disquisition upon the pernicious effects of the Manichean heresy? How can tone be given to his mind by a recapitulation of the countless absurdities and evils which emanated from that Pandora box, yclept the Reformation? Of what value to him are those stores of Biblical and Patristic knowledge, which so signally proved their usefulness during and succeeding the Tractarian movement, to dissipate those incipient misgivings which harass and trouble him? No; his ailment, inasmuch as it has taken a different direction, requires a different remedy, having some relation to that which it is designed to correct.

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The Jesuits, we rejoice to see, are evincing their sense of the greatness of the danger. They are systematizing their efforts in this direction, by giving a greater degree of attention to their mathematical and scientific studies. Divers works have of late appeared, written by members of that society, which give assurance that they are as ever on the alert to counteract the bane with its antidote. Their influence is not to be measured merely by the number of their literary productions. They have numberless youths under their care, and we are of the impression that they are assiduously sowing in their minds seed which will produce a rich crop of usefulness.

It has been contended that there is no necessity for any preparation to arrest the oncoming tide of infidelity which apparently threatens to inundate the whole field of science. The reason alleged is, that religion has prescription on her side. She has stood for thousands of years, and has ever formed the substratum upon which morality, society, and government have been built; therefore, the strong presumption of truth is with her, and the *onus probandi* upon her adversaries, and not upon her; that she cannot be required to answer objections, nor can apparent objections be deemed disproofs until, first, infidelity has attained to the breadth, general symmetry, and legitimate synthetical arrangement, which characterizes Christianity; until, second, infidelity has given trustworthy guarantees that it will be able to work good instead of harm, to individuals, to society, and to government; third, until there exists a perfect and unanimous agreement among infidels themselves as to the truth of their doctrines. It is further alleged that, as modern infidelity is professedly founded upon the natural sciences, between which and religion there cannot exist any real incompatibility, all that is required is to let infidelity pursue its course, and it will inevitably work out its own condemnation.

This argument is a strong one, and no opportunity should be lost to press it home with effect. But it must not be forgotten that many of those whom infidelity is silently and imperceptibly contaminating, are incompetent to appreciate the force of an argument which to them is merely technical, and not decisive of the merits. In the interim, whilst availing ourselves of this logical vantage-ground, and awaiting the action of the self-corrective power of advancing science, the infidelity of the age will be perverting minds to such an extent as to render the remedy immeasurably more difficult, if not well-nigh impossible. The enemies of religion are ceaselessly active. Every department of literature is fast acquiring the impress of irreligion. All the hundred special sciences are being cast in its mould. It is not the falsity of alleged facts which constitutes the ground of complaint, nor the suppression of material

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facts. No, infidelity is conversant with a device worth a thousand such. It is the adjustment and marshalling of all the facts in such a way as to point inevitably to the conclusion which these infidels are desirous of establishing. They concern themselves only with their major and minor, and lay little or no stress upon the conclusion; well knowing, able dialecticians as they are, that the less said about the conclusion the better; for the reader, if left to draw the conclusion, will invest it with the greater strength, in return for the compliment to his intellect, implied by the writer leaving to him that slight intellectual exertion. Furthermore, the plan takes well, because it is made to appear that it needs not sophistry or eloquence to draw the inference, but that it is the inevitable result of the remorseless logic and irresistible eloquence of facts.

The infidelity of this age is not aggressive in appearance. It insinuates its ideas with the craft of the serpent. In every form of literature preparation is made for the introduction of the virus. Even police-court reports cannot give an account of proceedings without the use of terms of expression borrowed from the physical sciences, and fraught with disbelief. Everywhere are to be met expressions which carry with them far more than their literal interpretation will bear, and which derive their commentary from the complexion of the times. Other expressions, equally apparently innocent of assertiveness of infidelity, find attrition in the mind with those stored therein before, and the pernicious idea, flashing as a resultant from the impact, is endowed with convincing power, in direct proportion as its factitious relation and designed adjustment has been ingeniously disguised.

Thus it is that the very well-springs of thought are insidiously poisoned. The deadly tincture lurks even amid forms of literature whose innocent and peaceful aspect would seem to preclude the possibility of harm. Criticisms upon painting, poetry, sculpture, architecture, do not escape the infection. The most generous feelings and best instincts of the heart are perverted, and made the agents of their own eradication. Errors are enticingly incrusted with truths, as is the bitter pill with its sugar coating. Novels and romances are prolific of this deadly nightshade. In them are to be found psychological analyses of character which inculcate principles which, though not repulsive in themselves, are yet, by the manner in which they are instilled, susceptible of an easy and unconscious resolution into further utilitarian, necessitarian, and fatalistic principles, which need only other doses of the same too readily furnished pabulum, to develop, and warp the intellect and taint the moral character. In this way, with diabolic cunning, is the individual slowly prepared for the reception of errors which, before, he would have rejected with horror. These wily advocates

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of "modern thought" are too astute to proffer their baneful fruit unheralded. This constitutes the utter absence, in them, of all spirit of proselytism. They plant only the seed in the minds of those they would seduce; they supply it with congenial soil; and they then leave it to its natural growth.

The remedy for this state of affairs is to be found in the scholastic philosophy. The critical genius of that philosophy, and the analytic habits of thought which it engenders, peculiarly fit it for the contest. The infidelity of the present century differs from that of the last century. In the former age, it concerned itself only with attacking and destroying everything which mankind held most dear. In lieu of that which it endeavored to demolish, it had nothing to offer. This fact constituted one of the causes of its ephemeral existence. In this century the needs and wants of the intellect, the craving for something tangible and positive to replace that which is subverted, have been recognized and acted upon. Negations do not satisfy the soul. Mankind are not content with disbelief. They need a system, something in which they can repose faith. Disbelief is unable to stand alone; it needs the support of a complementary belief. It is in the appreciation of this fact that we find the prevailing thirst for systems.

What finer field could there possibly be for the exercise of the analytic genius of the scholastic philosophy, than in the refutation of modern infidelity? Joined to this thought is the consideration that by this dialectical encounter we will be meeting a practical necessity, by creating an intellectual atmosphere that will serve directly as a corrective of the pernicious influences which are insidiously working their way to the souls of thousands whose eternal welfare is thereby endangered.

The present is no time for the construction of a science of the relations between theology and these new departments of knowledge. The natural sciences are not as yet ripe for such a step. Even if they were, policy would dictate that we should not so meet the attacks of the enemy. The aggressive or analytic mode of warfare is preferable to the defensive or synthetic mode. It is more in harmony with the tone of our philosophy, and is more efficient. For, when synthesis is opposed to synthesis, the blow which the weaker receives is by comparison only, and not direct; and therefore is not effective. Besides, acting on the defensive involves the necessity of defining our position with respect to every mushroom hypothesis with which our adversaries insult the name of science. If we fail in establishing the harmony, by reason of the invalidity of the hypothesis, religion has to shoulder the evil effects incident to the failure. If we appear to succeed, the subsequent refutation of the hypothesis whose harmony with our convictions we have

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seemingly established, is adduced as an evidence of the subtle ingenuity with which we can, for the nonce, reconcile even an absurdity with our principles. To illustrate what we mean by this synthetic plan, we have only to refer to the many attempts at the reconciliation of Darwinism with religion, with which many well-meaning but foolish persons are wont to entertain us. A cogent reason for the American clergy assuming the direction of religion's response to this intellectual movement, is that laymen are entering the arena, wholly unprepared to treat such problems in the broad and catholic spirit with which they should be handled. Laymen have regard only to isolated problems, and prejudice religion by resort to a diversity of methods which often mutually clash. Religion is then made responsible for this discordance. Among the clergy this difficulty would not obtain. Unity of method and harmony of attack would flow from the comprehensive spirit imbued into them by community of education, and by their acquaintance with the multifold aspects of every problem bearing on religion.

The better plan is to meet all our adversaries' attacks upon their own territory. But to contend successfully against the established evil it is requisite that we should render ourselves familiar with its general complexion, study the sciences which are esteemed its strongholds, adopt its terminology so far as is consistent with our principles; cultivate a readiness in bringing to account its peculiar turns of thought; acquire a knowledge of all the shifts and devices resorted to by the enemy, and turn its weapons against itself. The moral effect of hoisting the engineer with his own petard, should not be disregarded. Apart from this, success is more assured when regard is had to the bent and inclination of the minds of those for whom the arguments are intended. No arms are needed, other than those to be found in the arsenal of the Aristotelian philosophy. All that is required is to secure their attractive presentation by burnishing them up in conformity with the fashion and taste of the age. In the tomes of the scholastics are to be found principles and canons of controversy sufficient for every exigency which has arisen, or which may arise. They need only to be clothed in the current phraseology of the day. Change only the idiom in which they are expressed, and they will meet with a cordial reception from those who are prepossessed against them. As we have before remarked, our adversaries are forestalling us in this respect.

All this does not require a thorough and extended acquaintance with all the details of all the natural sciences. What is needed is not so much a knowledge of the natural sciences, as a knowledge of their philosophy; a full insight into the mode of thought engendered by their study; and an acquaintance with that mode of thought in all its varied phases. An analytical refutation of a con-

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clusion cannot be achieved without a knowledge of the premises upon which it is claimed to be based. If place is given in our seminaries—theological and lay—to the study of the mathematical and physical sciences, we shall be able to rout the enemy from the field of science, by conclusively pointing out in detail, supported by direct evidence, that the doubts which our adversaries conjure up, are doubts by reason solely of the imperfect development of the data essential to their dissipation; that the theories in which they would have us believe, are naught but crude and imperfect hypotheses violative, at every stage, of the laws and logic of their own mode of thought; that numberless and important *hiàtus* everywhere abound in their boasted discoveries; that many of their laws and canons are not the legitimate outcome of science; that when their laws and canons are the legitimate outcome of science, they complacently ignore them when it subserves their purpose so to do, and substitute therefor canons and laws against which they themselves have, time and again, inveighed; that whenever they aspire above immediate induction, and attempt to co-ordinate the whole field of science with the link of some abstract principle, they not only flagrantly transgress the laws of induction, but, in addition, fall into material errors which are most glaring, and which they themselves condemn in the most unmeasured terms; that, taking for granted and applying the truth of their condemnation of certain philosophic methods, the subversal of their philosophy inevitably follows; that many of their general ideas which they profess to have acquired by induction, insult the very name of induction, and differ from Platonic ideas only in degree; that their generalizations far outstrip the accumulation of facts; that their tentative hypotheses usurp all the prerogatives of well-founded and established theories; that their methods outrage the principles of logic as they themselves define them; that they hasten too fast from the analytic to the synthetic method; that they draw general conclusions from too small a number of particular observations and experiments; that they have altogether lost that spirit of rigorous reserve, of strict cautious prudence, so constantly inculcated by Bacon and Descartes, whom they profess to hold in esteem; that they have repudiated positivism, governed by no other motive than that it bound them down too closely to the observance of their own logic; that the concurrent testimony of their own well-established principles, is that their philosophy, in so far as it conflicts with religion, is naught but a tissue of sophistry and absurdity.

The analytic method here indicated is open to none of the objections urged against the clergy taking part in the controversies of the day. It is superior to the synthetic method in this, that a failure never reacts. X. C. S. P.

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BOOK NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM THE TALMUD; being specimens of the contents of that ancient Book, its Commentaries, Teachings, Poetry, and Legends. Also, brief sketches of the men who made and commented upon it. Translated from the original by *H. Polano.* Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1876. 8vo., pp. 382.

The Jews possess two Talmuds, one known as the Talmud of Jerusalem, the other, that of Babylon; the former compiled at some period between A.D. 150 and 300, the second at a much later date, but certainly before the time of the Masoretes. The Talmud of Jerusalem having special reference to the dwellers in Palestine, never acquired much authority among the Jews outside of the Holy Land. Yet its antiquity gives it some importance, and Lightfoot, amongst others, has used it successfully in illustrating the books and history of the New Testament. It has been superseded by the Talmud of Babylon to such an extent, that whenever the Talmud is spoken of without further adjunct, the Babylonian compilation is always understood.

This is the book from which come the extracts translated by Mr. Polano; and it would not have been amiss, if in the Introduction he had mentioned the difference between the two works. But on the contrary his language (Introduction, page 24) is calculated to mislead an ordinary reader, and leave him under the impression that the two books are one, or rather that there never was more than one Talmud. For he speaks (ibid.) of the Mishna as completed in the year 220, received in Judea and Babylonia, and tells us, on page 25, how it was commented on by Rab Ashi and others. This, no doubt, is absolutely true, but inasmuch as it leads the reader to suppose that there is but one Talmud, it is scarcely correct. The true state of the case is as follows: Each Talmud is composed of two parts, the Mishna and the Gemara. The Mishna (a kind of oral Deuteronomy, as its name implies, and rendered quite correctly by the word δευτερωσις, in the Novellae of Justinian) is the work of R. Jehudah Hakkadosh, head of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The Gemara is a commentary, or rather a collection of commentaries, on the Mishna. The existence of the Jerusalem Talmud may be said to date from the completion and publication, by R. Johhannan Bar-Eliezer, of its Gemara, towards the year 300, or, as some put it more definitely, about eighty or a hundred years after the compilation of the Mishna. The Jews of Babylonia, when it was introduced amongst them, became soon dissatisfied with the Jerusalem Gemara; they complained of its obscurity, and of its being ill-adapted to those outside of Palestine, who nevertheless formed the greater portion of the Jewish people. Hence they began commenting on and explaining the Mishna, so as to suit their own condition of exiles in a foreign land. The first to collect these commentaries was R. Ase (or Ashi), aided by R. Abina, about the middle of the fifth century; but the collection was only completed seventy-three years after Ashi's death by R. Jose, chief teacher in the Jewish school of Pumbeditha. This collection, or Gemara, together with the Mishna, constitutes the Talmud of Babylon, of which the best edition is that of Surenhusius (Amsterdam, 1698–1703).

The Talmud is a book which may be considered as almost unknown in our country. Even in Europe the knowledge of its contents is confined to the higher class of biblical scholars. It is falsely imagined by too many that Reuchlin was the first Christian who made a thorough study

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of the Talmud; and the tale is, of course, willingly accepted by those who believe that the age of great scholars began only with the era of the Reformation. But though Reuchlin was a learned man and a good Catholic, he must not be praised beyond his due. He had many predecessors, amongst whom it is sufficient to mention the illustrious Dominican, Raymund Martin, who lived in the thirteenth century, and than whom few have penetrated farther into the hidden recesses of the Talmud and of Rabbinical literature.

Though so little known, the Talmud is a book which should not be neglected. It is a mine of information in regard to all matters connected with Hebrew archæology, and this in turn throws light on many passages of the Old and New Testaments. And this constitutes its chief value to the Christian student. Any other advantage to be derived from it is principally historical, since in its pages we are enabled to trace the gradual growth and development of those "traditions of men," superadded by human caprice to the divine law, so often condemned by our Lord in His Gospel, and denounced as an unbearable yoke by the Prince of the Apostles (Acts xv. 10). Besides, in a controversial point of view its study may furnish Christianity with weapons against Judaism; and this use has been made of it successfully by Raymund Martin, Porchet, Galatinus, and others. Otherwise the Talmud is a vast mass of incoherent theological and canonical opinions, fanciful legends, pretended historical details, which are mere fables; shameless tales, no less filthy than extravagant, with a large admixture of blasphemy that insults not only our holy religion and its Divine Founder, but even the saints of the Old Testament and the Lord God of Israel, whom the Talmudists professed to worship. The curious reader may see specimens of this blasphemous ribaldry, with which we could not sully our pages, in the second book of the *Bibliotheca Sancta* of *Sixtus Senensis*. Any one having Milante's edition (Naples, 1742), which is the best, will find them on page 206, of the first volume. Or if he wish to consult a more modern author, he will find enough to convince him in Eisenmenger's work, entitled *Judaism Unveiled*.

It was on account of these horrible blasphemies that so many copies of the Talmud were burnt between three and four centuries ago, by the ecclesiastical authorities of Germany and Italy. The attention of both people and magistrates had been drawn to them by Jewish converts in books published in the vernacular; and such appeal, being made to the public at large rather than to scholars or church authorities, made severe measures a matter of necessity. This, too, it was, that roused the indignation of the Pfefferkorns, Hochstrats, and others, to such a pitch that they clamored for an imperial edict, which should consign to the flames all Jewish books, indiscriminately, with the sole exception of the Bible. But this blind, intemperate zeal was checked by the enlightened policy of the Holy See, which, while perpetually watching over the interests of religion, never forgets that she is also the guardian of whatever is good and wholesome in science and letters. Much of the credit of this victory of good taste and good sense over wild, unreasoning zeal, is due to the efforts of the learned Reuchlin. And his victory would have been more complete had it not been tarnished (to say nothing of his own imprudence) by the applause so lavishly showered on him by the disciples of the great revolt against the Church, then beginning in Europe, and especially by that infamous profligate, equally detestable for his life and writings, Ulrich von Hutten. No cause, however good, but is dishonored by such championship; and the just man, even in serving God, may find room to fear that his service is not what it ought to be,

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when he sees it welcomed with plaudits by those who are enemies of God and man.

The absurd fables and blasphemies of the Talmud have given offence not only to Christians, but to Jews likewise. Nor do we speak only or principally of those rationalistic Jews, who have exchanged their religion for freemasonry and infidelity, but of some among their predecessors who were steadfast in their adherence to the law of Moses. Thus Maimonides, a Rabbi of the twelfth century, and one of the most learned men of modern Judaism, shows a wise discretion which entitles him to great credit. In his commentaries on the Talmud, which are esteemed the best of their class, discarding all the objectionable matter as unworthy of notice, he has confined himself exclusively to the legal and ritual parts of the book.

In reprinting the Talmud, Catholic editors thought it expedient to omit the portions of it which assail Christianity, and their example has been imitated by some Protestants. Thus in the edition printed by Frobenius at Bâle, 1678, and in that of Frankfurt on the Oder, 1697, the whole treatise, called *Aboda Sara*, has been omitted. And it is strange so accurate a writer as Wolf, in his *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, should have fallen into the mistake of asserting that the Hamburg edition just mentioned contains the Aboda Sara.

The translator of the work before us has followed, we are glad to see, the good example of Maimonides. Carefully throwing aside whatever is grossly fabulous, antichristian, and impious, he culls from the whole whatever is most pleasant and agreeable in legend, proverb, and parable, and most wholesome in moral teaching, and lays it, sometimes in full, sometimes in abridged form, before his readers. On the whole he has done his work well and judiciously enough; and, taking into consideration that the language into which he translates (as we judge from some passages) is not his native tongue, his English is remarkably good and correct. We do not approve, however, of all that the translator says in his Introduction and Chronological Table; for his facts do not always rest on a strictly historical basis. But we must say for him, that he has studiously avoided any expression that might offend Christian ears. The only exception, perhaps, occurs on page 247, where it is said that the death of Maimonides was mourned alike by his own people and by the Gentile. Now *Gentile*, in Jewish phraseology, is simply our Heathen. We cannot, or will not, complain that in their creeds and liturgies, and even in their domestic vocabulary, the Jews should call us by the opprobrious name of Heathens, Gojim; for such they hold that we are. But social courtesy, it might be supposed, would forbid the use of such terms in a book intended for the perusal of Christians. Yet some good may come of it. Perhaps some grim, self-satisfied Puritan or Evangelical, as he stands up before the altar, thanking God that he is not like other men, and especially the deluded victims of Roman superstition, may be chastened in spirit by the remembrance that, though in his own opinion he is one of the saints born to rule the earth and enjoy the fulness thereof, nevertheless, in the opinion of many (whose learning and honest conviction he cannot deny), he is merely the brother-heathen of the unhappy Papist, whose idolatry he so fiercely denounces.

The Talmud, like all Rabbinical literature, is rich in allegory and parables, which from time immemorial have been in the East the favorite mode of conveying moral instruction. As a specimen, we take the following from Mr. Polano's translation. It contains a good lesson, by which any Christian may profit:

"A certain man had three friends. One of these he loved dearly;

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the second he loved also, but not as intensely as the first; but towards the third one he was quite indifferently disposed. Now the king of the country sent an officer to this man, commanding his immediate appearance before the throne. Greatly terrified was the man at this summons. He thought that somebody had been speaking evil of him, or probably accusing him falsely before his sovereign, and being afraid to appear unaccompanied before the royal presence, he resolved to ask one of his friends to go with him. First, he naturally applied to his dearest friend, but he at once declined to go, giving no reason and no excuse for his lack of friendliness. So the man applied to his second friend, who said to him:

"'I will go with thee as far as the palace gates, but I will not enter with thee before the king.'

"In desperation the man applied to his third friend, the one whom he had neglected, but who replied to him at once:

"'Fear not: I will go with thee, and I will speak in thy defence. I will not leave thee until thou art delivered from thy trouble.'

"The 'first friend' is a man's wealth, which he must leave behind him when he dies. The 'second friend' is typified by the relatives, who follow him to the grave, and leave him when the earth has covered his remains. The 'third friend,' he who entered with him into the presence of the king, is as the good deeds of a man's life, which never desert, but accompany him to plead his cause before the King of kings, who regardeth not person nor taketh bribery." (Pp. 370–371.)

AN EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPELS, consisting of an Analysis of each Chapter and of a Commentary, Critical, Exegetical, Doctrinal, and Moral, by the *Most Rev. Dr. McEvilly*, Bishop of Galway. Dublin: W. B. Kelly. New York: Benziger & Bros. 1876. 8vo., pp. 675. Vol. 1st, comprising the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The name of Bishop McEvilly is not unknown to biblical scholars. A worthy successor of the Narys, Dixons, and McCarthys, he has already distinguished himself by an *Exposition of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles*. The present work when finished will complete his *Commentary on the New Testament*, with the exception of the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse, to which we hope the author will next turn his attention. We have not had time to read over carefully the entire work, but we have examined it sufficiently to satisfy ourselves that it is unquestionably a valuable accession to English Catholic biblical literature. Bishop McEvilly, following the sensible practice of most Catholic commentators, concerns himself more with the kernel than the shell that incloses it; in other words, busies himself more with investigating the true meaning of the text, than with a display of verbal criticism and that far-fetched erudition, which is so profusely paraded in the commentaries of heterodox and rationalist interpreters. This pompous show is simply meant to hide their emptiness and want of substance in what is most essential. Our author has quite enough of erudition and critical exegesis to satisfy not only the ordinary reader, but even the biblical student; what, however, he has had principally in view is the doctrinal and moral teaching of the Gospel, in drawing which out he is full, and at times perhaps even diffuse.

It may be to some a matter of surprise that the good bishop should have found time, amid the onerous and incessant duties of his Episcopal office, to compile these massive octavos, of which the Irish Catholic Church may be justly proud. They show evidently that the Catholic clergy of that country cultivate earnestly the study of Scripture them-

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selves, and do their best to facilitate its study for others. And thus they furnish a sufficient answer to the host of ignorant and wicked scribblers, who are never tired of repeating that the Catholic clergy of all countries, and especially of Ireland, strive to make of the Bible a hidden or forbidden book, and do their utmost, out of fear, to suppress all knowledge of its contents. None have been louder, none more obstinate and envenomed in reiterating this wicked slander than the ministers of the Irish Establishment, now happily extinct. And nothing could be more brazen or shameless on their part, because in thus slandering the Catholic clergy, they are actually, though very unwisely, painting themselves to the life. For, of all Protestant churches (and our author calls attention to the fact in his introduction, page vi.) the Anglican Irish Church is the only one that has never produced a single biblical scholar. It will not do to quote such names as Bedell, Jebb, Mant, and others, to prove the contrary. These were all Englishmen, to whom livings in the Irish Church were assigned by way of reward or encouragement. It is an incontestable fact, that no Irish Anglican has ever written a line to illustrate the language of the sacred text, or interpret its meaning. Yet they had no lack of time or means, enjoying abundant revenues and having no care of souls to interfere with their studies.

There is in the end a brief Errata-corrige. It would be well to add to it the words "*to call,*" on p. 17, l. 39. They should read, "*to be called.*"

DARWINIANA: Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism. By *Asa Gray Fisher*, Professor of Natural History (Botany) in Harvard University. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1876.

The literary virtues of this readable book may be extolled. It is neither dull nor heavy. Its perusal demands just that degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure, and will attract those who are conversant with the facts of Darwinism, and will be read by all whose culture prompts them to skim the current of modern thought. A fair conception of the scope and object of the work may be derived from the preface. The author therein says, it is written "by a practical naturalist, versed in one department only (viz., Botany)," "one who is scientifically, and in his own fashion, a Darwinian, philosophically a convinced theist, and religiously an acceptor of the 'creed commonly called the Nicene.'" . . . . . "Some of these pages are written in a lightness of vein not quite congruous with the gravity of the subject and the seriousness of its issues." . . . . . "Some of the essays, however, ... may redress the balance, and be thought sufficiently heavy, if not solid." . . . . . "Long before our last article was written it could be affirmed that the general doctrine of the derivation of species (to put it comprehensively) has prevailed over that of specific creation, at least to the extent of being the received, and presumably in some sense, true conception." . . . . . "This applies especially to what may be called deductive evolution—a subject which lay beyond the writer's scope, and to which neither the bent of his mind nor the line of his studies has fitted him to do justice."

Thus we are furnished with another contribution to the literature of Darwinism; and yet, giving the writer due credit for his unquestionable ability, and for his industrious studies in the department of science to which he has specially devoted himself, we cannot perceive that his book throws much light upon the disputed questions.

We do not say this to the disparagement of the author. It would, indeed, be unfair to expect him, or any other mere physicist, to make any great advance towards a solution of the fundamental questions involved

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in the debate now going on respecting the origin of species, their fixity, or their transmutation. Owing to the method employed by physicists in their investigations and speculations, their labors cannot possibly result in anything beyond probable theories. Besides, until more exact definitions are adopted and strictly adhered to by modern scientists, most of their contests resolve themselves, in the end, into mere logomachies. Moreover, the questions which modern scientists assume to discuss, are questions which do not really belong to them. They are outside of, and beyond their sphere.

To the author's statement, in the last sentence we have quoted, many persons will take exception, and justly. Though the tendency is quite general amongst modern physicists to fall in with Darwin, yet to assert that his idea has prevailed over that of specific creation is to claim too much. Not all physicists have as yet become Darwinians, nor have the opponents of Darwinism been reduced to silence.

SCHOOLS AND MASTERS OF PAINTING; with an Appendix on the Principal Galleries of Europe. By *A. G. Radcliffe*. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. 8vo., pp. 575.

The author has given us a book of very pleasant and instructive reading. His judgment of the merits of the old masters are in the main correct, because generally derived from competent authority. After a brief sketch of painting among the pagan nations of antiquity, he traces the history of the art from the period of the Catacombs down to our day. Even from this necessarily brief survey it plainly results, as our author acknowledges (p. 58), "that the Church and the traditions of the Church were the first motive powers in art as well as in literature." And this is true not only of painting in the early ages of the Church, but also of its *renaissance* or restoration three or four centuries ago. We should have at this day none of those many wonderful triumphs of art which delight thousands of beholders, and serve as models to quicken the genius and direct the progress of disciples, had it not been for the inspiration of Religion, the fostering care of the Church, and the enlightened munificence of her spiritual princes. The so-called Reformation dried up the well-spring of religious art; and in the countries that fell under its baleful influence we find here and there an exceptional case of a painter, but seldom or never one who can aspire to a place near the great masters.

It is so usual to find writers outside of the Church scoffing at all that is holy and wonderful in the lives and actions of our Saints, that we cannot conceal our surprise and gratification in seeing the calm, dispassionate, almost reverential tone in which Mr. Radcliffe narrates (chap. v.) the legends of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, Saints Sebastian, Lawrence, Cecilia, Agnes, Catharine, and others, whose deeds or sufferings form the most frequent subject of Catholic painting. There is no flippant word, no levity, much less any disposition shown to sneer; and for this, though it be mere justice, we have to thank him. Mr. Radcliffe calls them legends; but there is in them a great deal more of historical truth than he is aware of. Not all that is based on tradition is legendary. It must be either a slip of the pen or of memory, that makes him, in one place, class Gospel facts under the head of traditions and legends. Speaking of Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem*, he says (p. 75): "An animated crowd throngs forth to meet the Redeemer, who rides with dignity on the traditional ass." Now if the author will only open King James's Bible, and look into the 21st chapter of St. Matthew, the 11th of St.

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Mark, the 19th of St. Luke, and the 12th of St. John, he will find that this incident is no idle fancy, but an historical truth, foretold by the prophet Zachariah, and put on record by the four Evangelists. We fear that Mr. Radcliffe is rusty in his Bible reading, and that he has confounded Christ's entry into Jerusalem with His birth in the manger. That an ox and an ass were present on the latter occasion rests only on a tradition, rejected by Tillemont, Calmet, and others, but admitted by many good critics and supported by the testimony of St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and other Fathers.

On page 65 we read as follows: "At the close of the fifth century the Virgin and Child were represented together; not in reference to any divine element in the Mother, but to express a belief in the humanity as well as the divinity of the Son, which had been questioned by Nestorian heretics. The reverence paid to the one was, however, soon extended to the other, till both were honored and at last worshipped." Mr. Radcliffe here coolly takes for granted, as if it were an evident, undeniable fact, that the faith of the Church, East and West, as to the honor due to the Blessed Virgin, is different now from what it was at the close of the fifth century. The Church of that day, he thinks, recognized no "divine element in the Mother, but in progress of time it *divinized* or deified Her." Where did he learn this? No doubt he believes, in some general way, what he says; but this is no excuse, for he *ought* to know better. Nor will the Great Judge hold guiltless any man pretending to education who recklessly hurls at His Church the foul charge of idolatry, on the mere plea that in childhood he was so taught in the Sunday-school or from the pulpit. That the Blessed Virgin is divine, or anything more than a creature, however exalted in dignity, was never taught in any creed or doctrinal standard of the Catholic Church. And no man, possessing a conscience or common honesty, should presume to state what our belief is, without first consulting them. We invoke Her intercession and honor Her, for She deserves it; but the honor we give Her falls infinitely short of what we give to God. This is what is taught our children in their catechism, and what is taught those who are one day to be the teachers of the people, in their text-books of Theology.

MITCHELL'S NEW GEOGRAPHIES. J. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia.

SADLIER'S EXCELSIOR SERIES OF GEOGRAPHIES. William H. Sadlier, New York.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SERIES OF GEOGRAPHIES. P. O'Shea, publisher, New York.

The progress of geographical knowledge has been very rapid of late years, and requires frequent changes, not only in maps, but also in the text of school geographies. On the one hand, travellers in countries as yet only partially explored and imperfectly known, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Oceanica, and also, though to a less extent, in North and South America, are constantly communicating new and important information as regards the regions they traverse; and, on the other hand, the effects of wars and of new political arrangements, and also those consequent upon the developments of peaceful industry, the movements of trade, the diversion of commerce into new channels, and the advance of education, are constantly producing great changes in the social condition, and statistics, habits, employments, religious practices, intellectual status, density of population, and relative importance of old and of new countries, cities, and towns,—all of which should be noted and described as soon as possible in text-books, designed to impart to the pupils who use them, an accurate knowledge of the world, not as it was in a past generation, but as it now is.

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MITCHELL'S SERIES.

In looking over the various works which go to make up the two series of Mitchell's Geographies we have been greatly impressed with the judicious arrangement of topics, the correctness, conciseness, and clearness of statement and description, and fulness of knowledge imparted, which characterize all of them. The maps are accurate and distinct, and are so planned and executed that though those of the advanced series are very full of details, yet the eye is not wearied in examining them, but can readily trace out the contour of coast-lines, the capes and promontories, bays and gulfs, that indent the seacoast; the boundaries of the different countries, the courses of rivers, ranges of mountains, lines of railways, situations of towns and cities, etc., etc.

As text-books, designed for use in non-Catholic schools, as well as Catholic, they are singularly free from statements objectionable to Catholics. One such statement has met our eye, and only one, that seemed to us to require a slight alteration. It crept in, we are sure, inadvertently, and we doubt not but that it is only necessary to direct the attention of the liberal-minded publishers to it, or to any other such expressions (if any there are), to secure immediately the desired modification. We are not surprised, therefore, that these Geographies have secured such general use in Catholic schools and academies, and have received numerous high commendations from distinguished Catholic prelates, and principals of Catholic educational institutions.

The *New Physical Geography* is an admirable text-book. When we recall to mind what the Physical Geographies used in schools fifteen or twenty years ago were, we can scarcely credit the improvement which this one has achieved, as regards simplicity of method, clearness of statement and description, and general adaptation to the youthful mind. By a happy system of arrangement, beginning with the simplest elements, combining numerous well-executed pictorial illustrations with clear and concise explanations, the pupil is carried forward through the many subjects comprised in a study of Physical Geography,—the geological conformation of the earth, its chief physical features, its systems of mountains, valleys, and plateaus; its rivers and ocean currents; the direction and force of prevailing winds, and the combined influence of all these upon climate, the changes of temperature, the rainfall, and deposit of dew, the phenomena of electricity, etc., etc.,—in such way that without confusion of mind and with no more than a reasonable degree of thought and industry, clear and intelligent ideas upon all these subjects will be attained.

THE EXCELSIOR SERIES.

Mr. Sadlier's series of Geographies consists of three numbers, or books. The preface to the *Primary Geography* states that it is based on the object-system of teaching, and is designed to combine "the greatest simplicity with no inconsiderable amount of geographical information." The illustrations, therefore, are quite numerous, and are always suggestive of the subject-matter of the accompanying text. The lessons are very properly thrown into the form of question and answer. The questions are direct, easily comprehended, and so arranged that each grows naturally out of the one preceding. The maps, as is quite proper in a primary geography, give merely the coast-lines, boundaries, principal rivers, and chains of mountains, and chief cities of the different countries and states. These are all distinctly marked, so that the eye of the young beginner in geography will readily catch them.

Number two is based upon the same general principle as number one,

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and is a further development of it. This number is intended for pupils somewhat more advanced. The questions and answers are, consequently, more numerous and comprehensive, and the maps are fuller in details. The map-questions are quite numerous, and when mastered will secure quite accurate knowledge of the physical features and political divisions of countries, etc., etc.

Number three is designed for pupils still further advanced. The subject-matter of the text is well arranged and expressed. In addition to the descriptive and physical geography of each country, there is also a short synopsis of the chief events of its history. This narrative is necessarily brief, but, at the same time, it is comprehensive enough to give the pupil a correct general idea of the history of the country he is studying.

This feature of the *Excelsior Geography* is the more important as it guards the mind of the pupil, to some extent at least, against the falsehoods and misrepresentations current in respect to countries that have been, or still are, inhabited by Catholics, and gives him correct impressions at an age when impressions are most easily made, and when made are most permanent.

The maps in this number are fuller of details than those of numbers one and two. They have been taken by permission, as have also some of the illustrations and portions of the text of the work from Monteith's *Series of Geographies*. This we mention not as a defect or objection, but as a guarantee of their general excellence. They are so drawn and colored that the outlines of the different countries, mountains, and rivers are brought prominently into view. The illustrations are a great improvement upon those usual in school books. They serve to give the pupil a very correct idea of the scenery of different countries, and the distinctive features, dress, and industrial employments of their peoples, and of the architectural style of their public buildings.

The Physical and Commercial Chart of the World, and the Chart showing the comparative sizes of states and kingdoms, add to the value of the work, as do also three maps illustrative of Ancient Geography, viz., a map of the Roman Empire and surrounding regions; a map of Italy, with a subordinate map of the vicinity of Ancient Rome, and a map of Ancient Greece. In connection with these maps there is a brief synopsis of the history of Ancient Greece and Rome.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SERIES.

The number before us is the third of the series. Having had no opportunity of examining the first and second numbers, we are unable to say how or to what extent they prepare pupils for this more advanced Geography. If, however, they are equal, on their respective planes, to number three, we have no hesitation in saying that the whole series is one of rare excellence.

The scope of number three is, as its title indicates, very comprehensive. It comprises not only topical, political, and statistical Geography, but also physical and historical. The arrangement of topics is good, and their treatment lucid and sufficiently full to inform the mind of the pupil.

We have examined with special care the portions bearing upon Physical Geography and Historical Geography. It is not an easy task to combine these with topical, statistical, and political geography in one book without making it cumbrous in size, and sacrificing unity and simplicity of method. Yet the author of the book before us seems to have done this quite successfully. Without going as thoroughly into the causes of

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things, as would have been proper and possible in a work treating professedly on the physical conformation of the earth and its climates, etc., etc., the author has, nevertheless, succeeded in imparting, in a manner easily comprehended and without breaking the continuity of topics, a large amount of valuable information in regard to the climates, the causes that determine them, and the vegetable productions of each country.

In separate chapters, in connection with the geography of each country, its history is given, briefly yet clearly. The author has been very successful in this—a work of no small difficulty. To students who have not time to take up Physical Geography and History as distinct branches of study, the *Comprehensive Geography* is an admirable text-book.

The maps are clear in outline, accurate, and distinct. The illustrations deserve high commendation. They are well chosen as to subject, artistically well conceived, and beautifully executed. They are, on the whole, we think, the finest we have seen in any school-book. In thus commending the illustrations we must make one exception. In the cut representing the different manners of worship, or "Symbols of the Principal Religions," Christianity has as its symbolical representation a luminous cross above, and an angel as its central figure pointing with outstretched arm to a book with the words HOLY BIBLE inscribed on its open pages. The erroneous impression thus suggested to the pupil, especially in the absence of any symbol of the Church and of the Holy Sacrifice, it is not necessary for us to dwell on. It must have been purely through oversight that this illustration has been admitted into a text-book designed specially for use in Catholic schools and academies.

We attempt no comparison between any of the three series of geographical text-books just noticed. Their respective merits and advantages are various: and intelligent and experienced persons will probably be divided in opinion as to which is the best. Probably each, under a given set of circumstances and for pupils of different educational status and intentions, might in turn be preferred.

We are heartily glad, that two such excellent series of Catholic Geographies have been published. The providing of suitable text-books for Catholic schools is by no means a light undertaking, nor can its importance well be overestimated. The text-books prepared for non-Catholic schools, and which, in the absence of any other text-books had to be used, until quite recently, in Catholic schools, are (with a few honorable exceptions, among which are the Mitchell Series) full of untrue and anti-Catholic statements wherever the subjects of religion, and history, and the condition of Catholic countries and peoples are touched upon. Both Mr. Sadlier and Mr. O'Shea deserve great credit for what they have done.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES. By *John O'Kane Murray, B. S.*

Mr. Murray's book brings together a good deal of valuable information that otherwise could be found only with great difficulty, scattered as it is in so many books and other sources, becoming from day to day less accessible. It is not a history in the proper sense of the word, but a repertory rather of materials, good and indifferent, from which by culling and sifting a history might be constructed. Mr. Murray, however, is not far beside the mark, when he calls it a "popular" work; for we feel quite sure that there is a large class of readers in this country who will give his work a warm welcome. The style, we regret to see, is not always in keeping with the gravity and dignity that should charac-

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terize a work intended to be a permanent contribution to American Catholic history. It is in some places declamatory, with a smack of the stump-speech or the ephemeral newspaper article. It may be added that there are some errors, which indicate that the book was compiled in such haste as to leave the writer no time for revision, no opportunity to test his statements by reference to the proper authorities. It was probably the ambition, otherwise laudable, of bringing out his book in the Centennial year that hurried our author; but a little patience in order to secure accuracy, would have been preferable. It would not have cost him much time or pains to discover that neither Charles Botta (p. 496), nor Father Tongiorgi, nor Balmes (p. 541) can be called American Catholic writers. One might with equal justice put in the same category Count Carli, or Archbishop Dixon of Armagh, or the witty Monseigneur Segur, since the first is the author of the celebrated *Lettere Americane* (that merited the praise of Franklin), the second wrote a text-book used for biblical study in some of our Seminaries, and the works of the third have been translated for our benefit. There is also in the book an anecdote or two which it would have been wiser to omit. For, if the book live to see another Centennial year, we fear that the American Catholics of that day will not be edified, and will wish they had remained unwritten.

Faultfinding is not agreeable to us, but disagreeable duties must be performed as well as others. And if the author will only bear in mind the excellent principles laid down by himself (p. 553) touching the duties of a Catholic reviewer, he will be more thankful for our mild criticism, than for the extravagant, unmeaning praise, that has been heaped upon his book in some quarters.

FRANCISCAN MISSIONS AMONG THE COLLIERS AND IRONWORKERS OF MONMOUTHSHIRE. London: Burns & Oates. 1876.

This is a very interesting little volume. It narrates in a simple style the commencement, by the Franciscan Fathers, of a mission in Monmouthshire, at Pontypool, which was subsequently extended to Abersychan, Cwmbran, Blaenavon, Risea, Blackwood, and Abertillery.

The condition of the people whom this mission was specially designed to reach is described as most deplorable. They were chiefly of Irish descent, "scattered in groups here and there among the hills, or huddled together in the meanest and dirtiest corners of mean and dirty towns, employed in the hardest and worst-paid work, and subjected to every species of annoyance and insult on account of their faith—dim and flickering as its light had become in their poor worn-out hearts."

The mission amongst these people of which the book before us gives an account, was commenced in May, 1860, at the request of the Bishop of Menevia. Father Elzear was sent by the Superior of the Capuchin Monastery, at Pantasaph, in North Wales, to begin it. He went forth "without purse or script," having to borrow money to pay his railroad fare. In the whole region of his mission, comprising twelve square miles, "there was no Catholic church or chapel save a small edifice at Pontypool scarcely sufficient to contain two hundred persons; no school, no appliances of any kind for working a mission, even on the smallest scale, still less for doing what Father Elzear had been sent to do—establishing a community."

Father Elzear at once saw that he must have a school for the children, and this, like his mission, was commenced without money. Providence sent a teacher in a lady, a convert from Protestantism, who was willing to devote herself to the work.

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The hearts of the poor children opened to good impressions. They soon became missionaries in their own way, and brought not only children, but a dozen of "tall men," whom one of the boys introduced by saying, "These 'ere chaps knows nought about sin, so I tell'd 'em a bit, and now you can learn 'em some more." Soon young men and women came in numbers, night after night, to be taught the first principles of religion. Very few of them could read, and "prayers and catechism had to be instilled into them by constant repetition."

The narrative shows the thick darkness that enshrouds the working classes in England, and how self-denying, persevering, and faithful labor can cause spiritual light to shine into the hearts of those poor people, despite the darkness that surrounds them, and in the midst of which they are dwelling.

THE FIRST TWO STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, 1603–1660. By *Samuel Rawson Gardiner*, late Student of Christ Church; Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Lecturer on Modern History at King's College, London. New York: Scribner & Co. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

This book is well adapted, as regards style and arrangement of materials, to the evident design of the writer, which is the historical vindication of Puritanism during the reigns of James I., Charles I., and the rule of Oliver Cromwell. A tone of moderation is assumed and a seeming calmness of statement, well calculated to allay any suspicions that may arise in the minds of readers as to the author's fairness. General reflections, too, are interwoven into the thread of the narrative in such manner as to induce the idea that he is not acting the part of an advocate, but discharging the duty simply of a dispassionate and impartial historian.

Yet to call the work a history is to misname it entirely. It is throughout a plea framed so as to effect its purpose, not so much by *suggestio falsi*, as by *suppressio veri*. One who depended upon it for his knowledge of the leading personages and events of the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century would form an entirely incorrect idea of them. He would not have the slightest conception of the real nature of the struggles that then convulsed England, Scotland, and Ireland; of the violent passions engendered, nor of the horrible cruelties inflicted on the vanquished. The fanatical absurdities and excesses of the various sects and parties, which may be classed under the general term of Puritans, are all thrown into the background, and so lightly touched upon, that no one, from the account which the writer of this book has drawn up, would even suspect their real character and extent.

MEMOIRS OF THE RIGHT REV. SIMON WILLIAM GABRIEL BRUTE, D.D., First Bishop of Vincennes; with Sketches of Scenes connected with the French Revolution, and Extracts from his Journal. By the *Right Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, D.D.*, Bishop of Newark (now most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore). New York: The Catholic Publication Society, No. 9 Warren Street, 1876.

The labors of Bishop Bruté after he came to the United States, his saintly character, and the services he rendered to religion are known in a general way to Catholics. But little, however, is known of his antecedent history. The work before us is made up mainly from Bishop Bruté's papers and journal, and is especially interesting on this account. It brings before us the youthful medical student, living a pure, consistent, Christian life in the midst of terrible temptations, the Seminarian devoutly making his preparation for the high office of the Priest-

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hood. It gives us an insight, which we could obtain from no other source, into his character, motives, and interior Christian life.

Bishop Bruté was an eye-witness to many of the horrid scenes of the French Revolution. He made notes of what transpired under his own notice. These notes, and the portions of Bishop Bruté's journal which Archbishop Bayley has incorporated into his book, add both to its interest and its value. They form a vivid picture of the war which then was waged against religion, of the persecutions which faithful Christians then had to endure, and of the devotion and heroism of very many of the French clergy.

THEORY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By *Charles Fourier*. With an Introduction by *Albert Brisbane*. New York: C. P. Somerby. 1876.

If men were automatic machines, and society the joint result of their arrangement and combination into a greater and more complex mechanism, there would be some sense in Fourierism. The notion which underlies it, however, is not a new one. It is nothing more than a reproduction, and adaptation to modern modes of thought, of some very old errors. The work before us is a fair illustration of the degree of insanity which a man can arrive at, who, starting from a purely materialistic principle, undertakes to construct in his own mind a complete plan for the development of individual men, and their harmonious action in society.

Evil, according to the author, is simply the result of social and physical disorders. The elimination of evil is to be looked for when the physical world shall have attained perfect development, and society shall have been totally reconstructed. The writer sees clearly how this is to be accomplished, and plans it out, in all its numerous details, to his own perfect satisfaction. As a specimen of philosophy run mad, the book is to be commended.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AFTER; Or, A Talk in a Cemetery. By *John Darby*, author of *Thinkers and Thinking*, *Odd Hours of a Physician*, etc. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1876. 12mo., pp. 106.

This little work, small in size, but evidently the result of much and patient thought, is a philosophical dialogue, after the manner of the ancients, on such vital subjects as Matter, the Soul, and God. We can now only acknowledge the receipt of the volume, and reserve a more extended notice of it for the January number of the *Quarterly*.

THE AMERICAN STATE AND AMERICAN STATESMEN. By *William Giles Dix*. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1876. 12mo., pp. 171.

AN ESSAY; contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. By *B. A. M.* Second Revised Edition. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1876. 12mo., pp. 208.

ST. THOMAS, OF CANTERBURY. A Dramatic Poem. By *Aubrey De Vere*, author of *Alexander the Great*. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876. 18mo., pp. 267.

ESSAYS ON CATHOLICISM, LIBERALISM, AND SOCIALISM. By *John Donoso Cortes*. Translated by *Rev. William McDonald, S. T. L.*, Rector of the Irish College, Salamanca, Dublin. William B. Kelly. 1874.

These works are too important to be passed over with a brief notice, and our want of space would allow of no other. They will be reviewed fully in our next issue.

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